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JOANNES CNOXUS, SCOTUS



R. Cooper Sculp.

*Scotorum primum te Ecclesia, CNOXE, docentem
Audiit, auspiciis estque reducta tuis;
Nam te cælestis pietas super omnia traxit
Atque reformatæ Religionis amor.*

T H E
HISTORIE
OF THE
Reformatioun of Religioun
Within the Realm of
SCOTLAND,
CONTAINING

The Manner and be quhat Persons the Lycht of Chrystis
Evangellicke has bein manifested unto this Realme, after
that horribill and universal Defection from the
Treuth, whiche has come by the Means of that Romane
Antichryst.

TOGETHER WITH

The LIFE of *IOHN KNOXE* the AUTHOR, and several
Curious Pieces wrote by him; particularly that most rare and
scarce one, intituled, *The first Blast of the Trumpet against the Mon-
struous Regiment of Women*, and a large INDEX and GLOSSARY.

Taken from the *Original Manuscript* in the Univerfity Library of *Glasgow*,
and compared with other ancient Copies.



EDINBURGH:

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THE
PUBLISHERS
TO THE
READER.



IS needless to say much by way of Preface to this Edition of Knox's History, after so long and accurate an Account given of it in the Life of the Author hereto annex'd; only it was judg'd necessary to give a short Hint of the Method taken in placing the several Things published therein.

And First, We have published Mr. David Buchanan's long Preface to his Edition of this History, it containing several Things relating to the Antiquities of Scotland, and on that Account valued by many.

2dly, We have printed the first four Books of the History itself, with the Author's Preface, taken from a Manuscript in the Library of the College of Glasgow, a long Account whereof being contain'd in the Life, we shall not add any Thing further about it in this Place.

3dly, We have added the fifth Book, probably written by the above Mr. Buchanan himself, as not being found in the said Manuscript, nor yet in the Octavo Edition of that History; we being unwilling our Readers should want any Thing formerly published alongst with Knox's History.

4thly,

4thly, *We have given the Reader Mr. Knox's Letter to the Queen Regent, with the Additions, His Appellations from the Bishops to the Nobility, Estates and Commonalty of Scotland; And have subjoined to these, the Admonition of Antoni Gilbie to the People of Scotland and England, the same having been printed with them in the Geneva Edition of these Pieces, and from which we have carefully copied; and because it relates to the State of Scotland during the Period in which Mr. Knox wrote his History.*

5thly, *We have added that most rare Piece of our Author's, called, The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women; A Piece so scarce, that for Want thereof, the publishing this Edition has been long retarded, and which at last we were provided with by the worthy and Reverend Mr. Robert Wodrow Minister at Eastwood, who also assisted us with several Materials for making up the Author's Life. To this is added the Contents of the second Part of the Blast of the Trumpet; but which 'tis believed was never finished, or at least never published, so far as we can find.*

And, lastly, We have given a Glossary of the obsolete Words and Phrases used in this Edition, and a complete Index of the History, together with the true Effigies of the Author in Copper Plate.

Whatever Acceptance this Edition may meet with, we can say, that a good deal of Pains has been taken not only to correct it according to the above mentioned Manuscript, but likewise to compare that with several other ancient Manuscript Copies, and in every Part to make it as compleat and correct as possible; And we will be forgiven to say, that it much excels any Edition of this Book hitherto published, especially when it is considered, that there is not one compleat Copy to be found of the Octavo Edition.

We have only to add, That this Edition has much exceeded the Number of Sheets mentioned in the Proposals, it not being then in View to print any Thing but the History itself; and therefore hope it will give no Uneasiness to our Subscribers to find it a little dearer than what was first designed; especially when they consider that all these curious Additions are printed on a small Type to save Charges, without which it would have come much dearer, at a Penny per Sheet, as was proposed.





Mr. BUCHANAN'S PREFACE.



THE SCOTS, by the most judicious Writers, and by those who have most diligently studied their Antiquities are acknowledged to be among the first who embraced the Faith of Christ; yea, they are said to be, by some, of the very First-fruits of the Gentiles: For in few Years after the Ascension of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Apostles and Disciples being constrained to leave Jerusalem and Judea, by Reason of the Persecutions raised against them by the Jews, according to the Dispensation of the All wise God, went up and down the World; and speaking to every People in their own Language, declared unto them the glad

Tydings of Salvation in Christ Jesus. Those who came into our Northren Parts, to wit, into Scotland, and first made known unto our Fathers the Mysteries of Heaven, were of the Disciples of John the Apostle*.

Some Years thereafter, to wit in the second Persecution raised against the Christians, many Britons, Provincials of the Empire, professing the Name of Christ, left their own Country, and went into Scotland, for Shelter from the general Massacre then executed throughout the whole Empire, by that bloody Butcher Domitian; and to enjoy the Freedom of the Gospel, which they knew to be received then in Scotland†. Among these fugitive Britons there were sundry learned and pious Men, who stayed in Scotland, (the Persecution ended) propagating the Faith of Christ there by their preaching. This we have related unto us by the Historians of best Trust. We have not then from the See of Rome our first Institution in the Christian Faith; yea, we are so far from it, that for many Years together, we hardly had any Communication with Rome at all. Palladius was the first, some Years after the Beginning of the fifth Age, who made our Acquaintance with Rome; although the general Current of the Romish Writers give out, That the Gospel was first planted amongst us in Scotland by the Means of Victor Bishop of Rome: Yet Baronius, that renowned Chronologer, albeit he would fain have the Scots owe this Obligation unto

Rome,

Mr. Buchanan's Preface.

Rome, disclaimeth this Opinion of his Party, as untrue, and disagreeing with the best Antiquity.

Tertullian*, who lived in the second Age, and wrote Books divers Years before the End thereof, and so was so near the planting of the Christian Faith amongst the Nations, that in a Manner he may be said to have been an Eye-witness unto it. in his Book against the Jews, speaking how the Light of the Gospel was spread thro' the whole World, saith thus, The Evangel was diffused into all the Parts of the World, yea, into Britanie, and into that Part of the Island whereunto the Roman Forces did never pierce. By these last Words of Tertullian, are meant the Inhabitants of that Part of the Island which lieth be-north the Walls, first built by Adrian, then by Antoninus Pius, thirdly by Severus; and those were the Scots by Name: For the Romans put Walls betwixt them and the Scots Bow-men, as our Poet expresseth it:

Romana sagitti feris prætendit mænia Scotis.

And Claudian, many hundred Years before this our Poet, speaking of the Legion which then was called from its Garrison on the aforesaid Walls, saith thus, The Legion came, which was placed before the utmost Britans, and which bridled the fierce Scot †.

Lucius Florus, many Years before Claudian, who wrote towards the latter End of the fourth Age, to wit, in the Beginning of the second Age; and Spartianus, who alledgeth Florus writ towards the latter End of the third Age. Lucius Florus the Poet, (is the same with the Historian who wrote the short History of the Romans, as judgeth Salmasius) is brought in by Ælius Spartianus, in the History of the Life of Adrian the Emperor, saying these Words, I would not be Cæsar, to walk among the Britans, and suffer the Scots Morning hoar Frosts. The Word pruina, which the Author useth, doth signify so much; for it is quasi *æquæ* a *æquæ* Morning. What Florus, in these Words here alledged, calleth in his Language Scoticas pruinas, Claudian calleth Caledonias pruinas, speaking of another Roman, in these Words, And he placed his Camp in the middle of the Caledonian Morning hoar Frosts. I know that commonly in Spartian, of whom we have these Verses of Florus, it is read, Scythicas for Scoticas, but wrong, notwithstanding that the great Criticks have not corrected it: For how, I pray you, can Adrian be said to suffer Scythicas pruinas, who never was in the Country which then went under the Name of Scythia? Yea, the Romans had never any War with the Scythes; for albeit the Scythes heard of the Romans Arms, yet they never felt them: Besides, what Sense had it been in Florus to say unto Adrian, That he would not be Cæsar, to walk in Britany, and endure the Morning hoar Frosts of Scythia? For although the Romans heard say, that Scythia was a cold Country, yet they more perfectly knew Scotland to be cold, having been upon the Place. Now it was very easy to those who copied Books of old, and hardly understood what they writ, to change one Letter for another, namely, when two Letters are so like one to another, as these two Vowels U, O; for U not being initial or capital, was written formerly without the Draught under it, which hath been written for Distinction's Sake, as we see it commonly now thus Y. This Change of these two Vowels, hath been found elsewhere thm in this Place of Florus by the Criticks, in the same Words, who seeing the Name of the Sea upon the Coast of Scotland written Scythicum, presently mended it, and made Scoticum. Then Erasmus smelted out the same Fault in Jerome his Epistle to Ctesiphon, against Palladius and his Disciple Cælestius, in these Words, Britanny and the Scots Nations had not then known Moses and the Prophets. Erasmus finding Scythicæ, he changeth it into Scoticæ.

Lucius Seneca, about an hundred Years before Florus, that is, about forty Years after Christ, now 1600 Years since, in his Satyre upon the Death of Claudius, makes Mention of the Scots in the composed Word Scoto-Brigantes, as thus followeth. He (i. e. Claudius) commanded the Britans beyond the known Seas, and the blue Scoto-Brigantes, to submit their Necks to the Roman Chains. This Word above-named hath puzzled many of the Criticks how to read it, so that a right Meaning or Sense might be had of these Lines, with the true Measure of the Verse, some reading it one Way, some another Way; till,

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* Lib. contra Judeos. † Buchan. lib. i.

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at last the learned Joseph Scaliger corrected it as you have it here, giving the Words a plain and easy Sense, and keeping the Law of the Verses, against which all others did fail! And to this Correction of Scaliger hath submitted many learned Men; yet some, partly for Envy against the Nation of whom is here spoken, partly for Vanity, will stand out against the Truth, because of the Authority of this Correction at whose great and most rare Learning they are offended, as the former are at any Advantage that the Nation whom these Words doth concern may have. The Scots are called *Ceruiæ*, or blue, because they used much blue in their Garments; and so doth the old Scots to this Day, witness their Plaids, whereof the best sort ordinarily hath the Ground blue; as also their blue Caps.

Mamertin, in his Panegyrick to Maximinian, tells us, That the Britans had War with the Scots and Picts, before Julius Cæsar entered into the Island. So, by these Testimonies, ye see how injurious they are unto the Scots, that will not have their Name known, till many Years, yea, some hundred Years after the Entry of the Romans into the Island.

The Romans having settled themselves in the Island, they divided the whole into two Parts: Their Part, or the South Part, they called *Britannia major*, and superiour; and their Provincials went most commonly under the Name of Britones, altho' sometimes under the Name of *Britanni*, but not so oft; and they were sub-divided into several Peoples. The other Part of the Island without the Roman Province, that is, the northern Part, was called *Britannia minor*, and inferiour. Now all the Inhabitants of this northern Part, who were in continual Bickerings and War with the Romans and their Provincials, were called *Scoti*, sometime *Tranlmarins*, sometimes *Foreigners*; and they did consist of two chief Peoples, to wit, *Brigantes* and *Picti*, which both were sub divided into several lesser Peoples, of which we forbear to speak at this Time. So the Name of *Scoti* was at first appellative, and given to more than to one People; but in Success of Time appropriated to one*. And this is not singular in this Name; for the proper Names of divers Peoples at first have been appellative, and thereafter appropriate to one alone. I will instance only in one, for Brevity sake, which is this, The Name *Frank* or *French*, at first was common to all those that stood out together for Franchise and Liberty against the Romans about the Rhine, and other Parts of Germany; but at length it became peculiar unto one People, as we see it is at this Day. Moreover that the Name of *Scoti* was appellative, and given to more than one People, you may clearly see by the ordinary Expression of ancient Writers in the plural Number, thus, *Scotorum Gentes*, *Scoticæ Gentes*; when otherwise all Men ordinarily, both by Word and Writing have ever used, and to this Day use the singular Number, speaking of one People, as *gens*, not *gentes*, *populus* not *populi*, *Nation*, not *Nations*.

As all the Northern People of the main Land, or Continent, both in Europe and Asia, went antiently under the Name of *Scythæ*, witness Strabo in these Words, The Ancients commonly called the northern People *Scythes*†. And in another Place he says, The Ancients did call by one Name of *Scythes* all the known Places towards the North. He means in the Continent, or main Land. So the Northern People of Britain, which is another little World, were of old, and to this Day are called *Scoti*. The two Names *Scythæ* and *Scotus* do signify one and the same Thing, to wit, an Archer, or Bow-man; in the Latin *Arcuarius*, in Greek, *Τοξότης*. The ancient Writers tell us, That the *Scythes* were much given to Archery, and to Hunting; so were antiently, and to this Day are the old Scots Bow-men, in Hebrew, *Keshut*, from *Keshet*, Bow. And so you have the Signification of *Scythæ* and *Scotus*, which are truly one and the same, with little Change more in Latin than in Greek; for the one is written *Σκυθῆς*, so at first the other was written *Σκοθῆς*, which afterward they turned into *Σκοτῆς*. This is the true Origin of the Name *Scotus*: It comes neither from the fabulous *Scota*, neither from the foolishly invented *Σκοτῆς*, Darkness; for if the Days be as long in Summer as the Nights are in Winter, why should the Countrey be called *Scotia* from *Σκοτῆς*, rather than *Phœcia* from *φῶς* Light? Also the Britan Writers use one and the same Word when they speak of *Scythæ* and *Scoti*, to wit, *y Scot*; as likewise the Low German calleth them both *Schotten*. From the Hebrew *Keshet*, we have the vulgar *schut* and *lchor*. Now this Etymology of *Scot*, as it is true, so it is easy by the Transposition of a Letter, to wit, by putting *Phe* behind *Schin* which is ordinary, not only in the Derivation of Words from one Language

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into another, but also obvious in one and the same Language, in common Discourse. Let this one Example satisfy for all. To be short, Is not one and the same Word both written and pronounced, according to the writing thirty and thrity in our vulgar Tongue? As the Names of Scyth and Scot do signify one Thing, so the People in many Things may be said to be like one another; as for Example, the Scythes in the Continent generally were of two Kinds, to wit, European and Asiatick: So the Scots in Britanny were of two sorts in general, to wit, the Brigantes and Picti. Next, the Scythes did not till the Ground, but feeding Cattle and Sheep, had a Custom to remove from one Place or Solitude to another: Of old so did all the Scots, and to this Day the ancient or priscei Scots do. The Scythes did live much upon Milk, and so do our old Scots. The Scythes, not knowing the Use of Riches, did not desire them; and so it is with many of our old Scots. The Scythes were never vanquished by Foreigners; so the Scots were never utterly overthrown, although they have suffered very much by their Enemies at several Times. The Scythes were hard for toying and War; so are our Scots, as is known to all, &c.

We have said, That the Indwellers of the north Part of the Island were named Scoti, and that by a general Division they were of two Kinds, Brigantes and Picti. Now we must enquire who are Brigantes, and who Picti; Where they both lived, and from whence they came. And to begin at Picti, they inhabited the East Side of Britannia minor which is the best; and, for the most Part, they were of the ancient native Britons, of whom sundry of old, before the Entry of the Romans into the Island, had drawn themselves northward, to have more Elbow-room for their Course of Life, which was to feed Cattle, and to hunt, removing from one Place to another, whereunto Largeness of Bounds is required. Then others of the old Britons flying from the Tyranny of the Romans, upon Grievance went from Time to Time northward, beyond the Limits of the Empire, to their ancient Com-Patriots.

Next came in to these north Britans, at divers Times, several Colonies of northern People from beyond Sea. Hence it is, that some late Authors have written, that the Inhabitants of the east Side of Britannia minor came from Scandie. The north Britans having received these Men come from beyond Sea into their Society, and being joyned with them, made up a People called the Romans and South Britons, Picti, because they continued the Custom of painting their Bodies, of old in Use among many Nations; which Custom the South Britons left off, with other Rites, now become Provincials of the Empire. The whole Island was first called Albion, of which we shall speak anon, God willing.

Then *Bpeλavvia*, Britannia, which signifieth a woody Country; for of old it was *κατασφυα*, *Sylvia obsita*, covered with Woods, as Strabo terms it. And to this Day we see that Part of the Country opposite to the Continent, full of Woods and Inclosures. We find in ancient Authors †, the Peninsula of Italy, next Sicily, whereof Rhegium was the Metropolis, called *Bπερσία* and *Bπερλαβία* for the same Reason, because it was *κατασφυα*. So Strabo names it also. The Origin of the Word is *Barat*, which signifieth several kinds of Trees, Fir, Ash, Cedar, &c.

The Picti had divers People under them, whereof the chief were Caledonii; by whose Name sometimes all the Picts were named, although Caledonii properly were those of the Picts who dwelt among the lesser Hills, of which Hills some are called *Ocelli montes*, in vulgar Language Ochell Hills. The Country of the Caledonii did begin at Forth, and went northward beyond Tay, where their chief City was Caledon, now Dunkell by a Transposition. In this Country were the Woods called *saltus Caledonius*, or *sylva Caledonia*. The rocky and hilly Part of *Ætolia* in Greece, was called by the same Name; and there was there a Town of this Name, yea, and a Forest, so much spoken of by the old Poets. True it is, that the second Vowel is now and then changed, which makes no Difference; for in Words the Consonants are mainly regarded. Strabo, Lib. 10. calleth the one and the other Country *ἄστυ*, *ἡ πέτριται*, hilly and stony, or rockie; the Name cometh from *Galextan*, which is as much as *Βυρὸς τραχὺς*, *tumulus asper*, a rough little Hill.

Benorth the Limits of the Empire in this Island, all People besides the Picts were Brigantes, which importeth as much as In-dwellers of Mountains, or high Hills: So

† Vide Sal. p. 321. in Plin.

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you have the Brigantes near the Lake of Constance, in dwelling Mountains. On the Alps in Dauphine you have the Brigantium Briançon, the highest Town in Europe. The Brigantes of Spain, as those of Ireland, of old did inhabit Mountains; and so did our Brigantes in this Island mainly keep upon the Mountains. The Name cometh from Briga, Brica, or Bria, as it is diversly written; it signifies an high Place or Mountain. Our vulgar hath interpreted it Bray; hence we haply call our Brigantes Braymen, whom we call otherwise Highlanders, or Highlandmen. Strabo tells us, that Bria amongst the Thracians doth signify a Town or City. And so the Word Bria must needs come from the Hebrew Bira, Town or Palace, by the Transposition of a Letter, which is ordinary in the Derivation of Words as we have said a little before. Here for further Proof of the Transposition of a Letter in a derivative Word, take this Example only, Dumbarton for Dumbarton.

Causabon, in his Notes upon Strabo, tells us from Helychius, that Bria signifieth a Village, or Town upon a Hill. So Bria signifieth not simply a Town or Village, but such an one as is builded on a Hill. And truly in the most ancient Times Towns or Villages were, for the most Part, builded upon high Places; as any Man that hath taken the Pains to remark, either by Histories, or by considering the Places he may have seen, knoweth. So then Brigantes are Men inhabiting the Hills, or having their Towns, Cities Villages upon the Hills. Yea, in old Times, when they had not yet fixed their Abode certain they were wont to remove from Hill to Hill as we have said formerly; and to this Day some of our Highlanders do within their own Extent and Limits.

The Brigantes, in the Continent namely, were so given anciently to take away Goods from their Enemies with a strong Hand, that by Success of Time all those that openly did rob and plunder were called Brigantes: And the French has from hence derived the Verb Brigander, to rob or plunder. Next, there is a kind of Armour called Brigantine, the Use and Manner whereof is borrowed from the Brigantes; it is like a Male coat. Lastly, There is a kind of Ship used at the Sea, called Brigantine, of the middle Size, as being most proper for War at Sea. Thus much for the Name of Brigantes.

The Brigantes of this Island came hither from Ireland at divers Times, and upon divers Occasions. The Brigantes in Ireland, by Ptolomy, are placed well southward: But those that are come after Ptolomy, I mean those of nearer Antiquity, have placed them more northerly by many Miles, as ye may easily see by looking upon Ptolomy his Maps; and Ortelius his Maps of Geography of the Ancients. So ye see that the Brigantes, at their first coming to Ireland from Spain, for thence they came, with many other Inhabitants of that Island, dwelt in the south Parts, but by Degrees drew northward, for Conveniency to their wandring Course of Life, in keeping Cattle and hunting, and for Freedom from the Trouble of too near Neighbours; They went by Success of Time so far north, till at length having come to the Part next unto Britannie, they came hither and possessed themselves of the little Islands and Hills next unto Ireland; and finding themselves fitted in this new found Land for their Purpose, according to their Mind, they made their Abode there, and drew daily more and more Company unto them, till, at length they made a great Body of People in Britannie, and by little and little came all along the West Side of Britannie, keeping the Hills, till they came to the River Belhana, that is Rhiber, in Lancashire, and from thence went straight Eastward, till they came to the Mouth of Albur, now Humber.

The North Britains were glad to give them Way, contenting themselves with the East Side of Britannia minor, (which indeed was, and is the best) and were glad also to have them for a Rampart against their Enemies in the South or in majore Britannia. The Brigantes were great Enemies to the Romans, with whom they had divers Bickerings; but at last they were compelled to go Northward, and were hemed in by the Wall built by the Romans, betwixt the fluve Tina, now Tyne on the East Side and Itrina, now Eden in Cumberland, on the West Side. Although they left the Country besouth this Wall, yet the Romans continued there the Names of Brigantes; yea some of the Brigantes, allured by the Bounty of the Soyl, did chuse rather to submit to the Roman Yoke than change their Abode, although it was with Thraldome. Then, after many various Encounters with the Romans, they were yet constrained to yield more Ground unto the Romans, who hedged in both them and the Picts northward with a Wall, betwixt Bodoria;

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dottria, or Forth, and Glotta, or Clyde. At last the Romans, by cunning, raised Jealousies betwixt the Brigantes and Picts, and so not only withdraws the Picts from the Friendship of the Brigantes, but makes them join with them to overthrow the Brigantes; and taking Occasion by the Brigantes domestick Troubles, fights with them; yea, at length, after a bloody, well-fought Battle, defeats them gives the best of the Lands they possess to the Picts for their Reward. After this the Brigantes were constrained, for the most Part, (I mean the better Sort) to retire thence, whereof some went to the next Isles; some returned to Ireland, to their ancient Partie; and some went to the North Countrys beyond Seas, and so they were for a Time distressed, and in Exile, till after divers Attempts, they were restored again under the Conduct of Fergus the second. Here let us remember, that the whole Island Britannie was first named Albion, from Albe, or Alpe, which signifieth Hill, or high Place. This Word Albe, or Alpe, cometh from Albus, white; and this from the Hebrew Laban, per metathesin, Alban, Abus, & Αλφει; in Greek, because the high Hills and Mountains, yea in the hot Countries, are frequently covered with Snow, and so appear white; witness the high Hills betwixt France and Italy, which, by Reason of their Highness above other Mountains, are named particularly Alps. The Island, when it had given unto it the Name of Britannia, by little and little left off the old Name of Albion, which continued in the North Part of the Island, benorth the Limits of the Empire; and so the whole Country beneath the Humber was called; and Albion, in this second Sense, in following Times, was called Britannia minor, as we have heard; but as the Romans did gain Ground upon the In-dwellers of Albion, or Britannia minor, beating them northward, they lessened Albion, or Britannia minor, so far, till they brought them to keep North Bodotria, or Forth, and Glotta, or Clyde.

Last of all the Romans having, by their Cunning, divided the Brigantes and the Picts, and having drawn the Picts on their Side against the Brigantes, Albion was taken for that Part of Britannia minor, beyond Clyde and Forth, which did not belong to the Picts, that is, the North-west Side of that hilly Continent, with the hilly Islands adjacent, where, to this Day dwelleth our Highlandmen, or Highlanders, who are the Remnant of the ancient Brigantes. That the ancient Name of a whole great Country, as this Island is, should be conserved in one Corner, or a little Portion thereof, may not seem strange, I have thought fit to tell you, that you have the like in our neighbour Country, of old called Gaule, now France, where the ancient Name of Gaule, among the Vulgar, is only conserved in a little Country lying about Sens, of old Senones; this little Country is called Pays Gualois, and is divided in Haute & Basse Gaule. So it was judiciously said by the Historiographer *, The Name of the Isle Albion is derived from Albe, and remains in Scotland, as it were in its native Soyl.

Of Alpe, or Albe, signifying Hill, or high Place, you have the In-dwellers thereof, sometimes named Albani; as in Asia, Dalmatia, Italy, and North Britannia; and their Country Albania, sometimes Albici, Albigois in Languedock, and their Country Albiun, or Albi, in vulgar Language, sometimes Albini, or Alpini, and Albienses, as the In-dwellers of our Albion, who to this Day call themselves, as they have done of old, &c. which Name is one and the same with Brigantes. Here let us remark, That as the Provincials, or In-dwellers of Britannia superiour, subject to the Romans, are ordinarily called by the Writers Britons; so the others, benorth the Empire, have been called by the Writers Britanni, peregrini & transmarini, Strangers, and beyond-Seamen, as if they had been of another Island. And truly, if it were not for the Strait betwixt the Rivers afore named, which did serve for Border unto them, they were in another Island. Hence England is said to be inter quatuor maria.

Ptolomeus, Tacitus, and Seneca tell us, That the Brigantes inhabited Albion; which when they write, was that Part of the Island beyond the Roman Empire. Therefore the Brigantes were then Albini, or Albani.

Moreover, the Brigantes about Eboracum, now York, were of the Scots, who came from Ireland, a great and mighty People.

John Fordon, in his Scoti Chronicon writes, That the Scots came so far South as Humber, and possessed Lands there; Also the Isle of Man was for a long Time under the

* Buchan.

Mr. Buchanan's Preface.

the Crown of Scotland; which Isle is as far South as the Country about York although it be westward and in the Sea And these were the Brigantes we now have spoken of. The Brigantes, at their first coming into Albion, came as we have said without any certain or settled Way of Government: But being grown into a considerable Number or Body, they sent into Ireland for Fergus I. to be their King; whose (with a new Colony coming into Albion is reckoned to be about Alexander the Great his Time that is, about three hundred Years before the Birth of Christ.

The Brigantes, alias Albini, for a certain Time, by some have been called Dalreudini (although this Name did not last long) from the King Reuda, who brought into Albion the second remarkable Colony from Ireland, after Fergus, about 180 Years before Christ, that is, about 220 Years after Fergus, and Dale, which signifieth Country and Province, as is known to this Day. There is a certain Place in the West of Scotland called to this very Day Rioldale.

We have heard, that the People benorth the Roman Province, upon the East Side, were originally Britains, whence they were called Britanni Picti, and sometimes Britanni Canconii, from one of the chief People; sometimes simply Picti, or Canconii. Also we have heard that the People benorth the Province on the West Side, were come from Ireland, and called Brigantes, or Albini; yea, for a Time Dalreudini. Likewise we have heard that all the People benorth the Empire, by a general Appellation, were called Scoti, where they were all spoken of together: But when they were spoken of apart those of the East were called Scoto-Britanni. Those of the West were called Coto-Brigantes as we have heard out of Seneca.

Moreover by Progress of Time, the Irish came to go under the Name of Scots, with those of Britannia minor, or Albion, who from them had Help supply, and Recruits in their War against the Romans, and Britains Provincials. Thus, naming the Irish by the Name of Scots, began some hundred Years after Christ that is, towards the middle Ages And about that Time Ireland was called by the Name of Scotia, as Anthonius Ocellus hath remarked in these Words; I have observed Ireland to be named Scotia, by the Writers of the middle Age. And so it hath been observed by the Learned That ancient Authors did never name Ireland Scotia; as you may see by those who have exactly reckoned up the old Names of Ireland, out of the ancient and classick Authors. So it was not said much amiss by one, That this naming of Ireland by the Name of Scotland was first about Beda his Time, who lived in the Beginning of the eighth Age. Scaliger tells us, That the Word Scot is no Irish Word, but British; that is, not used in Ireland but in Britannia. What is the Origine and Signification of the Word we have heard before.

As the Irish began to be called Scots, so the Picts left off to be so named; now withdrawing themselves from the Brigantes, or Albini, and striking in with their Enemies the Irish, by the Writers were called Scoti Hibernientes, and the Albins were called Scoti Albientes And Ireland was called Scotia major, because Albania or Albion in those Days which they called Scotia minor, was of less Extent. But this Name of Scots was not for any long Time given to the Irish, so that at length the Name of Scots became peculiar to the Albins, or Brigantes alone.

Lastly, The Albins having subdued the Picts, and made them no more a People communicated into the Country, newly conquered by them, the Name of Scotia, as one Country with Albania; and so all the Indwellers there were called Scots, with the Albins, as one People with them, and so they are to this Day.

Now the Albins or Brigantes, being the only Masters of Britannia minor, came to be called Scoto-Britanni, as the Picts had been of old, and are upon Occasion called so to this Day, to distinguish them from the South Britons, of whom some are called Cambro-britanni, the rest Anglo-britanni.

Although the ancient Brigantes were called by Foreigners Scoti, namely, by the Britons Provincials, and the Romans, yet they did never name themselves so, by this Name Scoti; neither do the Highlanders to this Day, in their own Language, call themselves Scots, but Albins: So Scaliger had just Reason to say, That Scoti was not an Irish Name.

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Name: As the Hellenes did never name themselves Greek, although they were so commonly called by the Foreigners: And the Misraims did not call themselves Egyptians, although Foreigners named them so.

The Scots now a days are divided in Highland-men and Lowland-men: The Highlanders are the true Progeny of the ancient Brigantes, or Albins, for the most Part, I say, because some are come in later Times from other Countries. And to this Day our Highlanders, as the Brigantes of old, makes main Use of their Bows and Arrows in their War, namely, when they are among the Hills; so when they praise one for a military Man they say, He is a good Bow-man and Bray-man; which two Epithites were expressed by the Ancients in one composed Word Scoto brigantes.

The Lowland-men are made up of divers Nations; for a few of them are a little Remnant of the ancient Picts; other few are descended from the ancient Albins, who, leaving the Hills after the Defeat of the Picts, did betake themselves to the low Country. Divers from the South Parts of Britannie, had fled from the Tyranny of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, as they did of old from the Tyranny of the Romans: Then the English, being so oft in Scotland with their Armies, have left divers in the Country: Also Marriages, and other private Occasions, have drawn sundry Men from England into Scotland. Lastly, Sundry of the Low country people are come from beyond Seas, as from France, Germany, Hungary, Flanders, Ireland, &c. of late Days: So all being reckoned, there are but few in the Low country come of the old Albins, Brigantes, or old Picts.

The Low-country Men calls the Highlanders Irish, not so much for their ancient Descent as for their Language, only differing from the Irish by Dialect; and for their Ways of living, not much unlike: Yet one main Difference is to be seen in the Activity of the Scots, and the Laziness of the Irish. On the other Side the Highlanders call the Low-country Men Saxons, not so much for their Descent (although many of them are come from the Southern People as we have said, who are a Progeny of the Saxons) as for the Language which differeth only by Dialect from the Language of the South, which acknowledgeth the Saxon Language for its Mother Tongue, and for the Way of living not so different, save that the Scots are harder bred; and consequently more fitted for toiling at War namely, than the English are: For we see the English to have Pain to toil, and endure Wars, at the first going to the Field, by Reason of their tender and soft Breeding. The Language of the South Britains of old was not much different from that of the Gauls, from whence they came into Albion; witness Tacitus in Agricola his Life: The Gauls then did speak a corrupt Greek; for they are come off the Greeks. Besides many Words of the old Gaulois, the Phrase and Construction, are to this Day in the French Language kept, which doth signify, that of old the Greek was spoken in Gaul, although corrupt grossly by ignorant Men without Learning, who neither could read nor write. Yet in the South Parts of Gaul, near the Mediterranean Sea, wherein the Greek Islands are; the Greek was spoken, and taught at Marseilles namely. The ancient Language of the Britons suffered a great Change by the Romans; and other Foreigners, who brought in amongst them their Terms of Law of Divine Service, of War, and of Policy, with the Names of divers Commodities, and the Names of divers Trades.

When the Saxons and Danes came into the Land, they confined the Remnant of the ancient Britains unto the West Country, with their Language, such as it was left unto them by the Romans, and other Foreigners of old, and with themselves planted the Language which is spoken in all England now a days, with some Alteration and Change. The first notable Change happened by the Normans, in whose Language the Law hath been administered, &c. The next Change is from the Latin, in which Language Divine Service hath been for many Years officiated. Then the English Language hath borrowed from all Neighbour Nations many Words, without any great Change; so that the English Language is said to be the Quintessence of all Neighbour Languages: From it the Scottish Tongue differs but in Dialect, as we have said. The Highlanders Language, as hath been said likewise, is Irish, which of old was a corrupt Greek also; for the Irish came into Ireland from the North Parts of Spain, who spake a corrupt Greek

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as those of Gaul did; for the ancient In-dwellers of the North Parts of Spain came also from the Greek Islands. So that of old, the Language of the ancient Britons was not altogether strange unto the Brigantes, or Alpins; yea, in this Time wherein we live, notwithstanding the great Changes that both the Languages have sustained by Time, and Commerce of foreign Nations, they have many Words which are one and the same, signifying the same Thing.

Thus much I have written of the Beginning, Names, Way of living, and Languages of Scotland, to make known to all, how unjust and injurious unto us are some modern Antiquaries of our Neighbour Countries, who first think they cannot prove their own People to be sufficiently ancient, except they take from their Neighbour their just Right of good Antiquity. Next, they conceive they cannot set forth fully enough the Greatness of their own Country, except they make their Neighbours no People at all, or at least, hardly considerable. Thirdly, They imagine, That they cannot extol and magnify the Glory of their Country highly enough, unless they not only depress and extenuate their Neighbours Name, but also attribute unto themselves the Advantages of their Neighbours. But if these Antiquaries had considered with the Eyes of Men, that there is enough to be said for the Credit of their own Country without wronging others, they had not so stuffed their Books with mistaken and mis-applied Allegations of good ancient Authors, nor with Collection of fabulous and lying Monks Tales, wherein some of them do fanfly Learning mainly to consist. But of this enough.

For this Place I will only add this. As the Scots, although they be not of the greatest People, yet they are truly one of the most ancient People in Europe; so I dare be bold to say, that God, (to whose Praise be it spoken) in his Goodness towards them, hath raised up of them, and amongst them, so many excellent and virtuous Men, in Church and State, in Piety and Learning, in Policy and War, at home and abroad, of old and of late, that few Nations, ancient or modern, although of greater Bounds, can compare with them; fewer equal them, and hardly any at all go beyond them in this: For which we praise God, who of the best Things hath given us the best Measure, and say with the Historian, That the Land is more fertile of good Men than of good Fruits.

But now, since all former Walls of Separation and Division, both ancient and modern, civil and ecclesiastical, are, in a great Measure, taken away by God's Blessing; and since, in so many Respects, the Scots and English are so near one to another, as we have said; but above all, since they both are Members of the true Church, and pure Spouse of Christ Jesus to the upholding of whose Truth, and purging of it from Uncleaness, they have newly bound themselves together as one People, yea, as one Man, let them then, in God's Name, laying aside all Excuses, Envy, Jealousies, and By-ends, as feeling Members of one and the same Body, concur unanimously, with their mutual and best Endeavours, to settle the true Worship of God in all true Purity, and quiet all Things speedily with Wisdom, to the Good of the People, with due Obedience to our lawful Sovereign under God, as we are taught by the Law of God, the Law of Nature, the Law of Nations, and the municipal Laws of our several Countries. But to return to the Church.

The Scots, although they received amongst them the Light of the Gospel with the very first of the Gentiles, as we have said, yet had they not the Evangel so universally professed through the whole Country, till towards the first Years of the third Age; that is, till Donald I. who not only professed the Faith of Christ himself, with his Family, but did his best to cast out Idolatry wholly from his Dominions, and to settle the Ministry of the Gospel in every Corner thereof. But this religious King could not bring to pass this his good Design fully, being diverted by continual Wars against the Romans the whole Course of his Life.

After the Death of Donald, till toward the latter End of the third Age; that is, to the Reign of Crathlinth, this Work of totally putting down Idolatry, and settling the Gospel every where in the Country, by the Negligence of the following Princes, was at a Stay. In this King Crathlinth his Days, fell out the ninth Persecution under Aurelius,
and

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and the tenth under Dioclesian, which gave Occasion to many Christians from divers Parts of the Empire, but namely from the South Parts of Britannie, now another Time to flee into Scotland for Refuge, as they had done before under Domitian. Among those Fugitives who did then repair into Scotland, for Shelter from the general Massacre, were many excellent Men in Piety and Learning, whom the King Crathilinth not only kindly received, but also employed to aid and help him and his Council, on the further settling of Christ's Truth in his Kingdom, and in the total Extirpation of Idolatry out of it, which was so much the harder Work, because of the Druides, the principal false Prophets, and idolatrous Priests in those Days; who not only by their subtil Hypocrisy, and Sense-pleasing Divine Service, but also by a cunning Forecast, having drawn into their Hands the bearing and determining of Civil Affairs, had so gained upon the Spirits of the poor and simple People, that they could not imagine how to be without them, and live. The resolute Care and Diligence of King Crathilinth and his Council, with the Help of those pious and learned Men, surpasseth all Difficulties; and having put quite down the Groves and Altars under the Oaks, and, in a Word, all Idol Service, establishing the pure Worship of the true God in every Place of his Dominions, and filled up the Rooms of those false Prophets with godly and learned Teachers of the People; which was done every where through the Kingdom, but particularly in the Islands, which those pious Men chuse for their principal Abode, as being most fit for a retired Life; and namely in the Isle of Man the King Crathilinth caused to build a Church to the Honour of our Saviour, which in following Times, by Corruptions, was called Fanum Sodorense, for Soterense; the original Word is *σωτήρ*. Hence the Town near the Church was called Sodora, as Minster in our vulgar Language, and Moustier in French, signifying a Town in secondary Signification, near a Church. Those godly Men being settled, as aforesaid, and having withdrawn themselves from the Solicitude of worldly Affairs, did wholly give themselves to Divine Service; that is, to instruct the Ignorant, comfort the Weak, administer the Sacraments to the People, and to train up Novices and Disciples, to do the same Service in their due Time. These Men, for their single and retired Life, were called *μοναχοί*, or Monks, by Abbreviation, and for their travelling altogether in God's Worship and Service, were called Colidei, or Culdees.

These Culdees were so given to the Exercise of Devotion, by the meditating the Mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, and by Prayers, that the very Cells whereinto they had inclosed and separated themselves from the World, after their Death we reputed so many Temples or Chappels set aside for Divine Service; hence to this Day Cella is taken for a Church among the ancient Scots, as you may see in these composed Names, Kelmarnoc, Marnoc his Church, Celpatric, Patrick his Church †.

The Culdees thus settled, as we have seen, did chuse out of themselves some eminent Men in Piety, Knowledge, and Wisdom, to oversee the rest, and to keep them to the Discharge of their Duty towards the People, and towards the Disciples, with an orderly and discreet Carriage of each one towards another, in their several Societies, and in their privat. These Overseers, or Superintendents, chosen of themselves, and by themselves, did discharge the Duties of their Function indifferently every where, throughout the whole Kingdom, without restraining themselves to any certain Place, or lording over their Brethren, or any Part of the Flock of Jesus Christ, not attributing unto themselves any particular distinct holy Order from the rest, belonging only to them, and to be only conferred by them. This Way of instructing the People, and governing the Church by Culdees, did continue for many Years under God's Mercy; the Ministry of God's Church, as yet, not being become a Business of Gain, and of worldly Pomp and Pride: So these Culdees, and Overseers of others, had no other Emulation but of well-doing, nor striving, but to advance true Piety and godly Learning. The Overseers, or Superintendents of the Culdees, were commonly called by the Writers who wrote of those Days, *Scotorum Episcopi*, without any Definition of Place, or Pre-eminence of one above another. But to return to Crathilinth, who till his dying Day, which was about the 312. Year, did constantly continue to advance the Kingdom of Christ,

† Buchan.

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as likewise his Successor Fincormac, under whose Days the Gospel did flourish in Purity and in Peace; he died about the Year 358. After the Death of Fincormac both the Church and State of Scotland fell in great Disorder and Troubles, by domestick Dissensions and Factions for some Years. The Roman Lieutenant Maximus, seeing the intestine Troubles of Scotland, began to lay Hold upon the Occasion. First, He fomented their Divisions within them; next, not only he withdraws, under fair Promises, from the Scots their ancient Allies the Picts, but also obtains Help of the Picts to make War against the Scots, and so to defeat them, which he did effectuate indeed in a Battle fought with much Blood shed on both Sides, at the Water of Dun in Carrick, where-in the King Ewen was killed, (this Defeat fell out about 380. in the Year of Christ) the most Part of the Nobility, and Numbers of People of those that escaped, some fled into the West Isles, some into Ireland, and others to the Northern Parts of Germany or Scandia; some submitted themselves to the Will and Discretion of the Conquerour, with the poor People that had not taken Arms. Among those that fled away was Ethod the King's Brother, who went with sundry of the Nobility unto Scandia, where he and they stayed divers Years, and from whence, now and then, they had secret Attempts upon Scotland, with the Help of their Brethren retired into the Island and Leland; but to small Effect.

Now, as the Face of the politique State of the Country was quite altered and undone, so the Condition of the Church also was much disordered, and the Culdees were constrained to withdraw, and seek Shelter up and down where they could find any; namely, they returned into the Isles and into Ireland. At last the Picts perceiving by several Attempts made by the exiled Scots, to return home, and re-establish their State; (although with little Success, as we have said) that the Scots were fully resolved to bestir themselves continually, till they were restored, and re-established in their ancient Inheritances; the Picts themselves being moved with the groaning Miseries of their Neighbour poor People of Scotland, now under the Roman Yoke, chiefly by their Means; and taking to their Consideration, how foolishly they had suffered themselves to be so far circumvented and deluded by the Romans, as to contribute to the Ruin of their old Friends, by whom, mainly in former Times, they had withstood the common Enemy, did not only comfort the poor oppressed Remainers of the Scots at home, but also did invite those that were in Exile to return, promising unto them the Lands which they had of theirs, and to help them with all their Strength and Counsel, in the Recovery of their whole State from the Roman Tyrants. The exiled Scots, under the Conduct of Fergus the II. Son to Ethod, beyond Sea, gathered all they could, both of their own People, and of their Friends, from the Places of their Exile, namely, from Scandia, and from Ireland likewise, and came into Scotland; from whence they chased away the Romans by strong Hand, with the Help of the Picts, who made good their Promise unto them, both assisting them in the Action of War, and in restoring unto them the Land that they had been possessed with by the Romans. The Auxiliaries from Ireland, stayed still in Scotland, and had allowed unto them the Country of Galloway for their Reward; and because they were of the ancient Brigantes of Ireland, some of the late Writers have said, that the Brigantes of Albion had their Abode in Galloway. No sooner is Fergus crowned in the fatal Chair, and settled in his Kingdom, but he takes to his first Care to restore the Purity of Divine Service, which had been eclipsed in these Bounds for several Years; and to this Effect he calls some of the dispersed Culdees of his Country, whom he settles in their ancient Abodes; namely, in the Isle of Iona, where he furnished them with a Library of Books which he had gathered beyond Sea, as the Story tells us.

This Return of Fergus into Scotland, Son of Ethod, Brother to late Ewen, fell out about the Year 420. The regaining by the Scots of their native Country under the Command of Fergus the II. will not seem strange unto them who have read what they did under the Commands of William Wallace, and how under the Conduct of Robert Bruce, they recovered their Liberty from the Thralldom wherewith they were then oppressed.

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Ewen, Son to Fergus the II. by the Counsel and Aid of his Grand-father by his Mother Grame, did not only keep his Father's ancient Kingdom but also did enlarge the Limits thereof, having passed the next Wall of the Romans, which by Grame was pulled down in many Places; hence it is called Grame's Dyke, and he possessed himself, and the Picts, with all the Lands lying an hundred Miles southward, that is, unto Tyne, and kept them till the Entry of the Saxons into the Island. Next, he took unto his Care, not only to seek out the Culdees Fugitives, which had not yet returned under his Father, but also he sent for others into the Neighbour Country of Britain, and assigned unto them convenient Places for their Abode, with a moderate Competency of Means for their Maintenance, that they should be in nowise burdensome to the People, now looking to have some Respite from their Pressures and Grievances. And such was the Happiness of these Days, that a very small Proportion did content the Church-men, setting wholly their Minds to the conscionable Discharge of their Calling, which they did, preaching God's Word carefully, truly, and simply, instructing the People in the Fear of God, and so gaining their Souls to their Maker and Redeemer. By this their Carriage they gained very much Respect among the People, who honoured them as Fathers, Instructors, and Guiders unto Heaven under God: The virtuous civil Magistrate was the secondary Cause of this good Behaviour of Church men, who, by his Authority, kept them in Order, and, by his own Example, taught them to discharge their Duty faithfully, and live discretely. But so soon as the civil Magistrate left them to themselves, then they neglecting their Calling, set their Mind upon Ambition and Avarice, and consequently upon all Evil, thinking of nothing less, than of that they were called to

Here we are to observe, That as the Scots did constantly withstand the ancient Romans, and kept themselves so free of their Yoke, that they neither acknowledged their Authority, nor received any Law from them, although it was not without great Struggling and Hazard, yea, almost to their utter Ruin, as it fell out under Ewen the I. But after some few Years, the Scots, under the Conduct of Fergus the II. and Ewen the II. not only regained what they had lost by the Romans and Picts, but also conquered a great Deal of Ground beyond their last Limits, as we have newly said. So the Scots in Church Affairs, for many Years together, had nothing to do with the Bishop of Rome, neither made they Acknowledgement unto him in any Way, neither did they receive any Laws from him; for as they had the Gospel planted among them without his Help, to wit, by the Disciples of Saint John the Apostle, so they kept themselves unto the Constitutions and Canons, settled by the same first Planters of the Gospel among them: But by Success of Time, they became to be infected by their Neighbour Nations, with the Poison of the Pelagian Heresy. Celestine then Bishop of Rome, takes Occasion to send unto the Britons, a learned Man called Palladius, to help the Orthodox Britons to convince the Heresy of Pelagius, then spreading itself amongst them, which was done accordingly.

Ewen the II. King of Scots, hearing how the Britons, by the Help of Palladius, had repressed Pelagianisme, being most desirous to purge the Church of his Kingdom also, where this Pelagian Error had crept in, sends for Palladius, who, with small Difficulty, assisted the Orthodox to disabuse those who had been carried away by Pelagianisme, and thereafter, in a very short Time, by subtle Insinuations, gained so far upon the well meaning Scots, that they consented to take new Governors of their Church, who were to have a Degree and Pre eminence above their Brethren, to wit, the Prelat bishops. Hitherto the Church of Scotland had been governed by Monks and Priests, without any such Dignity or Pomp. I call their new Governors Prelat-bishops, to distinguish them from their former Overseers and Superintendents of the Culdees, who are sometimes by Writers called Bishops, as they were indeed; but they had no Pro-eminence, or Rank of Dignity above the rest; neither were they of any distinct Order from the rest of their Brethren. That at this Time by Palladius was brought into Scotland those new kind of Bishops, it appears by the Relations of the Authors following, thus.

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*Palladius is thought to be the first who made Bishops (that is, of this new Order) in Scotland **; for till then the Churches were without Bishops, governed by Monks, with less Vanity truly and outward Pomp, but with greater Simplicity and Holiness.

Before him, saith Hector Boece †, *Palladius* was the first of all that did bear the holy Magistrate among the Scots, being made Bishop by the great Pontif or Bishop; for till then, by the Suffrage of the People, the Bishops were made of the Monks and Culdees.

John Mair speaks thus *, Before *Palladius*, by Priests and Monks, without Bishops, the Scots were instructed in the Faith.

John Lesley saith this ††, Among us (Scots) the Bishops were only designed by the Suffrage of Monks.

John of Fordon, in his Scots Chronicle, saith †, Before the in-coming of *Palladius* us, the Scots had for Teachers of the Faith, and Ministers of the Sacraments, Presbyters only, or Monks, following the Rites or Customs of the primitive Church. Mark the latter Words; for according to this Saying goes the Judgment of the best Divines, who write the Truth without any Respect; whose Mind John Seneca declareth thus, In the first primitive Church the Office of Bishops and Priests was common to the one and the other; and both the Names were common, and the Office common to one and the other: But in the second primitive Church, the Names and the Offices began to be distinguished.

Balcan of the Briton Writers, Before *Palladius* the Scots had their Bishops and Ministers, according the Ministry of the sacred Word, chosen by the Suffrage of the People, after the Custom of those of Asia: But those Things did not please the Romans, who hated the Asiaticks.

Baronius in his Annals saith this, The Scots gat their first Bishop from Celestine Pontif Roman

Prosper in his Cronic. The Pontif Celestine lendeth unto the Scots *Palladius* to be their Bishop.

Item, Unto the Scots then believing in Christ *Palladius* is ordained by Pope Celestine, and sent thither the first Bishop.

Beda, in the History of England, *Palladius* was sent first Bishop unto the Scots; by Celestine, Pontif of the Roman Church.

By these Authorities we see, That the Scots, before *Palladius*, had no Bishops at all; or, at least, their Bishops were not of any distinct Order from other Priests and Culdees, by whom they were ordained, and of whom they were chosen, as we have touched before; and so they were not as those Bishops have been with us in these latter Times.

Next, let us observe, That the Scots Bishops, since *Palladius*, must acknowledge themselves Clients of the Roman Antichrist, seeing of him they have their Beginning and Dependence; although in Words yea, in some Part of Doctrine, they seem to disclaim him, yet in many Parts they shew themselves to be of his Family, namely in Government; for they, with him, lord over the Inheritance of Christ, and, forsooth, take unto themselves the Name of Lords Spiritual, as if they were Lords of the Spirits of Men, contrary to God's Word, wherein we are taught, That the Father and Maker of Spirits is the only Lord over them: Or, at least, Lords of spiritual Things, against the express Words of the Apostles, who acknowledge themselves to be only Ministers of the Spirit, and spiritual Things, reputing it the greatest Honour in the World to be so. And Peter, who after he had styled himself no more than Co presbyter with the rest of the Presbyters, he forbids them to lord over the Flock of Christ. Then, since in the primitive Church, the Function of Bishop, and Pastor, and Presbyter, were undistinguished, and any one of the Names indifferently denoted the Office, it must be confessed, That the Change of Government which hath entred into the Church, is not immediately from Christ and his Apostles, neither by Precept nor Example, but contrary to Christ's Will and Intention, declared in his Word; and according to the Inventions of Men, serving to the exorbitant Affections of Avarice, Ambition and Lust; to the Satisfaction of which they

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* Buchan. lib. 3. † Lib. 7. cap. 28. * Lib. 2. cap. 2. †† Lib. 4. in Eugenio 2. † Lib. 3. cap. 8.

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have domineered over the Flock of Christ like Tyrants, devoured the Substance thereof, like ravenous Wolves; yea, what is worse they have not only been negligent and careless to distribute unto the People the Word of God, but also with their Might and Power have hindered and kept others to make known unto God's People the pure Light of his Gospel the ordinary Means of Salvation; and consequently so far as in them lieth, by thus starving them of this heavenly Food, sent them to Hell. Such were these spiritual Lords, who as they have encroached upon the spiritual Lordship of Christ Jesus over his Flock, and usurped his Authority; yea, and opposed it flatly, under the Name of spiritual Authority and Jurisdiction: so have they boldly and cunningly invaded the Prerogative of civil Magistrates by their Courts and Regalities within the Dominions of Princes where they live; Yea in sundry Places they usurp the full Authority of Princes, and in others they flatly oppose it. And all this hath been done, not only of old, by those who were called Romish Bishops, but also in our Days by Bishops; who in some Things make a shew, that they disclaim their Father the Pontif Roman, whom in their Heart they love and respect, as their Actions do witness.

Although by Palladius Prelacy was brought in the Church of Scotland, and by that Means the Government was changed; and thereafter immediately by Degrees other Alterations crept into the Church: Yet those Times after Palladius, till the sixth Age, I mean till Augustine the Monk, may be said to be golden Times, and pure, in regard of the following Days, wherein Church men, without any Restraint, abandoned themselves to Ambition Avarice and Lust, neglecting altogether their Function; for in these fourth and fifth Ages they were many godly and learned Men, who were diligent in discharging the true Duty of a Pastor, as Columbe, Libthac, Ethernan, &c. Then Kaito-gerne, who by Nickname was called Mongo, because his Master Servian speaking unto him, used ordinary this Expression, Mon ga, which in corrupt French is as much to say as My Boy.

Palladius having brought into the Church of Scotland Hierarchy, as we have said, takes to his next Care to provide for the Maintenance of this new Degree and Order, which was obtained without great Difficulty both of Prince and People, under Pretext of Piety, but with bad Success, as by the woful Experience of following Times we have found.

These new Bishop prelates having pretty well settled their own Condition for Maintenance which, although it did exceed much the Allowance of former Ages to Churchmen, yet it was very moderate in regard of the following Times. Next, they obtained great Lands and Revenues from Prince and People, for other Presbyters and Ministers, who formerly had been very little burdensome to the People; for by their own Industry and Work of their Hands, did provide for themselves Necessaries for the most Part; by this Means the Prelates tie the other Presbyters and Ministers to them, and secondarily bring in, by little and little Idleness and Slackness in discharging their Calling, from whence are risen all the Evils we have seen since in the Church.

After the Beginning of the fifth Age to wit, 521 Years, in this Island began (the old Saturnalia of Rome, which was first kept in Honour of Saturn, but by the Successors of Julius Cæsar, it was ordained to be kept to the Memory of him, and was called Julia) to be celebrated unto the Honour of Christ's Birth, in the latter End of December. The Occasion was this Arthur, that renowned Prince, wintering at York (whereof he newly had made himself Master) with his Nobles, bethought himself with them, to pass some Days in the dead of Winter in good Chear and Mirth, which was done forthwith, as it is given out, for Devotion to Christ, although, that then true Devotion was very little regarded; for as these Men did exceed the Romans during this Feast in Riot and Licentiousness, so they continued the Feast double the Time that the Ethnick Romans were wont to keep it; for the Romans kept it only five Days, but these kept it ten Days with their new Devotion; yea, those of the richer sort, in Time following, have kept it fifteen Days. Thus was the Beginning of the prophane Idleness and Riot of Christmas, now kept twelve Days with foolish Excess and Riot. As these Christmas Keepers did mistake the Way of honouring Christ's Birth, by this Kind of

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Solemnity, so did they mistake the Time of his Birth; for the most exact Chronologers tell us that Christ was born in October, and not in December.

The Scots retain still the old Name *Julia*, of this preposterous holy Feast; for they call it corruptly *Jul*, although they never kept it of old, not being subject to the Romans.

The French and Italians in this are nothing behind with us; for beside, that they share with us in these *Naturalia*, *Julia*, or *Christmas*, they go beyond us in Riot and Fooleries in their *Bacchanalia*, which they call *Carnaval* or *Mardigras* before Lent, which in old Time was kept to the Honour of *Bacchus*.

But the Corruptions that were brought in our Church from Rome, in the fourth and fifth Age, were nothing to what was brought in in the sixth and seventh Age, for then was Religion turned upside down, and so changed into superstitious Ceremonies and Idolatry authorized by false Miracles, that there was hardly left any Trace of true Religion among Men in those Days. *Palladius* was the first that acquainted us with Rome as we have said, and that brought in Prelacy amongst us, a little after the Beginning of the fourth Age, which he and his Successors by Degrees brought unto a great Height, both in worldly Pomp and Means. (for the Times) by the inconsiderate Debonary of the Prince, and Simplicity of the People, but not without Struggling and Resistance by pious and wise Men, for many Years. It was the Work of Churchmen, let a foot by *Palladius* so till the sixth Age, that is, upon the Matter, two hundred Years to raise themselves to Power, and Authority, and Means, whereunto they came insensibly, so much the rather, because they were sparing for these Days to invert the main Doctrine of the true Religion. The People and Magistrate seeing their Religion remaining in its Main, were without great Difficulty, drawn over to give Way unto the Greatness of the Church men: But when those gallant Fellows had wrought their own Ends, they did shew plainly what was in their Hearts; for then they declared themselves to be Enemies both to God and to Man, by their vitious Lives, contrary to the Laws of God and Man; their false Doctrine, contrary to God's Word; their tyrannical domineering over the People, and withdrawing themselves from due Obedience unto the lawful Magistrate. In a Word, by directly opposing God, abusing Men to their utter Ruin of Soul and Body, and setting up their own Inventions for the Laws of God and Men, they were a bringing this Height of Iniquity to pass, about the Matter of two hundred Years likewise, to wit, the sixth and seventh Age, although the Workers of Iniquity did at last bring their mischievous Design to an End, by the Permission of God irritated against Men for their Sins, who, not adhering unto him, were abandoned so, that they became a Prey unto Satan and his Instruments, to follow all Iniquity: Yet such was the Mercy of God towards Men in those most corrupt Times, that the Devil and his Instruments went not so clearly on with their wicked Business, but they had now and then, from Time to Time Remoraes and Lets in it, by those whom God raised up to bear Witness to his Truth. And in those Days sundry of the Scots Divines were very stout in the keeping of the ancient Tenets and Rites, (which they had received from their first Apostles, Disciples to Saint John, according to the Church of the East) witness the great Struggling they had about the keeping of *Pasche*, or *Easter-day*; for till then the Scots had kept the Day of *Pasche* upon the fourteen Day of the Moon, whatsoever Day of the Week it fell out on; the Romanists called those that kept so this Day *quartadecimani*, and condemned them as Hereticks, and they kept the Day constantly upon the next Sunday following, and not upon a working Day; at last the Scots were constrained to yield in this, as in other Rites, unto Rome. *Culman*, and divers other Scottish Men, did so stoutly oppose the Romanists in the Point of *Easter-day*, and in other Tenets, that they chose, it being given to their Choice, either to submit unto Rome, or to quit the Settlings they had in the North of England, rather to lose their Benefices than to yield. So standing fast to the Customs of the Scots Church, wherein they had been born and bred, they returned home to Scotland.

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About the End of the seventh Age, Men from Scotland given to Ambition and Avarice went frequently to Rome for Preferment in the Church; and seeing it lay much about that way then they did their best to advance the Design of the Romish Party, wherein all the Skill of worldly Men was employed both in Rome, and among the Scots of that Party. many Men went to and fro. between Rome and Scotland, to bring the Scots to a full Obedience unto Rome, and Conformity, by Name there was one Boniface sent from Rome to Scotland, a main Agent for Rome in these Affairs; but he was opposed openly by several of the Scots Cuidces, or Divines, namely, by Clemens and Simon who told him freely, That he, and those of his Party, studied to bring Men to the subjection of the Pope, and Slavery of Rome, withdrawing them from Obedience to Christ; and so in plain Terms they reproached to him, and to his Assistants That they were Corrupters of Christ's Doctrine, establishing a Sovereignty in the Bishop of Rome, as the only Successor of the Apostles, excluding other Bishops; That they used and commanded clerical Tonsure: That they forbade Priests Marriage extolling Celibacy, That they caused Prayers to be made for the dead, and erected Images in the Churches; To be short, That they had introduced in the Church many Teneis, Rites, and Ceremonies, unknown to the ancient and pure Times, yea, contrary to them For the which, and the like, the said Clemens, and those that were constant to the Truth with him were excommunicated at Rome as Hereticks, as you have in the third Volume of the Concels, although the true Reasons of their Excommunication be not there set down

In the eighth Age the poor People were so blindly enslaved, and intoxicated with the Cup of Rome that they thought it a truly holy Martyrdome to suffer for the Interest of Rome; yet, although most Men had left God to worship the Beast, in those Days God raised up sundry great Lights in our Church, as Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus his Disciple, John Scot, and Claudius Clemens. In this we shall remark the constant Goodness of God towards his People, who made his Light shine in some Measure through the greatest and thickest Darkeness, by raising up these Men, who did bear Witnes to the Truth both by Word and Writing; so that God did not altogether leave off his People. The Bishop of Rome caused to declare Alcuin (for his Book of the Eucharist) many Years after his Death an Heretick. So Rome persecutes the Saints of God, even after their Death

In the ninth Age both Prince and People, by doleful Experience, did find the Idleness, Pride, Ambition, Avarice, and Riot of Church men, occasioned by the Indulgence of Prince and People; wherefore, at Scone under King Constantine the II. there was had a Convention of States for reforming the Disorders of the Church. In this Assembly it was ordained, That Church men should reside upon their Charge, have no meddling with Secular Affairs; That they should instruct the People diligently, and be good Examples in their Conversations; That they should not keep Hawks, Hounds, and Horses, for their Pleasure; That they should carry no Weapons, nor be Pleaders of civil Causes, but live contented with their own Provisions; In case of failing in the Observance of these Points, for the first Time they were to pay a pecuniary Multa, or Fine; for the second they were to be deprived from Officio and Beneficio. Thus you see, in these most blind and confused Times, that resolute Princes and People did oppose manifestly the Pope's Omnipotency and high Sovereignty. In the latter Part of the same Age King Gregory was most indulgent to Church-men; he was so far from crubing and keeping them under, that he granted them many Things they had not had before. Then in a Convention of States holden at Forlane, it was ordained, That all Church-men should be free of paying Taxes and Impost; from keeping Watch, and going to Warfare: Item, They should be exempt from all temporal Judicature. Item, All matrimonial Causes were given over to the Judgment of Church men; as also Testaments, legative Actions, and all Things depending upon simple Faith and Promise: Likewise the Right of Tribes, with Liberty to make Laws, Canons and Constitutions; to try without the Assistance of the temporal Judge, Hereticks, Blasphemers, perjured Persons, Magicians, &c. Lastly, It was ordained, That all Kings following, at their Coronation, should swear to maintain Church-men in these their Liberties and Privileges.

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In these Days lived a learned Man, called John Scot, surnamed *Erigena*, because he was born in the Town of *Air*; he published a Treatise, *De corpore & sanguine Domini in sacramento*, wherein he maintained the Opinion and Doctrine of *Bertram*, whereby he offended highly the See of *Rome*.

In the tenth Age Things grew worse and worse. The Church men did so blind the King *Constance the III.* that they perswaded him to quit the Royal Crown, and take the clerical Tonsure of a Monk, which he did at *St. Andrews*. There were some Priests in those Days who did strive to have Liberty to take lawful Wives, but in vain. A little thereafter there were new Disputes for Priests Marriage; one *Bernet*, a Scots Bishop, stood much for that Cause in a National Council. In this Age, although that Avarice and Ambition had corrupted and perverted Religion generally yet there were constantly some godly Men, who, albeit they could not openly stop and oppose the Torrent of these Times given to Idolatry and Superstition, did instruct and teach the People, That Christ was the only Propitiation for Sin; and that Christ's Blood only did wash us from the Guilt of Sin.

In the eleventh Age *Malcolm* gave away a Part of the Crown Lands among his Nobles, for their good Service against the Danes; the Nobles, in Recompence thereof, did grant unto the Crown the Ward of these Lands, with the Benefit that was to arise by the Marriage of the Heir. Until the latter Part of this Age the Bishops of Scotland, although they had raised their Order unto a great Power and Riches; yet they were not distinguished in Diocesses, so till then indifferently, wheresoever they came, they did minister their Function, without lording over one particular Place, or calling themselves Lords of any Place. The Diocesses wherein Scotland was divided at first, were these, *St. Andrews*, *Glasgow*, *Murray*, *Caithness*, *Murthlac*, or *Aberdeen*. The Bishops of *Rome* taking upon them in these Days to be above Kings, and to confer in Matters of Honour upon Kings, how, and where they pleased; and so by this Means to put a farther Tie of Vassalage and Subjection upon Princes. To this Effect, in the Year 1098 ordained King *Eduar* to be anointed with external Oil by the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, a Rite which till that Day, had not been in Use among our Kings; yet they were as much the Anointed of the Lord before as they have been since, and as any other Princes, who before them had this external anointing from the See of *Rome*, although the Romish Writers do make a greater Esteem of these Kings anointed by them than of others, because they conceive them to be more their own. Here note by the Way, That all Princes whatsoever in Scripture-Language, are said to be the Anointed of the Lord; and so *Cyrus* was named, although he was never anointed with external Oil. Next, although the first Kings of *Israel* were anointed, as *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon*, with some of the following Kings, namely, where there was any Opposition feared of settling them in the Royal Throne, for further Confirmation were anointed. Read diligently the History of the Kings, and you shall not find that each one, or every one of them was anointed externally, although they were all the Anointed of the Lord. Next, you shall note, That the Oil wherewith *Samuel* anointed *Saul* and *David* (and so the Oil wherewith other Kings were anointed) was not an Oil consecrated, as that wherewith the High-priest, &c. was anointed, but common Oil.

The Reason of the Scripture phrase, whereby all Princes are said to be anointed, is this, Anointing in first and most ancient Times was a Sign of setting a part of a Man for the Office of a King. Hence, by Progress of Time, any Man that was set aside by God's Providence to execute the Office of a King, whether he came thereunto by Succession, or by Choice, or by Conquest, was called the Anointed of the Lord, because they had the Thing signified by God's Appointment, notwithstanding they wanted the Sign, to wit, the Ointment.

Further we shall here observe, That not only those whom God hath set aside to be Kings, be called the Anointed of the Lord; but also the People whom he hath set aside or a part, for a peculiar End: So the Prophet, speaking of the People of *Israel* in God's Name, useth this Expression, Touch not mine Anointed; For their Sake I have reprov'd Kings,

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Moreover note. That as the People set aside by God are said to be his Anointed, so they are also called, A Royal Priesthood, Kings and Priests. Not that every one of the People is a King or a Priest, these being particular Callings, no more than they were anointed; but because they are set aside by God as Priests, to offer daily unto him the Sacrifice of Righteousness, &c. And as Kings were anointed with Oil, to signify their setting aside for their peculiar Office, so every one of us, being anointed in Baptism by the Holy Spirit, is set aside to do Justice, &c. as a King, in our several Station.

Thus much have I, in few Words, spoken of Kings anointing, and how the People are said to be anointed, or to be Priests and Kings, because in the Beginning of the fifteenth Age sundry were condemned as Hereticks, for saying, That every Man is a Priest in some kind; and that the anointing of Kings is now needless, being an Invention of Rome, to subject Princes unto it.

Some Years after the Beginning of the twelfth Age, King David, beside the Bishopricks formerly erected, did erect the Bishoprick of Ross, Eichen, Dunkel, and Dumblain. This debonaire Prince was so profuse towards Church men, that he gave them a good Part of the ancient Patrimony of the Crown: So he and his Successors were necessitate to lay Taxes and Imposts upon the People more than formerly to the Harm of the Common wealth. In this also he wronged the Church; for the Clergy being rich and powerful, left their Function, and gave themselves over to all Riot and Idleness, till Riches made Church men lazy. this Distinction in discharging the Duty of a Pastor, or of the Souls per se. aut per alium, was unknown. While Riches did not so abound in the Church, Church men kept more Conscience in the discharging of their Places.

In this twelfth Age, the Scots, although they had Bishops ever since Palladius, who for a long Time did discharge the Function indifferently in every Place where they came to. And although they had of latter Times distinguished the Limits of the Bounds, wherein they were to execute their Calling by Diocesses; yet in that Age, I say, they were not come to that Height to have Primates, Metropolitans, and Arch bishops. Wherefore their Neighbour, the Arch bishop of York, having gained the Consent of the Pope, besirred himself very earnestly, by the Assistance of his King, to have the Scottish Bishops acknowledge him for their Metropolitan whereunto the stoutest of the Scottish Clergy would not consent, but they would depend immediately upon the Pope; and to this Effect Legates were sent from Rome to Scotland, who being come hither, and seeing the Resolution of the Scottish Bishops not to submit to the Arch bishop of York, and finding their own Benefit thereby, they did exempt and free the Scots Clergy from the Trouble of the Arch bishop of York. There was one Gilbert Bishop of Caithness, a great Struggler for this Business.

About the latter End of this Age sundry Priests were put from their Office, because they had taken Orders upon Sunday. In that Time there was a Synod in Perth of Divines, such as they were, who decreed, That Sunday should be kept holy from all Work, from Saturday at Mid day, or Twelve of the Clock, till Monday Morning.

In the thirteenth Age, few Years after the Beginning thereof, divers kinds of Monks came into Scotland, formerly unknown to the Land, as Dominicans, Franciscans, Jacobins, and sundry other of that Sort of Locusts. In this Age these Vermine of Monks did so multiply every where, that at a Council at Lyons it was decreed, That no more new Orders of Monks should be admitted or tolerated. But how the Decree hath been kept, we see in our Days.

Next, the Monks of several Kinds gave themselves so to begging, that the People were much eaten up by them, and the Poor his Portion was withdrawn, which occasioned great Murmur among the Commons. Upon this there was a Decree made then, That only the Minorities, Predicants, Carmelites and Hermits of St. Augustine, should have Liberty to beg; whence they are called, The four Mendicants, Les quatre Mendicants.

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Towards the End of this thirteenth Age fell out that great Desolation of the State of Scotland, occasioned by the Controversy for the Succession of the Crown betwixt Balliol and Bruce, Balliol being constrained by the States of Scotland to break the Promise he had made to Edward of England, to subject the Crown of Scotland unto him, for judging the Cause on his Side. After much Trouble and Misery of War the State of Scotland receives Robert Bruce, come of the second Branch, for King, recalling all the Subjection and Allegiance they had given to Balliol, because of his Unworthiness to reign; who, beside Unfitness to bear Rule over a military People, had basely condescended to enslave that Nation, to whom their Liberty hath been so dear to this Day, that for it, and the Purity of true Religion, which both, by God's Mercy they now enjoy, they have willingly and chearfully undergone all Hazard of Life and Means, judging, That if they suffered these two Twins, Liberty and Religion, either to be infringed, or taken from them, they had nothing left them whereby they might be called Men.

The remarkable History of King James the I. of Scotland fitteth this Purpose very well. The Passage is this. King James the I. going into France, was taken by the English, and kept Prisoner by them for many Years. In that Time the King of England goes to France, to make War, and at his Arrival there, he finds an Army of Scots ready to fight for the Alley of Scotland, the French King against the English. Upon this the King of England moves King James, whom he had taken along with him to write unto the Scots, and to charge them, upon their Allegiance, not to draw their Sword against the Party where he their King was in Person. The Scots answered, That they were sent into France to assist their Allies against the common Enemy. As for him who wrote unto them, since he was a Prisoner, and not a free Man, they neither owed him Allegiance, nor would they give him any, so long as he was in Prison; but if he were set at Liberty, and were living among them, they would obey him according the Laws of the Country, since the Crown was settled upon him by the Consent of the States, and so they did; for these Kingdoms were governed in his Name, without any Communication with him, during the Time of his Imprisonment, which was very long; but when he went home, he was received and obeyed as King. From this, Princes may learn that although People did submit themselves to their Government, the Resignation is not so full as to divest themselves of all Power in such a Way, that the Prince may dispose of them as he thinks right or wrong, he ordinarily being misled and kept captive by those that are about him, who, for the most Part, have no Regard to publick Good, nor to the Credit and Esteem of him, to whom in Show they profess themselves so addicted. The People have constantly reserved even unto themselves, by the Consent of all Men, yea, of the greatest Court parasites and Sycophants of Princes, that the Prince cannot, nor ought not to enslave or subject the People to any foreign Power; and where Princes, by Pusillanimity and ill Counsel have essayed or attempted such a Thing, they have smarted for it; witness Balliol, who not only was excluded himself from the Crown, but also his Posterity; and it was settled upon the next Branch to wit, Robert Bruce, with his Descendents, where it continues to this Day by God's Providence. Then, since the People have reserved this Power in themselves to stop the Prince, to put them under any foreign Yoke or Slavery, is it possible that they have not reserved a Power to right themselves from domestick and intestine Slavery and Misery, Slavery being ever one and the same? For what is it to me by whom I suffer Evil of one and the same Kind and Degree, whether it be by a Neighbour, or a Stranger, a Foreigner, or a Con citizen? Yea, when I suffer by him who should be my Friend, and stand for the same Freedom with me, my Suffering is the greater.

To this Purpose you have a memorable Passage of William the Norman, who, although he had invaded England with the Sword, and by it had defeated him who did oppose him for the Crown, with all his Adherents and Party, and in consequence of this Victory had committed many Outrages with a strong Hand; yet the same William could never assure himself nor his Posterity of the Allegiance of the People, till he had sworn solemnly (according to the Rite of the Times) for himself and his, to go-

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vern according to the good and approved Laws of the Land, as the best of Kings before him had done.

Then the County of Kent, in its own Name, and in the Name of the whole Kingdom, declared, That neither Kent, nor any other of the Kingdom was conquered, but in a peaceable Way did submit to William the Norman, upon Condition and with Proviso, That all their Liberties, and free Customs in Use and Practice, should be kept. If this was not accomplished afterwards, it was Silliness of the People that suffered themselves to be abused, and the Fault of misled Princes, that did not keep their Promise whereunto they were tied; and sundry, for the Breach of this Promise, have had Occasion to repent, when it hath been too late.

We shall add one Example more, which is of Henry the VIII. who, anno 1525, the seventeenth Year of his Reign, by the Advice of his Council, put a Tax upon the People, which the People did not only refuse to pay, but declared, That the Thing was unjust and unlawful. Withal, wherever they met those whom the King had employed for the gathering the Money, they used them so kindly, that they did never come twice to one Place for the Payment of the Tax. The King seeing this, he disclaims the Imposition of the Tax, and so the Nobles that convened at London, by his Command for that Purpose, and lays all the Fault upon ill Counsel, namely, upon Wolsey. This was Henry constrained to do, notwithstanding his Resoluteness against all foreign Enemy, chiefly the Pope with his Shavelings. By this Instance Henry acknowledged his Power to be limited, and nowise arbitrary, against the Doctrine of our new Court parasites.

Now, if the People have this much Power in them, as to stand for their temporal Liberty, both against foreign and domestick Slavery, far more may they, and ought they to defend the spiritual Freedom, which Christ, having purchased with his Blood hath left them, as Members of his Church. But all this Defence of Liberty and Religion ought to be made so, that it be without By ends, sinister Respects of Harred, Malice, Ambition, &c. The only Scope and main Drift being, to have God's Glory, in the Light of his Gospel, settled and maintained, the People at quiet, the Prince obeyed in God and for God, (i. e.) according to the Law of God, Nature, Nations, and the Country, or Kingdom, so far as possible can be. This being lookt to carefully, there is no Gap opened to Rebellion; which is a fighting against God's Ordinance, and not the just and necessary opposing of the Abuse and corrupting of the good Ordinance of God.

But here a Court-slave will say, If Things be so, there is no Absoluteness in Monarchs and Princes.

To answer this, we must know what is to be meant by absolute, or Absoluteness; whereof I find two main Significations. First, Absolute signifieth perfect, and Absoluteness Perfection: Hence we have in Latin this Expression, Perfectum est omnibus, numeris absolutum. And in our vulgar Language we say, A Thing is absolutely good, when it is perfectly good. Next, Absolute signifieth free from Tie or Bond; which in Greek is ἀπολυμένη. Now, say I, if you take absolute for perfect, that Prince or Magistrate is most absolute that is most perfect, who governs most absolutely, or most perfectly. The Absoluteness, or Perfection of Government consists in its Conformity to the perfect Rule, which is written in the Law of God, printed in the Heart of Man, received generally of all wise People, and in Practice by all particular well-polished Common wealths. Next, I say, if you take absolute for free from Tie or Bond, that no Prince nor Magistrate is free; for every Magistrate or Prince, as well as the private Man, is bound to keep the Law of God, of Nature, &c. not only in particular Things, for his own singular Carriage, but also in publick Businesses, for the Good and Society of Men, or of the People: For God hath given his Law, and Nature her Dictates to all, to the Observance of which all Men are tied. Yea, farther, they are not only bound in their several Conditions, and tied to the Performance thereof in their own Persons but also are bound to further it with all their Might, and take away all Things that may let and stop this Performance, or deter and withdraw Men from it. Read Lev. xx. 17 where every Man is commanded to rebuke his Neighbour, and stop him from sinning. Read Deut. xvii. 19, 20. where the King is commanded to have continually the Copy of the Law before him for his Rule and Guide. What is in 1 Sam. viii. 10.

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is what a King is likely to do, and not what he ought or should do. This is clear; for in the place now named, in Deuteronomy, the King is told what he ought to do; but that he is said to do in Samuel, is contrary to the Ordinance of God. Consider the Places, and you will easily see this Truth. Next, a Prince is said to be absolute, that is not in any Kind subaltern to another, and whose Subjects acknowledge (under God) no other but him. Hence you may see, That the Popish Kings and Princes are not absolute; for beside the great Number of People within their Dominions, who are immediate sworn Vassals to the Pope, I mean, the Shewlings. The Prince himself takes Oath at his Reception, to uphold the over ruling Government of the Pope, under the masked Name of Spirituality; and the simple abused Prince shall have for a Reward, to make up all, a little holy Oil to anoint him, and bear the Title of most Christian or Catholick Princes. Farther, I say, that the Prince who, although in some Things have cast off the Yoke of this god upon Earth, (for so is the Pope now and then called) but keeps up a Part of his Tyranny in the Church of God over his People, wants and loses so much of his Absoluteness, for this Tie upon him from a sovereign Prince, the Pope. But here the Pope sheweth the Height of his Cunning, for he seeing that Princes are told frequently that they are either absolute or ought to be such, bethinks himself to keep up his super eminency above Princes, as his Vassals, and yet make the Princes find an Absoluteness which he acts by his Emssaries and their inferior Instruments for their own private Ends whom he makes incuicate in the Ears of Princes that their Absoluteness consisteth in doing with the Life, Liberty, and Fortunes of the People, as seems good in their Eyes, without any Regard to the Good of human Society which is the true End of all Government, but with this Proviso, That those who have Relation to him immediately, be exempted; and those are not only his Shewlings, who are openly obedient to his Commands and Orders, &c. but also those yea in Kingdoms where his Name is in a Kind rejected, who keep up his tyrannical Laws and Ordinances, as we have felt of late, namely in these Dominions wherein we live, to our woful Experience; for they to uphold and encrease their Power, have cast both Prince and People into great Troubles, making the Prince believe, that without them he hath no Being.

But to shew thee that Princes may use the People committed to their Charge like Beasts, and yet nevertheless are not absolute, cast thy Eyes in the neighbour Countreies, only upon the Duke of Savoy, and the Duke of Florence, who although they be Sovereigns in a kind over the People and deal most hardly with them, taking their Lives and Fortunes away at their Pleasure, yet they are not acknowledged to be absolute Princes; for they are Vassals of the Empire, and their chief Titles are to be Officers thereof, so the Duke of Savoy is qualified Vicar of the Empire, &c.

If you consider the Prince, and People committed to his Charge, as having Relation one to another, I say, they are both bound one to another by Duty; the Prince first bound to rule and govern according to the Law of God, of Nature, of Nations and municipal Laws of the Country, and the People is bound to obey him accordingly: But if the Prince command any Thing against these, his Commands are not to be obeyed, God being only he to whose Commands Obedience is simply due, and to be given; but to Men only Obedience with Limitation, and in external Things, according to the Laws so oft above named, at the least not against them or opposite to them. The Chimera or rather Solecisme in Reason of passive Obedience, is not to be thought on among rational Men, it being the Invention of Court-parasites a mere Nothing, or non ens; for Obedience consisteth in Action, as all other Vertues do, and not in Suffering. Farther, whosoever, for not obeying a wicked Command of a Superiour, suffereth if he can stop it, or shun it, is an Enemy to his own Being wherein he offends against Nature; for you see every natural Thing striveth to conserve itself against what annoyeth it; then he sins against the Order of God, who in vain hath ordained us so many lawful Means for the Preservation of our Being if we suffer it to be destroyed having Power to help it. But then it will be demanded, What is there no Absoluteness in humane Authority? I answer, Simple Absoluteness there is none under God; for all humane Authority is limited by the Laws aforesaid, and extends no farther than external Things; yet comparatively humane Authority is said to be absolute, when it is free from any foreign

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superiour Power. So when Henry the VIII. having cast off the Romish Yoke, and putting down the Vassallage of these his Dominions unto the Pope, caused divers Books to be written of the absolute Empire or Authority of the Prince; although after the freeing himself from the Pope, he had not, nor did not pretend to have any more absolute Power over the People, than he had before; but albeit this Prince did much for the regaining the absolute Authority to the Crown again, in chasing away the Romish Pontiff, yet he did it not fully, in so far as he kept still the Romish Rites and the Hierarchy or Prelacy, wherein the Romish Fox lurking, hath kept himself in these Countries unto this Day; and now having acted the Fox long enough he is acting the Wolf, by destroying the People of God. If the Successors of King Henry had not kept in the Romish superstitious Rites and Hierarchy, they, and we all had had better Times, than we have all tasted of. Although King Henry, for his Vices, be blame worthy to all Posterity, yet I must say, in all humane Appearance, that if the Prelate-bishops, to whom he trusted the reforming of the Abuses of the Church, had been as forward as he was willing, there had been a better Reformation than was in his Time; witness this Instance, The People desired Freedom to read the Scripture, the then Bishops refused this unto the People. Whereupon the King was petitioned in Name of the People, the King grants their Petition; the Bishops hearing of the King's Grant thus limit it, not daring to deny it flatly. That all Gentlemen should have Liberty to read the Scripture, since it was the King's Pleasure; but for others, the Permission was stopt; as if Yeomen and Tradesmen had not as much Interest in God's Word, as Gentlemen. Then remark, all those that were put to Death for the Testimony of the Truth in Henry the VIII. his Days, were persecuted by the Bishops of the Time, although the Blame lieth upon the Prince; for albeit they had in Compliance to the King, renounced the Pope by Word of Mouth, yet in Effect they kept up his Tyranny, by his Doctrine, (with small Alteration changed) his Rites and Ceremonies Canons and Laws Prelacy or Hierarchy maintained. And seeing the King so opposite to the Pope they condescended, that the King should bear the blasphemous Title of the Pope, Head of the Church, although with Reluctancy; and so it proved; for, notwithstanding all the Statutes that were made in favour of this Title taken from the Pope and attributed to the King the Bishops, with cunning and subtle Proceedings, kept a Foot the Power of the Pope; and so soon as they saw the Occasion of Queen Mary her Reign, they freely and easily brought all back again to Rome without Mask or Limitation: And ever since their Successors although by the Course of Affairs (they) have been obliged to disclaim the Pope his Authority, yea, and his Doctrine in some Measure; yet they, ever since, to this Day, have expressed their Inclinations, and done their Endeavours to return thither again, as we all know by doleful Experience. But here it may be demanded, What Drift or Policy can it be in the Bishops, to desire to be subject to Rome, rather than to their Prince, and Laws of the Country? The Answer is, The Propensity of us all to follow Evil rather than Good, is known, namely When the Evil hath the Mask of worldly Dignity, Pomp Power, and Leisure, which hinders it to be seen in its own Colours. Now the Bishops, and all the Rabble of that corrupt Clergy, are given to temporal, howsoever unlawful Advantages, as their Ambition, Avarice, and Lust, from the very Beginning hath shewn; which exorbitant Passions lead Men headlong, without Measure, when once Way is given unto them, unless they meet with some Lett or Stop, which is both lesser and slower when it is as far off namely, when it cometh from one who is possessed with the same Distempers, and himself of the same Order of Men with the Delinquent; and so the Bishops of this Island, had rather have to do with the Pope than with the Prince.

First, Because of mutual Infirmity the Pope proveth more indulgent than any Prince.

Next, The Prince is too near them, and so it is best for them to be so free of the Prince his Jurisdiction, that they may be able not only to neglect him, but also to oppose him. For all, let that Example of the Cantebury Prelate serve who made the King for the Time to hold the Stirrup when he gat up upon his Horse. The Story is known.

I called a little before the Title of Head of the Church, used by the Pope, and then given to Henry, blasphemous. To lay aside all other Things that may be alledged against

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against this Title, I shall only say this, the Church is the Spouse of Christ; no Spouse can be said to have any other Head but him whose Spouse she is. Now, if the Church should acknowledge herself to be the Spouse of any other but of Christ, she were a professed Whore and Adulteress: By no Means then a Prince is to be called, The Head of the Church; for although the Civil Magistrate is obliged, according to his Rank and Place, to see the Ministers of the Church do the Work of the Lord truly, diligently, and carefully, and to make them do it according to the Will of God declared in his Word, yet for all this, he is nothing but a Servant, Overseer, or Graff, and not the Head, which is a Title belonging only to Christ: Wherefore, Princes or Magistrates that by flattery Flatterers had this Title given unto them at the first, had done well to reject it as their Successors, who have followed, had done well likewise, (according to God his Will) if they had not suffered this Title to have been continued unto them, namely in the publick Prayers, where the Time serving inconsiderate Minister prayeth, in the Name of the Church, for her Head; if the Head of the Church need to be prayed for, then the Influences of the Head upon the Church will be but poor and weak, &c. But of this enough for this Place.

Moreover, the flattering Preachers unrequired in the publick Prayers in the Name of the Church call the Prince forsooth. The Breath of our Nobles, taking for his Ground the Words of Jeremy, in his Lamentations, Chap. iv. ver. 20. which Words, by the Current of the Ancients, and Septuagint, are to be understood of Christ Jesus. True it is, the Rabbins have interpreted the Words of one of the Kings of Judah, to wit, Jehoiachin or Zedekias; and hence some of the later Expositors have explained these Words, That first and literally they may be applied to one of the Kings of Judah, who were all Figures of Christ to come, but principally and mainly the Words are to be understood of Jesus Christ, by the Consent of all; so to attribute these Words to any Prince earthly, cannot be without Offence to Christ; for who can be said properly and well, to be the Breath of our Nobles, but he who inspirith into us Life, that is God. In like Manner the inconsiderate Ministers of the Gospel, abusing the Text of the eightieth Psalm, which, by the Consent of all, is understood of Christ truly, and of David as a Figure of Christ to come call the King, The Man of thy right Hand; this in nowise, without Blasphemy, can be attributed unto any earthly Prince. for none is said to be a Figure of Christ as David and his Successors were by a particular Dispensation. But if misapplying and mistaking of Texts of Scripture will do Business since Magistrates are to be said gods, you may as well call the Prince God as the Roman Emperor was of old by some so called, and now the Pope by his Court parasites; which Title of God no Prince will suffer to be given unto him: Surely as it is a very great Crime not to give due Respect, Reverence and Obedience unto him whom God hath set over us for our Good, according to his wise Ordinance; so, on the other Side, it is a huge Sin to idolize the Prince, making him a god when he is but a weak and infirm Man, Servant of God. This second Fault is committed chiefly by the Sycophants and Parasites who have no other Church nor Chapple, but the Court and make Petition to none, but to the King, whom, to please they wholly study, that they may catch somewhat to satisfy their inordinate Desires. And the first is committed, namely, by their prelatical Clergy, who withdraw from the Prince a great part of his Due, when they study to exempt themselves from his Obedience, and take from him any Inspection upon them namely, concerning the Discharge of their Calling altho' by God's Ordinance it be a main part of his Office, to see God served and worshipped; according to his Will revealed in his sacred Word.

We have a little above seen how that by the Flattery of some Court preachers the Custom is brought into the Church, to give unto the Prince, not only swelling but blasphemous Titles in the publick Prayer that is made by the Minister in the Name of the Church: But although this be too great an Evil, and requireth Reformation yet the Flattery of some Preachers hath not stayed here; for they, according to their Custom, having added themselves to any one whom they conceive may help them to Preferment, stick not in the least where all Relation should be laid aside, save that of a Minister of God's Word, to publish themselves, yea in their Prayers, to be Varlets to this Man

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or that Man; and what is worse yet in the Prayer they call their Masters and Lords vertuous, pious and religious. when it is known to all that, for the most part, they have little Vertue, less Piety, and no Religion at all. To have pointed at these Things shall suffice for this Place. If any Man will be contentious for these Practices, I answer him, that the well-reformed Churches have no such Customs; for among the other Abuses, whereof they have been purged, by the Care and Diligence of the faithful Vine-dressers, under God's Blessing, they have been pruned of this rotten Bud of slavish Flattery, as a Corruption much opposite and contrary to the Dignity and Power of the Gospel. But let us return, after this long Digression.

In these Days (that is, in the thirteenth Age) lived Michael Scot, renowned for his Learning in Physick, Astronomy, &c. He is remembred by Picus Mirandula, and Cornelius Agrippa, very honourably. Also then lived Thomas Lermouth, commonly called, The Rythmer; whose Predictions are extant to this Day: But no wise Man can make any Thing of them more than of Merlin his Prophecies, who lived long before him, although sundry have pleased their Fancies with idle Expositions of these two Mens Dreams.

Towards the End of this thirteenth Age, the good Roman Pontif Boniface the VIII; making Use of the heavy Moans and Complaints that some of Scotland, namely, of the Bishops and other Clergy-men, with their Clients, made against King Edward of England, who then did cruelly afflict the Country, claims a Right unto the Crown of Scotland, as resigned unto him by the States; and upon this he writes an insulting Letter, and full of Threatnings, unto Edward, that he was so malapert as to do any Wrong to his Vassals and Subjects; where he had none truly save the Bishops and Shavelings, with their Clients. Whether the Clergy did make this Offer of Subjection unto the Pope, or whether he did falsly invent this Lie, we cannot tell, but it is betwixt the Pope and his shaven Creatures; such Master, such Men. Let this teach us how the Popes are and have been, and will be ever constantly, ready watching at all Occasions, to draw all Things to their Cross. But this owning of the Scots by the Pope for his peculiar People, did not last long: for in a very short Time thereafter notwithstanding the great Ignorance of these Days the Scots shewed themselves Refractories to his holy Orders; and he, in Revenge, did thunder the Firebolts of his Excommunication against these rude Fellows, putting them to the Interdict, all to small Purpose; for by these Bolts they were but very little dashed.

We have heard how that in former Times the Church of Scotland was served by Culdees and they ruled by their Presbyteries or Elders, having a Moderator, or Prefect of themselves and of their own chusing; this was for many Years. When Palladius brought in Prelacy, a new holy Order, into the Church of Scotland, unknown to the preceeding Ages, it was with this Restraint That Bishops should be chosen by the Culdees, and of them: But when Bishops had once gotten certain Diocesses and Limits allotted unto them, they set up a new Presbytery of their own, or Council of Canons or Regulars, which they called Chapters, by whom they intended to be chosen in following Times. The Culdees seeing this, did oppose it with their main Strength, namely, under King David, who did take up the Business thus, (being carried away by the Prelates) that so many of the Culdees as would be Canons, should have Hand in the chusing of the Bishops. But the Bishops, to elude this Ordinance of the Prince, obtained a Mandate from the Pope, That no Culdee should be received in the Convent of Canons, but by the Consent of the Prior, and most Part of the Canons. By these Means the Culdees were kept out, and deprived of their Voice in chusing of the Bishop. In the Time of the Troubles of Baliol and Bruce, one William Cuming, Prefect of the Culdees, thinks it fit for to bestir himself to try what he could regain upon the Canons, and so he opposeth the Election by the Canons of one William Lamberton to the See of St. Andrews. The Business being come to a great Height, by Appeal was drawn to Rome, where, after much Debate pro forma, Time and Moneys employed, the holy Father Boniface the VIII. pronounces Sentence in favour of his dear Clients the Canons; and so Lamberton is made Bishop, and consecrated by the Pope Boniface. This Fact turned so to the Disgrace of the Culdees, that after that Time we read no more of them; so the Name and Order by little and little came to be quite extinguished, about the Beginning of the thirteenth Age.

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In the Beginning of the fourteenth Age, the Order of the Templers was put down whether for their just Demerits, or for private Ends and Hatred, we leave it to the Histories of these Times; Pope Clement the V. by his Bull did cashier them, the Bull beginning thus. Quarquam de jure non possumus, tamen pro plenitudine potestatis dictum ordinem reprobamus. &c. After which all Christian Princes did cause them to be apprehended in their several Dominions, and put them from their Estates which was then given to Hospitallers and Knights of St. John, after they had stood about two hundred Years, instituted by Baldoin King of Jerusalem, for Defence of that City and Temple, and the safe conveying of all such as did travel thither: They are also called Red-coats, because their Gowns were red. In this fourteenth Age did flourish the great scholastick Johannes, called Scotus, from this Nation. and Duns from the Place of their Birth; for he was born in the Town of Duns in the Mers: He was a great Opposer of Thomas of Aquin his Doctrine. His Sectaries were called Scotists; his Epitaph was thus:

*Scotia me genuit, Anglia suscepit,
Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet.*

In the Beginning of the fifteenth Age there was a great Schism in the Romish Church, Pope against Pope; yea, sometimes there were three Popes at one Time fighting one against another, and excommunicating one another; this Schism lasted about thirty Years. and by the Council of Constance Martin the V. was made Pope and the rest defeated. There was one John Fogo, a Monk of Melros, who in Scotland defended the Election of Martin by the Council against Benedict, alias Peter de Lune.

During this fore-named Schism, many (taking Occasion of the Openness of the Times) began boldly and freely to speak against the bad Doctrine, Government and Lives of the Church men, and that not only in private Discourse, but they also preached it publicly, as John Wickliffe in England, John Hus and Jerome of Prague in Bohemia, who spoke before the People freely of the Tyranny of the Government of the Clergy, the Corruption of their Doctrine, and Wickedness of their Lives. In those Days also there were some in Scotland, who feared not to make known to the People the Truth of God, as namely James Relby and Paul Craw, (among others) who suffered Martyrdom for the Truth. About this Time the Carthusians were brought from England into Scotland, and had built unto them a Monastery at Perth. In this Age the University of St. Andrew was set up, chiefly by the Means of Henry Wardlaw Bishop of that Place, that in some Kind the Schools of Learning might not be altogether wanting, which formerly had flourished for so long a Time among the Culdees, and of latter Years quite decayed; this Good did Wardlaw. As his Predecessor William Trail had built the Castle of the same City, so his Successor James Kennedy built the old College likewise, called St. Salvador his College. Patrick Graham, that came after him, was the Man that brought into Scotland the Title of Primate, Metropolitan, and Archbishop, by Bull of Sixtus quartus. From the first preaching of the Gospel till Palladius, the Church of Scotland was happy without Bishops. From Palladius to King Malcome his Days the Bishops had no distinct Diocesses, or Parishes from King Malcome; till Patrick Graham they were without Archbishops; this Title, and higher Rank of Authority did not succeed well with Graham; for the other Bishops could suffer no Superior under the Pope, namely so near them, hitherto having rejected all the Pretensions of the Archbishop of York. The inferior Clergy also were afraid of the Increase of the Authority of the Man whom they conceived austere and rigid; and so by the Faction of the corrupt Court and disordered Clergy, poor Graham lost the Title he had procured, with the Benefice, and one St. evez got his Spoil; and what a sweet Bird Shevez was, the Stories of that Time do sufficiently manifest.

Robert Blacater seeing the Bishop of St. Andrews now a Metropolitan and Archbishop, obtains from Alexander the VI. a Bull, whereby he is made Archbishop also, and he had under him the Bishops of Galloway, Argyle and Isles; which new Dignity angered the Archbishop of St. Andrews, above the Loss of his Vassals; for to have a Companion in equal Dignity set up beside him, was hard; but he must digest the Pill, since the Pope will have it so.

Lastly, David Beaton brought in the Title of Cardinal into Scotland, who hath been the only Man that hath born that Title in this Country, and how it did speed with him, the following History will tell you.

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As in the Beginning of the fifteenth Age the Schism from the Papacy opened through Christendom many Mens Mouths, and busied their Pens to set forth the Corruption of the Church and the Vices of the Clergy; even so in the Beginning of the sixteenth Age, those that fought for the Bishoprick of St. Andrews, by their Dissention gave Occasion to many in Scotland to speak in publick and private of the Corruption of Clergy mens Lives, Government and Doctrine in Scotland; which coming to the Pope's Ears, presently he sent unto the King, James the IV. a Sword, with the Title of Protector of the Faith; as if all Christian Princes were not in Duty bound to protect the Faith in Christ; but the Faith which the Pope would have the King to protect, was his erroneous Doctrine, and tyrannical Authority.

Some few Years after this Henry the VIII. was declared by the Pope Defender of the Faith, and had the Sword likewise. James the IV. of Scotland being dead, now by the corrupt Courtiers the young inconsiderate King James was made believe, that the conferring of this new Title by the Pope, did bring unto him a great Pre eminence; yea. the Court Sycophants did not stick to call it, A new Royalty, when in Effect it was nothing else but a new Note of his Vassallage to Rome; and by the accepting of the Sword, he did engage himself to make War for Rome; and so he did indeed; for sundry Men, after this, during his short Reign, were persecuted, and suffered Death for the Truth of Christ. This is the second remarkable Badge of Slavery put upon our Princes by the Pope; the former was their anointing by him, as we have seen before.

Here be pleased with me to remark, That of all the Bishops of Scotland before the Reformation, namely, since they were made Lords of certain Places, and had particular Diocesses, you cannot find one who had any Care of the true Charge of Pastor; for their whole Study was to raise their Power, and to encrease their Means for the upholding of their Power: And, to effectuate this more easily and fully, they kept both Prince and People in dark Ignorance of God's Will and Word. But because they must seem to do somewhat for the Name-sake of Bishops, they caused to build Walls of Temples and Chaples, set up Images and Pictures richly dressed, to content the Eyes, and brought into the Church Instruments of Musick, and artificial singing with great Skill, to content the Ear; also they brought in sweet Perfume, and Incense for the Smell; so the most subtle Senses were thus satisfied. And, to make a Shew to keep under the Senses which are more gross, there must be some Kind of Fasting enjoined to the People, and Chastness to the Church men. But how, and to what Purpose these two last have been kept, all Men know. But kept or not, all is one, all these Ordinances which the Bishops set up for Religion, have been discovered by God's Mercy, to be not only without Warrant in God's Word, but plainly contrary to the same. Of all the Bishops of Scotland in Time of Reformation, there was only one or two who embraced the Truth, all the rest were either professed Persecuters of God's Children, and open Enemies of the Truth or else they were given altogether so to satisfy their Bellies and Lusts, that they had no Care of Religion; witness George Crichton (in the Name of all the rest) Bishop of Dunkel, who confessed truly, That he had lived a long Time Bishop, and never knew any Thing of the Old or New Testament.

Impiety, Ignorance, and Wickedness came to such a Height among the Church men of all Ranks, Degrees and Professions, that God being, after so long Patience, in a Manner vexed with them, did stir up the People to chase them from the Service of his House, and to put others in their Places, as you will see in this following History, whereunto I refer you. And I shall close up this Discourse with one or two Passages, worthy to be known, whereby you may see the Learning of the Church-doctors in those Days, and how they did employ the Knowledge they had to abuse the poor People. The first Passage is this; One Richard Marshall Prior of the Blackfriars at Newcastle in England, preached in St. Andrews, That the Pater-noster should be said to God only, and not to the Saints. The Doctors of St. Andrews offended at it, made a Gray-frier, called Totis, preach against Marshall his Tenet; which he did thus, (taking his Text out of the Fifth of St. Matthew, Blessed are the Poor in Spirit) Seeing we say, Good Day, Father, to any old Man in the Street, we may call a Saint, Pater, who is older than any alive; and seeing they are in Heaven, we may say to any of them, Our Father which art in Heaven; and seeing they are holy, we may say to any of them, Hallowed by thy Name; and since they are in the Kingdom of Heaven, we may say

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say, Thy Kingdom come ; and seeing their Will is God's Will, we may say to any of them, Thy Will be done. But when the Gray frier preaching, came to the fourth Petition, Give us this Day our daily Bread, he was hissed at, and so was constrained not only to leave off preaching, but also to leave the City for Shame. Yet among the Doctors then assembled, the Dispute continued about the Pater ; for some would have it said to God terminaliter, and to the Saints materialiter ; others to God principaliter, and to the Saints minus principaliter ; others primario to God, secundario to the Saints, others would have it said to God taking it strictly, and to the Saints taking it late. Notwithstanding all these Distinctions, the Doctors could not agree upon the Business. A Fellow called Tom, Servant to the Sub prior of St. Andrews, one Day perceiving his Master much troubled with some Business, and as he conceived weighty, said to him, Sir, what is the Matter of this your Trouble? The Master answered, We cannot agree about the saying of the Pater. The Fellow replied, To whom should it be said, but to God only? The Master answers again, What shall we do then with the Saints? The Fellow replies, Give them Ave's and Credo's enough, that may suffice them, and too well too. If this was good Divinity, God knows. The second Passage likewise is very well worth the knowing, and to this Purpose very fit, which fell out about the same Time with the former, that is, about the first Beginning of the Reformation. A little before the Death of George Wilchart, there came home from Rome a Fellow charged with very many holy Reliques, and new Things of great Virtue, as he gave out ; but the Things were not to be had, nor any Benefit by the Sight or touching of them, without Monies. Now upon a holy Day, in a Village near Haddingtoun, this Romish Pedler did open his Pack, to try if he could vent any of his Wares among the Country People. Among other Commodities the good Merchant did shew unto the People there was a Bell of much Value, by reason of its great Vertue, which he gave out to be this, That if any two Parties had any Difference which could not be otherwise decided but by Oath, the Truth of the Oath was to be made known by this Bell: For (said he) when any one sweareth, laying his Hand on the Bell, if he swear true, he shall after the Oath sworn remove his Hand easily from the Bell, without any Change to the Bell ; but if he that sweareth having his Hand upon the Bell, sweareth falsely, his Hand will stick to the Bell, and the Bell will rive asunder. Now we must tell you, that already there was a Rift in the Bell, which this Romipete did affirm had happened by a false Oath of one that had sworn having his Hand upon the Bell. At this Tale the poor simple People were astonished, and fell in Admiration. But among them was one Farmer, who had some Light of the Truth of God ; he drawing near the Romish Merchant, desired to have the Bell in his Hand, to see it nearly. This Desire was granted unto him. Then he takes the Bell, and looks on it, expressing great Admiration at first ; but immediately thereafter he asked at the Romipete, If he would suffer him to swear in Presence of the Company, having his Hand upon the Bell? For he had Mind to take an Oath upon a weighty Business: The Man could not refuse him. Then said the Farmer to the Company, Friends, before I swear, you see the Rift that is already in the Bell, and how big it is, and that I have nothing upon my Fingers to make them stick to the Bell. With this he sheweth them his Hand open: Then, laying his Hand upon the Bell, he did swear this. I swear in the Presence of the living God, and before these good People, That the Pope of Rome is Antichrist, and that all the Rabble of his Clergy, Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Monks, with the rest of the Crew, are Locusts come from Hell, to delude the People, and to withdraw them from God : Moreover I promise, they will return to Hell: Incontinent he lifted up his Hand from the Bell before them all, and said, See, Friends, that I have lifted up my Hand freely from the Bell, and look unto the Rift in the Bell, it is one and the same, without Change ; this sheweth, according to the Saying of this Merchant, That I have sworn Truth. Then this poor Fellow went away, and never was more seen in Scotland, nor any other of his kind, who brought Reliques, or other like Toies from Rome.

Many more of this kind might be alledged ; but let these suffice to demonstrate the miserable Ignorance from which God, in his Mercy, hath delivered us ; to whom be Praise and Glory for this and all other Benefits.

With this I end the Preface, that you may come to the History itself.



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HIS Country of Scotland, tho' in many other Respects inferior to several other Countries, yet hath in all Times been happy in producing to the World some of the most eminent Persons in all Professions: The sixteenth Century in a special Manner is remarkable upon this Account, for in that Period we shall find as considerable a Number of remarkable Scotsmen, as any Age ever brought forth: I am perswaded, that none of Mr. Knox's greatest Adversaries can deny, that upon many Accounts he deserves to have his Memory transmitted to Posterity: The great Revolution in Matters of Religion, in which he was so remarkably instrumental, makes it absolutely necessary to mention him frequently, when that Matter is treated of; and it will be evident from the Sequel of this Discourse, that all the considerable Persons, who were convinced of the Necessity of a Separation from the Church of Rome, at the Time it was made, had the highest Esteem of Mr. Knox, and that no Protestant of any Name wrote of him, but in Terms of the greatest Respect, during the Currency of the sixteenth Century: It is very true, that he has not been spared by some virulent Popish Writers in that Time; but these are of such a Sort, that they have very little Authority among the Men of Note of their own Profession; and I think that some late pro-

fessed Protestant Writers add very little Credit to their Writings, by copying after them. I intend in this Narrative to give a fair and undisguised Account of the Actions of Mr. Knox, and, without interposing my Opinion, leave the Reader to form his own Judgment of him, which, I hope, will be much more agreeable to all impartial Persons, than the Method of some, who fill all Accounts of this Kind, either with Encomiums of, or Invectives against the Person they write of; for Praise-worthy Actions will always be valued by virtuous Persons, whereas vicious and enormous Deeds, however artfully disguised, will always appear at last in their native Colours.

All the Writers of Mr. Knox's Life agree, that he was born in Giffard, near Haddingtoun, some affirm that he was born in the Year 1505; and if he was 67 Years of Age at his Death, anno 1572, as Bishop Spotiswood assures us, he was certainly born in that Year (a). His Progenitors, according to his own Account of them, in his History, P. 306. were Followers of the Earls of Bothwel: My Great-grandfather and Father (says Mr. Knox to the Earl of Bothwel) have served your Lordship's Predecessors, and some of them have died under their Standards; and this is a Part of the Obligation of our Scottish Kindness; These Words seem to import that Mr. Knox's Predecessors were in some honourable Station under the Earls of Bothwel, at that Time the most powerful Family in East-Lothian. Mr. David Buchanan in his Account of Mr. Knox's Life and Death, affirms, That his Father was a Brother's Son of the House of Ranferlie, which seems not to be so very consistent with Mr. Knox's own Account of his Predecessors just now mentioned, who affirms that his Great-grandfather had served the Earl of Bothwel's Predecessors, which implies that he had taken up his Residence in East-Lothian. Perhaps this Great-grandfather was a Son of that ancient Family, which, from the Reign of King Alexander II. had possessed these Lands in the Shire of Rentrew, and were disposed by Uchter Knox of Renfarylly to William first Earl of Dundonald, anno 1665. And I am well informed, from very near Relations of that Family, that the Family of Renfarylly claimed Mr. Knox as a Cadet of it, and looked upon it as their Honour that he was descended of it.

Dr. M'Kenzie affirms, that Mr. Knox was taught his Grammar in the School of Haddingtoun, in Company with the Laird of Langniddrie's Children, after which he was sent to the University of St. Andrews, where he studied under Mr. John Mair, better known in the learned World by the Name of Joannes Major, and there he received the Degree of Master of Arts, when very young, having made very great Progress in his Studies in a short Space (b). Melchior Adamus adds (c), That he taught the Scholastick Theology, which he had learned from Major his Master with great Authority, and that in some Things he was more happy than his Master. And Mr. Buchanan adds, That he was advanced to Church-Orders before the Time usually allowed by the Canons.

But as the forecited Adamus informs us, having begun carefully to read over the Writings of Augustine and Hierom, he discovered in them

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(a) See Spotiswood's Hist. Edit. 2. p. 267. (b) David Buchanan's Life of Knox. (c) Melchior Adamus in vit. Theol. exter. pag. 137. Francfurti 1653.

another kind of *Theology*, viz. (a). That which was solid and simple. Having therefore laid aside the Subtilties of the Schools, he embraced that Simplicity which our Saviour and his holy Apostles recommend to us, and soon found that the nice Distinctions of *Scotus* were opposite to the genuine Doctrine of the Law and the Gospel; and that this verbose Sophistry was unworthy of a Christian.

While he was entering upon such a Course of Study, he was much enlightened by the Preaching of Thomas Guillian a Black Friar of sound Judgment and healthsome Doctrine (b): Mr. Calderwood in his *MSS. Hist.* informs us, That this Thomas Guillian was born near *Elstonford* in *East-Lothian*, and was Provincial of the Order of Black Friars in *Scotland*, in the Year 1543, when the Earl of *Arran*, then Governour of *Scotland*, favoured the Reformation, and the Estates of Parliament made that famous Act, allowing the reading of the Scripture in the vulgar Tongue, (which Act is printed in Sir Ralph Sadler's *Letters and Negotiations*, Edinburgh 1720.) This Father Guillian and John Rough (who afterwards suffered Death in *England* for the Protestant Cause) were pitched upon to be Preachers to the Governour: This last was vehement and zealous, and the Provincial learned and sound in his Doctrine, of a good Utterance, but without great Vehemency against Superstition, as Mr. Knox observes in his *History*. And Mr. Calderwood adds, That Friar Guillian was the first from whom Mr. Knox received any Taste of the Truth. Mr. George Wishart, so much celebrated in the History of this Time, came from *England* next Year 1544, with the Commissioners sent from King Henry VIII. and from him, we are told by Dr. M'Kenzie, that Mr. Knox, being of an inquisitive Nature, learned the Protestant Principles, with which he was so pleased, that he renounced the *Romish* Religion, and became a zealous Protestant; and it is very probable, that Mr. Knox received a great Confirmation of the Protestant Principles from this eminent Person. By assiduous reading the Scriptures and Writings of these ancient and famous Doctors of the Church, and also by familiar Conversation with Persons who had diligently studied the Points in Controversy, betwixt the Protestants and Papists, Mr. Knox became fully satisfied of the Truth of the Protestant Doctrine, and of the Errors of the Church of Rome, and joined himself with the few Favourers of the Reformation in *Scotland*, particularly with Mr. Wishart, who was well known to, and much esteemed by several Noblemen and Gentlemen, who then began to have Impressions of the Truth. The Cruelties exercised by Cardinal Beaton upon that notable Person; raised such an Indignation in the Spirits of many Persons of Distinction against him, as hastened his tragical End, May 29. 1546: The Persons concerned in the Cardinal's Death kept out the Castle of *St. Andrews* for some time, and several Favourers of the Reformation, who had no Accession to that Action, were obliged, merely for their own Safety, to betake themselves to that strong Hold; among others John Rough beforementioned went to them, and became their Minister, (the Earl of *Arran* the Governour, formerly his Patron, being now much misled by the Abbot of *Paisley* his natural Brother, and at least giving

(a 2) Way

(a) Melch. Ad. ubi supra. (b) David Buchan, ubi supra.

Way to the Persecution of the Protestants;) and when those in the Castle had made an Agreement with the Governor upon certain Articles recorded by our Historians, Mr. Rough preached in the Town of St. Andrews till Easter 1547.

Mr. Knox had sometime before this left St. Andrews, and was employed by the Lairds of Ormiston and Langnidry, to instruct and take the Charge of their Children: They were both Favourers of the Reformation; Mr. Knox's ordinary Residence was at Langnidry, where he taught his Pupils the several Parts of Learning, and was at much Pains to instill in them the Principles of true Religion and Piety; The Bishop of St. Andrews (a) being informed how Mr. Knox was employed, did persecute him with such Severity, that he was frequently obliged to abscond and fly from Place to Place: Being wearied with such frequent Dangers, he resolved to retire to Germany, where the Reformation was gaining Ground, knowing that in England, tho' the Pope's Authority was suppressed, yet the far greater Part of his corrupt Doctrine and Superstitions were in full Vigour: This Design of his was very uneasy to the Gentlemen, of whose Children he had the Charge, who by their Importunity prevailed with him to go to St. Andrews about Easter 1547, and for his own Safety and that of his Pupils to betake himself and them to the Castle, where they might be secure from the Efforts of the Papists, and he be in a Condition with greater Advantage to instruct these young Gentlemen: In Pursuance of this Resolution, he went thither with Francis and George Douglasses Sons to the Laird of Langnidry, and Alexander Cockburn eldest Son to the Laird of Ormiston, (who suffered so much for entertaining Mr. George Wishart in his House, and was so zealous when we joyned with Queen Elizabeth to expel the French, anno 1559.) This Alexander Cockburn died very young, of exceeding great Accomplishments and Hopes, much honoured by Buchanan, who wrote two noble Elogies upon his Death, one of which is in the second Book of his Epigrams, and the other in his Book of Miscellanies.

At St. Andrews, Mr. Knox, as himself informs us (b), began to instruct his Pupils after his accustomed Manner. Besides their Grammar, and other humane Authors, he read unto them a Catechism, an account whereof he caused them to give publickly in the Parish Church of St. Andrews; he read moreover unto them the Gospel of John, proceeding where he left at his Departure from Langnidry, where before his Residence was, and that Lecture he read in the Chapel within the Castle at a certain Hour. They of the Place, but specially Mr. Henry Balnaveis, and John Rough Preacher, perceiving the Manner of his Doctrine, began earnestly to travel with him, that he would take the Preaching-place upon him, but he utterly refused, alledging, that he would not run where God had not called him, meaning that he would do nothing without a lawful Vocation, whereupon they privily among themselves advising, having with them in Counsell Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, (Lyon King at Arms, a Person of great Probity and of a good Measure of Learning) they concluded, that they would give a Charge

Charge to the said *John*, and that publicly by the Mouth of the Preacher. And so upon a certain Day, a Sermon had of the Election of Ministers, what Power the Congregation (how small soever it was, passing the Number of two or three) had above any Man, in whom they supposed and espied the Gifts of God to be, and how dangerous it was to refuse and not to hear the Voice of such as desire to be instructed: These and other Heads (we say) declared the said *John Rough* Preacher, directed by his Words to the said *John Knox*, saying, Brother ye shall not be offended, albeit that I speak unto you, that which I have in Charge, even from all these that are here present, which is this. In the Name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Name of these that presently call you by my Mouth, I charge you that ye refuse not this holy Vocation; but as ye tender the Glory of God, the Increase of Christ's Kingdom, the Edification of your Brethren, and the Comfort of me, whom ye understand well enough to be oppressed by the Multitude of Labours, that ye take upon you the publick Office and Charge of Preaching, even as ye look to avoid God's heavy Displeasure, and desire that he should multiply his Graces with you. And in the End he said to these that were present, was not this your Charge to me, and do ye not approve this Vocation. They answered it was, and we approve it. Whereat the said Mr. *John* abashed, burst forth in most abundant Tears, and withdrew himself to his Chamber. His Countenance and Behaviour from that Day, till the Day he was compelled to present himself to the publick Place of Preaching, did sufficiently declare the Grief and Trouble of his Heart: For no Man saw any Sign of Mirth of him, neither yet had he Pleasure to accompany any Man many Days together.

There is another Reason given by Mr. Knox for the Necessity of his preaching the Gospel at this Time, viz. John Annan Dean of St. Andrews, commonly called Dean *John*, a rotten Papist, (as Mr. *Knox* calls him) had long troubled *John Rough* in his preaching. Mr. *Knox* had fortified the Doctrine of the Preacher by his Pen, and had beaten the said Dean *John* from all Defences, that he was compelled to fly to his last Refuge, that is, to the Authority of the Church, which Authority, said he, damned all *Lutherans* and Hereticks, and therefore he needed no further Disputation. *John Knox* answered, Before we hold our selves, or that ye can prove us sufficiently convict, we must define that Church by the right Notes given to us in God's Scriptures of the true Church. We must discern the immaculate Spouse of Jesus Christ, from the Mother of Confusion, Spiritual *Babylon*, lest that impudently we embrace a Harlot instead of the chaste Spouse; yea, to speak in plain Words, lest that we submit our selves to Sathan, thinking that we submit our selves to Jesus Christ: For as for your *Roman Church*, as it is now corrupted, and the Authority thereof, wherein stands the Hope of your Victory, I no more doubt, but that it is the Synagogue of Sathan, and the Head thereof, called the Pope, to be that Man of Sin, of whom the Apostle speaketh, than that I doubt that Jesus Christ suffered by the Procurement of the Visible Church of *Jerusalem*; yea, I offer my self by Word or Writing to prove, the *Roman Church* this Day further degenerate from the Purity, which was in the Days of the Apostles, than was the

Church of the Jews, from the Ordinance given by Moses, when they consented to the innocent Death of Jesus Christ.

These Words were spoken in open Audience of the Parish Church of St. Andrews, after the said Dean John had spoken what it pleased him, and had refused to dispute. The People hearing the Offer cried with one Consent, we cannot all read your Writings, but we may all hear your Preachings: Therefore we require you in the Name of God, that you will let us have the Probation of that which you have affirmed; for if it be true, we have been miserably deceived. And so the next Sunday was appointed to the said John to express his Mind in the publick preaching Place, for which Day the said John took his Text Dan. vii. 23, -- 28. from which Text he proved, that the Pope was Antichrist, and that the Doctrine of the Roman Church was contrary to the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, gave the Notes both of the true Church and of the Antichristian Church, &c. of which he gives a full Account in his History, pag. 68.

This is the genuine Account of Mr. Knox's Vocation to the Ministry of the Gospel, against which nothing can justly be objected in the Circumstances he and the Protestants in Scotland were then in: All sincere Lovers of the reformed Cause do own his Ordination to be good and valid. And indeed it would be to no Purpose to enter into a Dispute with some late High-Church-Men in England, who by their Principles not only nullify Mr. Knox's Ordination, but that of all the Foreign Reformed Churches. Their Opinions have been sufficiently refuted by very able Writers, neither is it my present Business any further to insist upon that Matter.

*This bold and zealous Sermon of Mr. Knox made a great Noise, and very much vexed the Popish Clergy. The Abbot of Paisley, base Brother to the Earl of Arran Governour, being nominated to succeed Cardinal Beaton in the See of St. Andrew's, but not yet consecrated, thought himself obliged to bestir himself, and wrote to Mr. John Winram Subprior of St. Andrew's, who sede vacante was Vicar General, That he wondered that he suffered such Heretical and Schismatical Doctrine to be taught, and not to oppose himself to the same. This Rebuke obliged the Subprior to call a Convention of Gray and Black Friars to meet in St. Leonard's Yard, into which Meeting was John Rough first called, and certain Articles read to him, and thereafter John Knox was called for. The Cause of this Convention, and the Reason why Mr. Rough and Mr. Knox were called before it, were opened up, and several Articles were read before them, which are to be found in all the Editions of Knox's History. In this Edit. from p. 70. to 73. inclusive. After the reading of which Articles, there was a Conference betwixt the Subprior and Mr. Knox, and a Dispute betwixt Friar Arbuckil and him upon several controverted Points betwixt Protestants and Papists, both which are also to be found in the History, ubi supra. Popery sensibly lost Ground by the Dispute, which obliged the Supporters of it to fall upon another Method to maintain its Reputation, which was to oblige every learned Man in the Abbey and University, to preach in the Parish Church by turns upon the Lord's Days; they kepted themselves in these Sermons abstract from the controverted Points, Mr. Knox in his Sermons which he preached upon the Week Days, praised God that Christ Jesus was preached, and no-
thing*

thing said publicly against the Doctrine he had taught them; and protested, that if in his Absence they should speak any Thing, which in his Presence they did not, that his Hearers should suspend their Judgments, till it should please God that they should hear him again.

Mr. Knox was so successful in his Work at St. Andrew's, that all in the Castle, and a great Number of the Town, openly professed the Protestant Doctrine, and testified the same by partaking of the Lord's Supper, in the same Manner it was administered in the Church of Scotland, after the Protestant Religion was established by Law, Anno 1560. And as far as I have yet been able to inform myself, this was the first Time that this Ordinance was dispensed in Scotland in the way of the Reformed Churches, viz. Anno 1547.

Mr. Knox continued thus diligent in his Ministerial Work at St. Andrews, till the Month of July 1547, that the Castle was surrendered to the French, upon Terms that all in the Garrison should be safe carried to France both Scots and English; and in case they were not satisfied with their Liberty and Terms in France, they should be conveyed, upon the Expence of the King of France, wherever they pleased, Scotland excepted. Mr. Knox with the rest was carried to France, and continued there some short Time, for in 85. Page of this Edition of his History, we are told, that he was delivered that same Winter, and came over to England, where he met with several of his Fellow Prisoners, who by various Methods made their Escape out of France. We are told in that same place, that Mr. Knox was first appointed Preacher to Berwick, then to Newcastle, last he was called to London, and to the South Parts of England, where he remained to the Death of King Edward the Sixth. Doctor Mackenzie adds, that he became so famous, that he had the Honour of preaching several Times before that Prince.

The English Writers have transmitted some Passages concerning Mr. Knox while he was in England, very much worth our Notice, since they have escaped the Writers of his Life hitherto. Mr. Strype in his Memorials, Vol. 2. p. 235. informs us, That Mr. Knox was sent to Berwick either by Archbishop Cranmer, or the Duke of Somerset, which was very probably soon after his Return from France. These two Great Men being very zealous for promoting the Reformation, and being well informed of Mr. Knox's Activity and Diligence in that same Cause, sent him to the Northern Counties where Preachers were extremely scarce, and Popery was much prevailing. For as the same Mr. Strype and other Writers tell us, even in King Edward's Time, the Papists were extremely busy to preserve their Interests in England; and many of the Preachers, and not a few Bishops in their Hearts favoured Popery; yea, some of the most zealous and popular Preachers went up and down preaching against King Edward's Reformation, and for the old Religion, as they called it. This produced an Order of Council, discharging all preaching, except by these who took Licence from the King; And several of the Bishops themselves took out Licences for preaching. The Weight of providing Preachers, who were not leavened with Popery, lay upon Archbishop Cranmer, and by him or my Lord Protector Somerset, was Mr. Knox authorized to preach in the North of England.

In the Year 1550, (as the Reverend and Diligent Mr. Wodrow informs, me from a Manuscript in his Hand) Mr. Knox was called before Cathbert Tonsal Bishop of Durham, and challenged for his preaching against the Mass, and declaring it to be Idolatry. Being apprized of his Appearance, he prepared a Confession of his Faith upon the Head of the Mass, wherein he advanced several weighty Arguments, to prove it to be direct Idolatry. This he delivered before the Bishop and his Doctors, which (as the said Manuscript bears) quite silenced them. This Passage of Mr. Knox's Life has been known to Melchior Adamus, who gives this Account of it in the End of his Life of Knox. Fuit vir non minoris cruditiois, quam virtutis, et elogiorum Dei prece constans atque fortis, per omnem vitam. Specimen ejus illustre deposuit tum alias, tum Anno millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo in terra Dunelmensi: quando coactus coram Episcopo Tonsallo, et ejus Doctoribus super missa pontifica opinionem suam exponere: pro concione illius idoloatrias et horrendas blasphemias tam solidis argumentis demonstravit, ut adversarii quod vere oporterent non haberent.

In that same Manuscript Mr. Knox gives his Judgment of the Lord's Supper, under this Title. "Here is briefly declared in a sum according to the Scripture, what Opinion we Christians have of the Lord's Supper, called the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. The above-named Reverend Mr. Wodrow in his large Collections concerning Mr. Knox, has inserted that Manuscript by way of Appendix, which I hope in due Time he will communicate to the World, together with his other curious Collections of Scots Biography.

We are further informed by the laborious and faithful Mr. Strype, that in the Year 1551, Mr. Knox was appointed one of King Edward the VI's. Chaplains. Mr. Strype expresses the Matter thus. In the Month of December 1551, it was thought fit the King should retain six Chaplains in Ordinary, who should not only wait on him, but be Itineraries, and preach the Gospel all the Nation over; two of these six to be ever present at Court, and four absent abroad in preaching one Year; two in Wales, two in Lancashire and Darby, next Year, two in the Marches of Scotland, and two in Yorkshire, the third Year two in Devonshire, two in Hampshire, the fourth Year two in Norfolk and Essex, and two in Kent and Suffex; and these Six to be Bill, Harley, Pern, Grindal, Bradford, the Sixth was dashed out of the King's Journal (whence Mr. Mr. Strype takes all this) but probably was Knox, for he was one of the Preachers of the North at Newcastle, and elsewhere, and had a Sallary paid him out of the Exchequer. But the Number was reduced to Four, Bradford also being left out, who were stiled the King's ordinary Chaplains. Mr. Strype further informs us, That Mr. Knox had an Annuity of 40 l. for his good Service in preaching in the North, till he should have some Place in the Church conferred upon him. It was out of Respect to him I suppose, that one William Knox his Brother or Relation, had in September 1552, a Passport granted to him to bring in or carry out of any Haven in England, all such Merchandizes as were permitted by Law, to endure for one whole Year, and to make the said Traffick in any Ship of the Burden of an Hundred Tun.

From some of Mr. Knox's Original Letters in the Hands of the Reverend Mr. Wodrow it appears, that he enjoyed that Annuity of 40l. till the beginning of Queen Mary's Reign. In a Letter to Mrs. Bows his Mother in Law, dated 1553, he tells her, That he was obliged to abscond by Reason of the Fury of the Papists. In this Letter is this Passage, I will not make you privy how rich I am, but oft London I departed, with less Money then Ten Groats; but God hath since provided, and will, I doubt not, abundantly for this Life: Either the Queen's Majesty or some Treasurer will be 40l. richer by me, for so meickle lack I of Duty of my Patent; but that little troubles me.

In the Year 1552, Mr. Knox fell into trouble, upon the Account of a bold Sermon he preached at Newcastle upon Tyne upon Christmas Day, against the Obstinacy of the Papists. In which Sermon, as we are told by Mr. Strype, he affirmed, That whosoever in his Heart was an Enemy to Christ's Doctrine and Gospel, which was then preached within the Realm, was Enemy also to God, and secret Traitor to the Crown and Commonwealth of England, and that as such thirsted after nothing more than the King's Death, which their Iniquities would procure. He said, they regarded not who should Reign over them, so that their Idolatry might be erected again. This (says Mr. Strype) provoked many of his Auditors extremely, in so much that they began to raise Trouble against him, and accused him to the Magistrates; as appears in his Admonition to the Pastors of God's Truth in England, printed 1554, where he says, how these my Words at that Time pleased Men, the Crimes and Actions intended against me did declare. But then Queen Mary being on the Throne, and married to King Philip of Spain, he appealed to those Expressions of his, reckoning it as a Thing commonly owned at that Time, that the People had made a very bad Choice, when they took for the Queen a Spanish Husband to Rule over them. Let my very Enemies now say in their Consciences, if these my Words are not proved true.

In a Letter of his to his Sister, dated December 22. 1553, and in another, March 23. 1553, he gives some Account of this Matter. In the last, he says, Hainouse were the Delations made against me, and many are the Lies made to the Council; but God one Day shall destroy all lying Tongues, and shall deliver his Servants from Calamity. This Assault of Satan hath been to his Confusion, and to the Glory of God; and therefore, Sister, cease not to praise God, and to call for my Comfort; for great is the Multitude of Enemies, &c.

Mr. Strype gives this farther Account of Mr. Knox next Year 1554: Mr. Knox (says he) it seems upon the Displeasure taken against him at Newcastle, soon after returned to London, and being in good Reputation with the King, and some of the Council, for his zealous Preaching against the Errors of Rome, and the Vices of the Time, he was appointed to preach before the King and his Council at Westminster, a little before his Majesty departed thence; and his Sermon being the last he preached before his Majesty, he suited it to the Court, as it now stood, wherein the main governing Men, who carried all the Stroke, were meer Temporizers, and secretly Welwishers to the old Religion, and shewing little Zeal to the present Establishment of the Church, any farther than the National Laws absolutely required; and so they out-

wardly comply'd, but craftily concealed their inward Judgments for the accomplishing their worldly Ends and Interests. There were two especially ruled all in the Court; the Duke of *Northumberland*, by stout Courage and Proudness of Stomach, and the Marquis of *Winchester* the Treasurer by Counsel and Wit: This was well enough observed by the good Sort, and bold *Knox*, being now to preach at Court, was resolved to speak his Mind, and reprove them, even to their Faces; and for that Purpose took his Text in *Psalms* xli. 9. *He that eateth Bread with me, hath lift up his Heel against me*: This Sermon he spoke of afterwards in his faithful Admonition; where he was mentioning how the Papists with their Craft wrought all the Mischief in King *Edward's* Reign, being such as bore Authority and Rule. And who, I pray (said he) ruled the Rost in the Court all this Time, by stout Courage and Proudness of Stomach, but *Northumberland*? And who I pray you ruled all by Counsel and Wit? Shall I name the Man? I will write no more plainly now, than my Tongue spoke the last Sermon that it pleased God that I should make before that innocent and most godly King *Edward VI.* and before the Council at *Westminster*, and even to the Faces of such.

By Occasion of the foresaid Text, he made this Affirmation, That commonly 'tis seen that the most godly Princes had Officers and chief Counsellors, most ungodly conjured Enemies to God's true Religion, and Traitors to their Princes, and that their Wickedness and Ungodliness was speedily perceived and espied out of the said Princes and godly Men, but for a Time the crafty Colours could so cloak their Malice against God and his Truth, and their hollow Hearts towards their loving Masters, that by worldly Wisdom and Policy, at length they attained to high Promotions. And for Proof of this his Affirmation, he recited the Histories of *Achitophel* and *Shebna* and *Judas*, of whom the two former had high Offices and Promotions, with high Authority under the most godly Princes *David* and *Hezekias*, and *Judas* was Purfemaister with Jesus Christ. And when he had made some Discourse of that Matter, he moved this Question, why so godly Princes permitted such wicked Men to be on their Council, and to bear such Authority under them? To which he answered, That either they so abounded with worldly Wisdom, Foresight and Experience, touching the Government of a Common-wealth, that their Counsel appeared to be so necessary, that the Common-wealth could not lake them; and so by the Colour to preserve the Tranquillity and Peace of the Realm, they were maintained in Authority: Or else they kept their Malice which they bare to their Masters and God's true Religion so secret in their Breasts, that no Man could espie it, till by God's Permission they waited for such Occasion and Opportunity, that they uttered their Mischief so plainly, that all the World might perceive it. And it was most evident by *Achitophel* and *Shebna*, for of *Achitophel* it is written, *1 Kings* xv. 16. That he was *David's* most secret Counsellor, and that because his Counsel in those Days was like the Oracle of God, and *Shebna*, *Esaia*. xxiii. 36. was unto good King *Ezekias* sometime Comptroller, sometime Secretary, and last of all Treasurer. To the which Offices he had never been promoted under so godly a Prince, if the Treason and

and Malice which he bore against the King and against God's true Religion had been manifestly known. No, said he, *Shebna* was a crafty Fox, and could shew such a fair Countenance to the King, that neither he nor his Council could espy his malicious Treason, but the Prophet *Esaias* was commanded of God to go to his Presence, and to declare his traiterous Heart and miserable End.

Were *David* (said Mr. *Knox*) and *Ezekias* Princes of great and godly Gifts and Experience, abused by crafty Counsellors, and dissembling Hypocrites, what wonder is it that a young and innocent King be deceived by crafty, covetous, wicked, and ungodly Counsellors, and dissembling Hypocrites. I am greatly afraid that *Achitophel* be Counsellor, that *Judas* bear the Purse, and that *Shebna* be Scribe, Comptroller and Treasurer. — This he said, and somewhat more he spake that Day, not in a Corner, but even before those, whom his Conscience judged worthy of Accusation. In his Admonition, he said, that since that Time they had declared themselves more manifestly, namely under this Queen. He affirmed, that under that innocent King, pestilent Papists had greatest Authority: Oh who was judged to be the Soul and Life of the Council in every Matter of mighty Importance! Who but *Shebna*! Who was most ready and frank to destroy *Somerfet*, and set up *Northumberland*? Was it not *Shebna*? Who was most bold to cry, Bastard, Bastard, incestuous Bastard, *Mary* shall never reign over us? And who I pray you was most busy to say, Fear not to subscribe with my Lords of his Privy-council, agree to his Grace's Last will, and perfect Testament, and never let that obstinate Woman come to Authority, she is an errant Papist, she will subvert the true Religion, and bring in Strangers to the Destruction of the Common-wealth? Which of the Council, I say, had these or greater Persuasions against *Mary*, to whom now he croucheth and kneeloth? *Shebna* the Treasurer: And what intended such traiterous and dissembling Hypocrites by all these and such like crafty Sights and counterfeit Conveyance? Doubtless the Overthrow of Christ's true Religion, which then began to flourish in *England*. Thus Mr. *Knox* wrote concerning his Sermon.

But notwithstanding the piercing Glances of it upon some of the great Men, it was as near as I can guess at this Time, that the Council sent to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to bestow the Living of *All-Hallows* upon Mr. *Knox*. But when it was offered to him, he refused it, not caring to be bound to use all King *Edward's* Book: And *Sanderson*, and afterwards *Sanders* (the Martyr) were collated to the said Parish.

April 14. 1553, *Knox* was called before the Council, who demanded of him three Questions, Why he refused the Benefice provided for him in *London*? To which he answered, That his Conscience did witness that he might profit more in some other Place than in *London*, and therefore had no Pleasure to accept any Office there; but he might have answered, that he refused it, because of *Northumberland's* contrary Command, who perhaps designed it for him that succeeded to it, namely *Samson*. 2^{dly}, Whether he thought that no Christian might serve in the Ecclesiastical Ministration, according to the Rites and Laws of the Realm of *England*? To which he said, That many Things at

that Time were worthy of Reformation in the Ministers of *England*, without the Reformation whereof no Minister did or could discharge his Conscience before God, for no Ministers in *England* had Authority to separate the Lepers from the heal (*i. e.* the whole and sound, says *Mr. Strype*, that is, they had not the full Power of Excommunication) which was, he said, a chief Point of his Office. 3dly, They asked him if kneeling at the Lord's Table was not indifferent? He answered, That Christ's Action was most perfect, and it was done without kneeling, and that it was most sure to follow his Example, and that kneeling was Mans Addition and Invention. About this Question there was great Contention between the Lords of Council and him. There were then present the Archbishop of *Canterbury Cranmer*, the Bishop of *Ely, Godrick*, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Bedford, Northampton, Shrewsbury*, the Lord Chamberlain, and both the Secretaries. After long Reasoning it was said to him, he was not called of any ill Meaning, and that they were sorry to know him of a contrary Mind to the common Order. He answered, he was sorry the common Order was contrary to Christ's Institution. He was dismissed with some gentle Speeches, and they willed him to advise with himself, whether he would communicate according to that Order. *All this abovenarrated, Mr. Strype tells us, is collected from a Letter of Mr. Knox's own writing.*

Mr. Calderwood in his MSS. History takes notice of this Letter of Mr. Knox, and adds, after the End of the Answer to the second Query, as Mr. Strype has given it, that Mr. Knox had these Words, Yet I do not refuse such an Office, as may appear to promote God's Glory in Utterance of Christ's Gospel in a mean Degree, where I might edifie more by Preaching of the true Word, than hinder by the Sufferance of manifest Iniquity, seeing that Reformation of Manners does not appertain to all Ministers.

From Mr. Strype we have this further Account of Mr. Knox. Now, says he, Mr. Knox seems to have gone to the Parts of Buckingham Shire, and that in his Itinerary Course of preaching in some places of his Circuit, and particularly at Ammersham, he took a liking, partly from their Forwardness to hear him, and partly for their Civilities towards him. In these therefore, and such like Places, he would tarry somewhat longer than in others, where he could not find so much Delight; and there and elsewhere, sometime allow himself Recreation. But this was afterwards a Trouble to him, as reckoning himself to have been guilty of too much Indulgence to himself, and too little Regard to the need that other People stood in, of having the Gospel preached to them, and he blamed himself faithful Admonition, that he had not been an indifferent Feeder, as was required of Christ's Stewards. For in preaching of Christ's Gospel, albeit mine Eye, as God knoweth, was not much on worldly Promotion; yet the Love of Friends and carnal Affection of some Men, with whom I was most Familiar, allowed me to make more Residence in one Place, than another, having more respect to the Pleasure of a few, than the Necessity of many. That Day I thought I had not sinned, if I had not been idle; but this Day I know it was my Duty to have had Consideration, how long I had remained in one Place, and how many

many hungry Souls were in other Places, to whom, alas, none took pains to break and distribute the Bread of Life. Moreover, remaining in one Place, I was not so diligent as mine Office required, but sometimes by Counsel of my carnal Friends, I spared my Body, sometime I spent in worldly Business of particular Friends, and sometime in taking Recreation and Pastime, by Exercise of my Body. *This Mr. Strype sets down, that we may see (says he) one of the King's Itineraries in his Office.*

Melchior Adamus in his *Life of Mr. Knox*, informs us, That in King Edward VI's. Reign, Mr. Knox had the Offer of a Bishoprick made to him, and that he refused it. *I shall insert that Author's own Words, Imperabat illis temporibus Angliæ Edwardus VI. qui Cnoxum observabat, ac qua erat pietate, favore singulari eum prosequebatur, itaque cum Episcopatus de Regis voluntate Cnoxo esset oblatus, indignabundus Cnoxus, non solum honorem recusavit, sed etiam oratione gravi titulos illos improbavit, quasi Regni Antichristiani quiddam redolentes.*

Mr. Calderwood in his History, pag. 55. gives us a Passage, which seems to confirm this Account of Adamus. Mr. Knox being then resident in St. Andrews, and preaching upon the Lord's Day, the 10th of February 1572, the Earl of Mar being present, refused to inaugurate the Bishop; yea, in open Audience of many then present, he denounced Anathema to the Giver, and Anathema to the Receiver, as I find in a certain Manuscript. And in the 56. pag. Mr. Calderwood further informs us, That when Mr. John Rutherford Provost of the old College alledged Mr. Knox his repining proceeded from Male-contentment: Mr. Knox purged himself the next Lord's Day, saying, I have refused a greater Bishoprick than ever it was, which I might have had with the Favour of greater Men than he hath his, I did and do repine for the Discharge of my Conscience.

Mr. Petrie in his History, Part 3d. pag. 375. gives us the same Account, with this Addition, that Mr. Knox says, I did and do repine for Discharge of my Conscience, that the Church of Scotland be not subject to that Order. And for this he cites the Historical Narration, which is commonly reckoned to be composed by Mr. William Scot Minister at Couper in Fife. This is all I have found concerning the Offer of a Bishoprick made to Mr. Knox, and his Refusal of it.

This Year 1553, July 6th. that incomparable Prince King Edward VI. died, to the irreparable Loss of the reformed Interest. He was succeeded by his Sister Queen Mary: For the faint Struggle that was made by some for Lady Jean Gray continued only a few Weeks. Queen Mary was acknowledged by the far greater Part of the Protestants in England, who most ingratiously and barbarously requitted them, after her Accession to the Crown: Some few of the Protestants appeared for Lady Jean Gray, and Mr. Goodman, with some others, declared against the Lawfulness of the Government of Women; an Opinion not peculiar to them, but adopted by several learned Men, and maintained by the whole Kingdom of France. The Protestants in England, who were of this Opinion, are accounted Mr. Knox's Disciples, whose Conceit (says Mr. Strype) in this Matter chiefly sprung from the Fears they apprehended of the Lady Mary's Government, and her marrying a Foreigner.

The Protestant Preachers were assiduous at this Time in exhorting the People to Stedfastness in the Reformed Religion, and pressed them not to comply with Popery, now ready to break in upon them; which if they did, they assured them, utter Destruction was at Hand: But if they continued firm in the Faith, that there would be a Door opened for their Deliverance, after some sorrowful Days.

Mr. Strype informs us, That about this Time Mr. Knox preached at Ammerham in Buckinghamshire, before a great Assembly, where, with sorrowful Heart and weeping Eyes, he, among other Things, addressed the People thus, as he himself repeats it, (Faithful Admonition) O England, God's Wrath is kindled against thee. Now hath he begun to punish, as he hath threatned a long Time by his Prophets and Messengers; he hath taken from thee the Crown of thy Glory, and hath left thee as a Body without the Head; and this appeareth only to be the Beginning of Sorrows, which appear to encrease; for I perceive the Heart, the Tongue, and Hand of an English Man is bent upon another, and Division to be in the whole Realm, which is an assured Sign of Desolation to come. O England, England, dost thou not consider that thy Common-wealth is like a Ship sailing on the Sea, if thy Mariners and Governours shall one consume another, shalt not thou suffer Shipwrack in short Process of Time? O England, England, alas! these Plagues are poured upon thee, because thou wouldst not know thy most happy Time of thy most gentle Visitation: But wilt thou yet obey the Voice of thy God, and submit thyself to his holy Word? Truly if thou wilt, thou shalt find Mercy yet in his Sight, and the State of thy Common-wealth shall be preserved. But, O England, England, if thou wilt obstinately return into Egypt; that is, if thou contract Marriage, Confederacy, or League with such Princes as do maintain or advance Idolatry, such as the Emperor, which is no less Enemy to Christ than ever was Nero; if for the Pleasure and Friendship of such Princes, I say, thou return to thine old Abominations before used under Papistry, then assuredly O England, thou shalt be plagued, and brought to Desolation, by the Means of those whose Favours thou seekest, and by whom thou art procured to fall from Christ, and to serve Antichrist.

The laborious Mr. Strype has furnished us also with a Character of Mr. Knox, from that eminent Divine, and constant Martyr, Bishop Ridley. That worthy Person, in his Lamentation for the Change of Religion on Queen Mary's Accession to the Crown, thus expresses himself concerning Latimer, Bradford, Knox and Lever, four eminent Preachers in King Edward's Time. They ripped so deeply in the galled Backs of the great Men of the Court, to have purged them of the filthy Matter that was festered in their Hearts, of insatiable Covetousness, filthy Carnality and Voluptuousness, intolerable Ambition and Pride, and ungodly Loathsomeness to hear poor Mens Causes, and God's Word, that of all others they could never abide them.

Mr. Knox continued in England until February 1554; for in a Commentary of Mr. Knox's Manuscript (in the Hands of the Reverend Mr. Wodrow) upon the sixth Psalm, directed to his Mother in Law Mrs. Bows, he signs it thus. Upon the very Point of my Journey,
the

the last of *January* 1553. Watch and pray. Your Sen with sorrowful Heart. *J. K. Another Paper of Mr. Knox's, also in Mr. Wodrow's Hands, bears this Title, John Knox to the Faithful in London, Newcastle and Berwick, &c. Which Letter ends thus, From an fair treublit Haist, upoun my Depairture from Leip 1553, quhidder God knowis. John Knox.*

From Deip Mr. Knox went to Geneva, and continued some Time there, giving himself to Reading, Meditation and Prayer. We shall take the Account of his coming to Geneva, and removing from thence to Frankfort, from the History, Page 85. When he left England; then he passed to Geneva, and there remained at his private Study, till that he was called by the Congregation that was then established at Frankfort, to be Preacher to them: Which Vocation he obeyed (albeit unwillingly) at the Commandment of that notable Servant of God John Calvin. At Frankfort he remained, till that some of the Learned, (whose Names we suppress) more given to unprofitable Ceremonies than to Sincerity of Religion, began to quarrel with the said John; and because they despaired to prevail before the Magistrate there, for the establishing of their Corruptions, they accused him of Treason committed against the Emperor, and against their Sovereign Queen Mary; that in his Admonition to England he called the one little inferior to Nero, and the other more cruel than Jeshabel. The Magistrate perceiving their Malice, and fearing that the said John should fall in the Hands of his Accusators, by one Means or other gave Advertisement secretly to him to depart their City; for they could not save him, if he were required by the Emperor, or by the Queen of England in the Emperor's Name; and so the said John returned to Geneva, from thence to Deip, and thereafter to Scotland.

It will be proper to give an Account of the Trouble that happened to Mr. Knox while he was at Frankfort, more fully than is above narrated, because it is one of the Periods of his Life which has made a very great Noise; and that he has been very much blamed by some Writers upon the Account of his Conduct in this Matter. I shall take for my Voucher in the Account I am to give, a Treatise intituled, A brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort in Germany 1554, which Discourse was printed 1575: And from this Paper we will see that the Matter stands thus, which I chuse rather to deliver in the Words of the judicious Mr. Peirce, in his Vindication of the Dissenters, ed. 2. p. 35, &c. than in my own. When the most grievous Persecution raged in England in the Reign of Queen Mary, against the Protestants, many of them saved themselves by flying abroad, and coming into various Protestant Countries, they were every where kindly received of their Brethren; but in no Place were they more happily settled than at Frankfort. The Senate gave them a Church, but upon Condition they should not vary from the French Church, either in Rites or in Doctrine, that so no Offence might be taken: Hereupon, according to the Conditions of the Grant, they drew up a new Liturgy, more agreeable to those of the foreign Churches, leaving out all the trifling Ceremonies that were in that of England: They choose Mr. John Knox for their Pastor, who was an eminent Divine, and;

as we have seen before, had been Chaplain to King *Edward*, and in good Esteem in the Court for his Gift of preaching, and was sent unto the North as the King's Preacher, to spread the Gospel among them. He had refused to accept of a Bishoprick offered him; and Bishop *Ridley* could not but commend him as a Man of much good Learning, at the same Time he was blaming him for finding too much Fault as he did at *Frankfort* with the *English* Liturgy †. The *English* Congregation being thus settled with a Pastor and a Liturgy, lived very quietly and happily, inviting their Brethren to come and partake of their Happiness: But Doctor *Richard Cox*, who fled with some others out of *England*, soon broke in upon their happy Settlement; for quickly after he came to *Frankfort*, he wickedly overthrew all the good Order they had settled among them: Not content with the kind Entertainment he met with as a Guest, and a Brother, come to sojourn with them, he set up himself to rule them in an ambitious and tyrannical Manner; insisting upon it, that their whole Service must be ordered according to the *English* Liturgy. One, if not the chief Reason of his so great Fondness for it, was, that he had himself had a Hand in composing it: But when the Man's Interest was small, and he despaired of carrying his Point by the Votes of the Congregation, because his Proposal was disagreeable to the greater Part of them, as well as contrary to the Conditions upon which the Magistrates had granted them a Church; he attempted the compassing his Designs by the basest Fraud and Treachery; and first he and his Faction answered aloud after the Minister, contrary to the Church's Determination. 'Tis to be observed, that whereas in the *English* Liturgy the Minister and the People divide the Prayers betwixt them, the one saying one Part, and the other the other, the *English* Exiles had laid aside this Usage in their Liturgy, in Conformity to the *French* Church, wherein the Minister's Voice only is heard in uttering the Prayers. When Doctor *Cox* was admonished of this by the Elders of the Congregation, he, with the rest that came with him, made Answer, That they would do as they had done in *England*, and that they would have the Face of an *English* Church. The Sunday following one of his Company got up suddenly into the Pulpit, read the Litany, and Doctor *Cox* and his Company answered aloud. *Knox*, as became a faithful Pastor, severely reprov'd these Disorders in his Sermon in the Afternoon: After much Contention the Senate of *Frankfort* interposed their Authority, and Mr. *John Glauberg*, by whose Favour and Assistance especially, the *English* Exiles had obtained such Privileges, declared he would shut up the Church, unless the reformed Order of the Congregation was observed. Doctor *Cox* being thus disappointed, has Recourse to another Sort of Treachery, and, joining with the Accuser of the Brethren, charged Mr. *Knox* with High Treason against the Emperor. The Ground of this Charge was, That Mr. *Knox* preaching a Sermon (afterward printed) in *England*, when he was nowise subject to the Emperor, should say of him, that he was no less an Enemy to Christ than ever was *Nero*, which was most undoubtedly true; nor would any re-

† Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 19, 20.

formed Divine have scrupled to assert the same: *Peter Martyr* did not stick to call him, *Severissimam Dei virgam*, God's most severe Rod*. However, by this villanous Treachery Doctor Cox gained his Point; for *Frankfort* being an Imperial City, could not safely harbour a Person so obnoxious to the Emperor: The Senate therefore, tho' they abhorred the base Treachery of the Accusers, yet were forced to order Mr. Knox to leave their City; and so Cox's Faction got the whole Power into their own Hands; and these new Tenants, having taken full Possession, turned their old Landlords out to range about in the wide World, to find new Quarters: Then did the *Coxian* Faction triumph in accomplishing their Purposes by their crafty, but perfidious and wicked Counsels; then did they insult their Brethren overcome by such Arts, and oppressed with a second Persecution: But *the triumphing of the Wicked is short*; for having now got all in their own Hands, and there being none left to oppose them in their Impertinencies, they (as 'tis the Way of that furious kind of Men) fell a quarrelling with one another in a most dreadful Manner: Nor could that little schismatical Assembly that was left at *Frankfort*, ever after be at Rest; but by their perpetual Quarrellings and Contentions, made themselves ridiculous both to Protestants and Papists.

This is the Account of this Passage of Mr. Knox's Life, given by the learned Mr. Peirce in his Book above-cited. The Facts in this Account are well supported by the Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort, above-mentioned, which I have perused. I shall make no Reflections upon this Matter, but leave it to the Judgment of the Reader, whether Mr. Knox is not sufficiently vindicated. Mr. Knox being thus expelled from his Flock at Frankfort by his Brethren, over zealous of the English Ceremonies, retires to Geneva March 26. 1555, where he stayed till August, and then came over to Scotland, to visit his native Country and Friends, after his long Absence: He remained in Scotland till July 1556, about which Time he was invited by the English Congregation at Geneva to return. I shall not insist at any great length upon the Incidents of his Life at this Time, since they are to be met with in his History.

When Mr. Knox came to Scotland, he found the Numbers of Professors of the reformed Religion much increased, and formed into a Society, under the Inspection of William Harlaw, John Willocks, Paul Metten, and John Erskine of Dun. Mr. Knox associated himself with them, and preached to them. Several Passages of Mr. Knox's Life are related in his History at this Period, which I will not so much as mention.

He went North very soon with the Laird of Dun, and stayed with him about a Month, teaching and preaching daily to considerable Numbers, who resorted to that Gentleman's House; the chief Gentlemen in that Country came there and attended his Instruction, which was a very great Mean of their espousing the Protestant Cause so heartily soon after this. From this Country he returned to Lothian, and stayed for the most Part in the House of Calder, with
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* Strype's Life of Cranmer, Ap. p. 155.

that worthy Gentlemen Sir James Sandilands, where he met with many Persons of the first Rank, viz. the Master of Erskine, afterward Earl of Mar, the Lord Lorn, afterward Earl of Argyle, Lord James Stewart Prior of St. Andrews, after Earl of Murray, and Regent of Scotland: With these notable Persons he conversed familiarly, and confirmed them in the Truth of the Protestant Doctrine. In the Winter 1555 he taught for the most Part in Edinburgh, In some of his Letters, in the Hands of the Reverend Mr. Wodrow, to his Mother in Law Mrs. Bows, then in England, he informs her of the great and earnest Desire many in Scotland had to hear the Doctrine of the Gospel, and that he entertained great Hopes of very remarkable Success in his Labours among his own Country-men.

After Christmas 1556, he went to the West of Scotland, at the Desire of some worthy Protestant Gentlemen, such as John Lockhart of Bar, Robert Campbel of Kinzeancleugh, &c. and preached in many Places in Kyle, viz. the Houses of Bar, Carnal, Kinzeancleugh, Uchiltree, Gathgirth, and the Town of Air; and in some of these Places he administred the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper after the Manner of the Reformed Churches. He visited likewise the Earl of Glencairn at his House of Finlayston in the County of Renfrew, and in that Place he administred the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, of which the Earl, his Lady, two of his Sons, and several of the Relations of that Family were Partakers. The Silver Cups made use of for that Purpose, are yet remaining in that Family.

From these Western Parts he returned to the East, and resided for some Time in Calder, where many resorted to him, both for Doctrine and the Benefit of the Sacraments.

From thence he went a second Time to the Laird of Dun's House in the County of Mearns, where he preached more publickly than formerly; and at the earnest Desire of many Persons of Note, he administred the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. His teaching and Conversation among the People in these Parts, exceedingly strengthened them in their Belief and Profession of the Reformed Principles.

This Success of Mr. Knox in promoting the Protestant Cause, gave the Alarm to the Popish Clergy, who caused summon him to appear before them in the Church of Blackfriars in Edinburgh, on the 15th Day of May 1556. He was determined to have appeared at that Time, several Gentlemen of Distinction, among whom the Laird of Dun was none of the least considerable, resolved to accompany him and stand by him. But the Bishops perceiving such a considerable Party to appear in his Behalf, changed their Resolution, and dropt their Prosecution for that Time.

Mr. Knox came to Edinburgh, at the Time to which he was cited, May 15th, and preached to a greater Audience than ever he had done before; in the Bishop of Dunkeld's great House, he taught both before and after Noon for ten Days to great Numbers.

At this Time the Earl of Glencairn prevailed with the Earl Marshall, and his great Trustee Henry Drummond, to hear Mr. Knox's Sermons. They were extreamly well satisfied with his Doctrine, and proposed to him, that he might write to the Queen Regent an earnest Letter, to prevail with her, if possible, to hear the Protestant Doctrine. He complied

complied with their Desire, and wrote to her in May 1556. The Letter was delivered by the Earl of Glencairn, the Queen read it, and gave it to James Beaton Archbishop of Glasgow, with this Sarcastism upon it, Please you my Lord to read a Patquil. He printed it afterwards at Geneva with Additions and Explications, Anno 1558, and it is reprinted in the Folio and Quarto Editions of the History, and at the End of this Edition. He has some remarkable Threatnings in that Letter against that Queen and her Friends, upon which he makes this Remark in his History, p. 92. As to the Threatnings there, (*viz.* in this Letter) pronounced against her own Person, and the most principal of her Friends, let these very Flatterers see, what hath failed of all that hath been written: And therefore it were expedient that her Daughter, now mischievously Reigning, should look to what hath passed before, lest that in following the Counsels of the wicked, she end more miserably than her crafty Mother did.

While Mr. Knox is thus occupied in Scotland, Letters were sent to him from the English Congregation at Geneva, charging him in the Name of God to come to them for their Comfort. When Doctor Cox and his Party, by the Methods above-mentioned, had got Mr. Knox expelled from Frankfort, several of that Congregation left Frankfort and came to Geneva, where they soon obtained Liberty for meeting together for publick Worship, and recalled Mr. Knox, who had been their Pastor at Frankfort, to exercise his Ministry among them.

Mr. Knox seriously pondered this Invitation, and determined to return to that People who had shown such a great Regard for him. Before he left Scotland, he visited all the Places in which he had preached, and exhorted the People to be stable in their Profession, and that by no Means they return again to the Abominations of Popery: He exhorted them to continue instant in Prayer, in reading the holy Scriptures, and to meet frequently together, until the Lord should bring greater Liberty to them. Among others, he waited on the Earl of Argyle, who, together with the Laird of Glenurchy, earnestly desired him to continue in his Native Country; but he could by no Means be prevailed upon to lay aside his Purpose at that Time, but promised, that if God blessed these small Beginnings, and they continued stedfast in Godliness, whenever they pleased to command him, he should obey them, but that he must first see that little Flock, which the Wickedness of Men had forced him to part with.

In the Month of July 1556, he left Scotland, went first to France; and from thence to Geneva. He had no sooner turned his Back, than the Bishops summoned him to appear before them, and when he appeared not, they passed a Sentence of Death against him, but not being able to reach himself, they caused burn him in Effigie at the Cross of Edinburgh. Against this unjust Sentence, he formed, and sometime thereafter printed at Geneva, Anno 1558, his Appellation from the cruel and most unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland, with his Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, Estates and Commonality of the same Realm. This Treatise is reprinted at the End of the Folio and Quarto Editions of his History, and at the End of this Edition. In it he gives an Account of his Doctrine, complains heavily of the cruel Sentence passed against him by the Clergy, and appeals to a lawful General Council, such as the most ancient Canons and Laws approve; humbly requesting, that

until the Controversies in Religion at this Time be lawfully decided, the Nobility and Estates may protect him and others, who are thus unjustly persecuted. He offers a publick Disputation, wherein Matters may be tried and decided by the simple and plain Word of God; and that the Popish Clergy, whom he calls the Generation of Antichrist, may not be allowed to be his Judges; but by the Authority of the Estates, they may be compelled to desist from their cruel Murders, and obliged to answer to such Things as shall be laid to their Charge, for not righteously instructing the Flock committed to their Trust.

In the Month of March 1556, the Earl of Glencairn, the Lord Lorn, the Lord Ereskine, and Lord James Stewart, afterwards Earl of Murray, being the chief Promoters of the Reformation in Scotland at that Time, being sensible how useful such a Person as Mr. Knox might be for promoting that Design, sent an Express to him, earnestly desiring him to return to his own Country. Their Letter is to be found in his History, p. 98. It was delivered to him in the Month of May 1557, he immediately communicated it to his Congregation, who were very unwilling to part with him: But having consulted with Mr. Calvin and other worthy Ministers, they gave it as their Opinion, that he could not refuse such a plain Call, unless he would declare himself rebellious to God, and unmerciful to his Country. The Congregation understanding this, yielded to his Return to Scotland; and he wrote back with the Messengers who brought the Letter, that he would return to them with all reasonable Expedition, so soon as he might put Order to that dear Flock that was committed to his Charge.

Mr. Knox having provided for his Congregation at Geneva, left them in September, and came to Diep, in his Way to Scotland against the 24th of October; there he unexpectedly met with Letters from Scotland, contrary to the former, informing him that new Consultations were entered into, and advising him to remain in these Parts until the final Conclusion of them; there was another Letter directed to a Friend of Mr. Knox, wherein he was told, that many were becoming inconstant and drawing back who had before joyned in an Invitation to him to return: As soon as he received these Notices, he wrote to the Lords who had invited him, in which Letter he expostulates with them for their Rashness, and denounces Judgments against such as should be inconstant in the Religion they now professed. This Letter is to be found in the History, Page 98. to 100. and bears Date from Diep, 27th October 1557. upon this Disappointment Mr. Knox returned to Geneva in December 1557, where he continued till April 1552.

This Letter of Mr. Knox's, together with some others, written to the chief Promoters of the Protestant Cause, had this notable Effect, that they were excited to a greater Degree of Zeal for the Doctrine they had espoused; they came at last to this Resolution, That they would follow forth their Purpose, and would commit themselves and whatsoever God had given them into his Hands, rather than suffer Idolatry so manifestly to reign, and the Subjects of the Realm to be defrauded, so long as they had been, of the only Food of their Souls; and that every one might be assured the more of one another, a common Band was made and subscribed by the following Persons of great Interest

rest and Authority, *Archibald Earl of Argyle, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, James Earl of Morton, Archibald Lord Lorn, and John Erskine of Dun*, which Bond itself is preserved in the History, Page 101, and is dated at Edinburgh, December 3. 1557.

From this Bond these who separated from Popery were called the Congregation, (because in it they oblige themselves to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and his Congregation) and the Nobility, who adopted the reformed Interest, were called the Lords of the Congregation. Mr. Knox wrote several Letters from Diep, both to the Nobility and Professors of the reformed Religion of an inferior Degree, wherein he, with great Earnestness, exhorts them to Constancy in their Profession, and gives them some useful Cautions against the Errors of Sectaries, which were much prevailing about this Time, both in Germany and England, and enjoins them to give due Obedience to Authority in all lawful Things. These original Letters are in the Hands of my worthy Friend Mr. Wodrow. By them it appears that Mr. Knox continued in Diep till the End of December 1557, at which Time also he wrote some consolatory Letters to the persecuted Protestants in France, and adds to them an excellent Apology for the French Professors of the reformed Religion, which are likewise in Mr. Wodrow's Hands.

He returned to Geneva in the beginning of the Year 1558: It appears from some of his Letters yet extant, that he was there in April 1558.

During this Space that Mr. Knox was in Geneva, he printed a Treatise with this Title, *The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women*. This Treatise being subjoined to this Edition of the History, will save me the Trouble of giving an Abstract of it. It made a great Noise, and procured great Envy to Mr. Knox, and was the Occasion of great Obloquy and Reproach against him.

Mr. David Calderwood in his MSS. History takes notice, That the cruel and bloody Government of Queen Mary of England, and the Endeavours of Mary of Lorrain, Queen Regent of Scotland, to break through our legal Constitution, and introduce tyrannical Government, and the Domination of the French, were the chief Motives which induced Mr. Knox to write and publish this Piece; that Author adds, that in it he shews his Erudition, and Variety of reading more than in any other of his Treatises. The Reader will form his own Judgment of it, and I shall not interpose mine. The Book was much approved by several of the exiled English Protestants, and by others as much disliked. Mr. Strype informs us, That Mr. John Fox the Martyrologist had expostulated with him about this Matter, and has preserved Mr. Knox's Letter in Answer to Mr. Fox, dated at Geneva, March 18. 1558. In this Letter he makes a modest Apology for his writing this Book, does not excuse any vehement or rash Expressions he has used in it, but still affirms, that he is perswaded of the Truth of the Positions laid down in it. He designed to have written a subsequent Piece in Confirmation of the first Blast, and this was to have been called the second Blast, but Queen Mary of England dying soon after the first Blast was published, viz. November 14. 1558, and he having a great Esteem of Queen Elizabeth's

Person, and entertaining great Hopes of signal Advantages to the Protestant Cause from her Government, whom he looked upon as an Instrument raised up by the good Providence of God for the Good of his People, he went no further. Before this Event happened, he published an Advertisement concerning this second Blast at Geneva 1558, which is printed with his Letter and Appellation, and Mr. Gilbie's Admonition to England and Scotland, to which I remit the Reader.

In April 1559, Mr. Knox determined to return to his native Country, and having a strong Desire in his Way to it to visit these People in England, to whom he had formerly preached the Gospel, he applied to Sir William Cecil, his old Acquaintance, that he might procure Liberty for him to come through England. Mr. Strype informs us, that no Licence was granted, and that the Messenger he sent to negotiate that Affair was almost taken into Custody. The Letter he wrote to Secretary Cecil upon that Head is to be found in Mr. Buchanan's Edition of the History, and in the MSS. from which this Edition is printed, and therefore shall forbear to give any Account of it. It is to be noticed, that this Letter is not to be found in the Octavo Edition, being (as is probable) kept out to avoid giving Offence to Queen Elizabeth and Secretary Cecil; but notwithstanding of that Concession, that Edition was suppressed in England where it was printed: As we shall see hereafter.

In April 1559, there was printed at Strasburgh an Answer to Mr. Knox's Blast, written by John Elmer an Exile, formerly Arch-deacon of Stow, and Preceptor to the renowned Lady Jean Gray Daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, and for a few Weeks owned by all King Edward's VI. Council as Queen of England. He was afterwards made Bishop of London by Queen Elizabeth. The industrious Mr. Strype has written his Life, and in it gives us an Account of this Performance. The Title of it is, An Harborough for faithful and true Subjects, against the late blown Blast, concerning the Government of Women, wherein are confuted all such Reasons as a Stranger of late made in that Behalf, with an Exhortation to Obedience. This Treatise is very scarce. I only saw it once, but could not have Opportunity to peruse it; and therefore can form no Judgment of it. In Mr. Strype's Opinion it is a notable and full Answer to Mr. Knox.

Mr. Knox arrived in Scotland, May 2. 1559, as appears from a Letter of his in Mr. Wodrow's Hands, and was a very active Instrument in promoting the Reformation, as appears from the second Book of the History, which contains a full Account of his Conduct in Scotland, and of the Progress of the Reformation, till the Protestants were obliged to apply to England. For carrying on which Transaction, in July this Year, he was pitched upon to meet with Sir William Cecil at Stamford incognito, to converse with him concerning the State of Scotland. That great Statesman had been applied to by the Protestant Party in Scotland, that he might interpose with Queen Elizabeth to give them Assistance against the Oppression of the French. Mr. Knox wrote a Letter to Queen Elizabeth inclosed in one to Sir William Cecil, both which are to be found in the Folio and Quarto Editions of the History, but omitted in the Octavo; they are to be seen in the Quarto Edit.

Edit. P. 230, 231 and 232. and in his Edit. P. 209, 210, 211, 212. The Letter to Queen Elizabeth is dated at Edinburgh, July 28. 1559, as we find it in Mr. Buchanan's Quarto Edition; but if the Answer given by Secretary Cecil be of a right Date, the other must necessarily be of an earlier Date; perhaps Calderwood in his MSS. History comes nearer the Truth, when he dates it July 14. 1559. But be that as it will, Secretary Cecil wrote an Answer to Mr. Knox, dated at Oxford 28th of July 1559, which is insert in the Quarto Edition, P. 234. and in this Edit. P. 212 and 213.

From Secretary Cecil's Letter, we see that he expected to have seen Mr. Knox at Stamford; but his Journey was retarded by the Danger of passing by the French who lay at Dunbar. Afterward he was sent to England in Company with Mr. Robert Hamilton Minister of the Gospel to negotiate these great Affairs betwixt the Protestants in Scotland and Queen Elizabeth: When they came to Berwick they remained some Days with Sir James Crofts Governor of it, and there they received Secretary Cecil's Answer to Mr. Knox abovementioned. Sir James Crofts undertook to manage their Business for them, and gave them his Advice to return Home, which they did. Secretary Cecil sent also an Answer to the Protestant Nobility and Gentlemen concerning their Proposals to Queen Elizabeth, which was so general that they were very near resolved to break off all communing upon that Subject, had not Mr. Knox interposed with them, with so much Earnestness that they allowed him once more to write to the Secretary, which he did. The Letter is to be seen in the Quarto Edition of the History, P. 234 and 235. and in this Edit. P. 213, 214 and 215. To this Letter there was very soon an Answer sent, desiring that some Men of Credit might be sent from Scotland to meet with the English at Berwick, and at the same Time informing them that there was a Sum of Money ready to be delivered for carrying on the common Cause, and assuring them, that if the Lords of the Congregation were willing to enter into a League with Queen Elizabeth upon honourable Conditions, they should neither want Men nor Money from England. Upon this Answer Mr. Henry Balnaveis, a Man of good Reputation in both Kingdoms, was sent to Berwick by the Lords, who soon returned with a Sum of Money which defrayed the publick Expence till November thereafter.

In the same Month of July 1559, Mr. Knox was chosen Minister of Edinburgh; but being obliged to attend the Lords while the Agreement with England was in Dependence, Mr. Willock was left in Edinburgh to officiate in his Room.

The Effect of these Negotiations with England was, That an Army was sent down under the Command of the Duke of Norfolk, which was joined by almost all the great Men in Scotland; at last a Peace was procured and concluded by Commissioners from France, in Name of our Queen and the King of France Francis II. her Husband, and from Queen Elizabeth of England, in Conjunction with the chief Nobility of Scotland, which Transactions are to be found in all our Historians; and particularly in Mr. Knox's, who has carefully preserved several very important Papers relating to this great Affair. It would be to transcribe
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that

that History to give any Account of these Matters, for which Reason I refer the Reader to it, where he will have a full Account of them.

After this Peace was concluded in July 1560, there was some Care taken by the Protestant Ministers, of whom Mr. Knox was the Chief, that the reformed Doctrine should be preached through the Kingdom; for which Reason they divided the whole Realm in twelve Parts, and assigned to each Minister his particular District, (for their whole Number at that Time was only twelve) they composed a Confession of Faith, afterwards ratified by Parliament, and compiled the first Book of Discipline.

By the Articles of Pacification a Parliament was allowed to meet in August 1560, where there was present a very full Representation of the Nation, as is evident from a List of the Members I found in the Cottonian Library, Caligula B. 9. Fol. 144. which List is marked with Secretary Cecil's Hand; and of which I took a Copy from the Original.

The Protestants of all Ranks gave in a Petition to this Parliament, which is to be seen in this History, P. 237, 238, 239, which the Reader may consult.

The Parliament, in Answer to this Petition, required the Ministers to draw up in plain short Heads, the Sum of the Doctrine, which they desired to have established by the Civil Authority, as the publick Doctrine of this Church: This was chearfully gone into by them, and the doing of it committed to Mr. Knox, Mr. John Winram, Mr. John Row, Mr. John Spotiswood, John Willock, and Mr. John Douglas Rector of the University of St. Andrews, as we are informed by Mr. Scot Minister of Coupar, in a Manuscript History written by him. In four Days Time they finished the Confession of Faith, and presented it to the Parliament August 17. This Confession is printed in Knox's History, Ed. 8vo. p. 468 to 496. and in the Acts of Parliament, and in this Edition from P. 239 to 253. It was approved by a vast Majority of the Members. A very small Number voted against it, and a few hesitated: It was first read over audibly in Face of Parliament, after that, Time was allowed to make Objections against it; next a Day was fixed, when it was read over again, and the Ministers allowed to be present to answer the Objections against it; but they were saved of that Trouble, for no Body proposed any. Thus, with very great Unanimity, the Protestant Religion was established by Law. If it were a proper Place, I could add a great deal of very useful and instructing Passages relating to this Matter. But this would require a just Treatise by itself, and cannot come so properly in here in Mr. Knox's Life.

This Parliament likewise made some other Acts in Favours of the Protestant Cause; one of them is against the Mass, and Abuse of the Sacraments, and another against the Supremacy and Jurisdiction of the Pope, both which are in Mr. Knox's History, P. 254 and 255.

The only Thing the Parliament waded to take Notice of in the Petition, was the Article concerning the Patrimony of the Church, and its Application to Ministers, Schools, and the Poor; the great Men having their own private Views, which appeared more plainly afterwards.

The Parliament sent to France Sir James Sandilands Lord St. John, and Knight of Rhodes, to apply to the King of France and our Queen his Consort, for a Ratification of these Acts of Parliament, conform to the solemn Promises made by their Ambassadors, in the Agreement and Contract made in July last. Mr. Calderwood in his Manuscript History observes, That he came in a most unseasonable Juncture of Time; for the House of Guise then ruled all in France, in a very imperious Manner, and contrived the Ruin of all such as opposed their Measures, either under Colour of Religion or of Treason, and aimed at no less than a general Destruction of all Protestants; but within a little a Stop was put to their Carier as to Scotland, by the sudden Death of Francis II. the young King of France; it was but a little before his Death that Sir James came to France; he endeavoured to take off the Misrepresentations which were made of their Conduct to that young King, and to make it appear that the French themselves in Scotland were the Cause of all these Disorders which had lately happened; he also executed the Trust committed to him by the Parliament, which was to desire the Ratification of such Things as were stipulated to them by the late solemn Treaty: But these Messages of his were very unwelcome to the Guissans; for instead of granting his Requests, they reproached him as an Abetter of Heresy, which, said they, was the less to be excused in him who was a Knight of the holy Orders: They told him moreover, That they were extremely surprised that the Scottish Nobility should adventure to provoke such a great King. He was dismissed without any Hopes of obtaining a Ratification of these Acts from the King and Queen.

This Parliament gave no direct Answer to the Supplication presented to them concerning the Discipline and Policy of the Church; but the Privy Council allowed the Ministers to consult among themselves how the Church might be established in a good and godly Policy. Mr. Knox, with others who had joined with him in composing the Confession of Faith, were appointed to draw up a Plat-form of Discipline, which they also did perform, and is that Composure which goes under the Name of the first Book of Discipline, frequently printed; this they presented to the Nobility and Lords of Council, who maturely perused it. Mr. Scot of Coupar, in his fore-cited apologetical Relation, gives us this Account of it: When the Book was presented to the Lords, Some wished it were ratified in Parliament, others in Mockage called it, A devout Imagination. The Licentious perceived, that their carnal Liberty was to be restrained, if the Discipline prescribed in the Book was established. Such as had gripped greedily to the Church-rents considered that their Commodity was much to be impaired, if so much were to be bestowed upon the Ministry, the Schools and the Poor, as was modified in that Book; yet it was subscribed by sundry, and ratified by Act of Council, Jan. 27. 1561, with the following Provision, That the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Prelates, and other beneficed Men, who had joined themselves to the reformed Kirk within this Realm, be suffered to possess their Benefices during their Lifetime, so that the Ministry within their Prelacies be provided according to the Modification of that Book. He observes from Knox's History 8vo, P. 546.

That this Discipline was not designed to be observed in all Time coming in every Point, but Liberty reserved to Posterity to establish a more perfect one.

We see by the Subscription subjoined to the End of this first Book of Discipline, that several of the most eminent among the Noblemen and Gentlemen were Subscribers of it.

In December 1560. Marjory Bowes, an English Woman, Mr. Knox's first Wife, died, concerning which Event he expresses great Grief, as appears from this History, P. 260. I shall afterwards give a more full Account of his Family-affairs.

We find in the following Year 1561, in January, that Mr. Knox is maintaining a Dispute concerning the controverted Points of Religion against Mr. Alexander Anderson Sub-principal of the King's College of Aberdeen, and Mr. John Lesly Parson of Ume, and afterwards Bishop of Ross, of which we have an Account in this Edition, Page 261, 262.

In March 1561 Mr. John Spotiswood was admitted Superintendent of Lothian by Mr. Knox; we have the Form and Order of this Admission, as it was composed by Mr. Knox, in this History, Page 263, &c.

In this same Year, August 20th 1561, the Queen arrived in Leith from France; she, from the first Time of her Arrival, set up a private Mass in her own Chapel, which afterwards, by her Protection and Countenance, was much more frequented. This Practice of the Queen excited the Zeal of Mr. Knox, who with great Warmth expressed himself against allowing any such Thing to be done. The Queen's Brothers, Lord James Prior of St. Andrews, Lord John Prior of Coldingham, and Lord Robert Abbot of Holyroodhouse, were at great Pains to protect the Priest from Violence: But in the Afternoon, August 24th, great Numbers of Protestant Gentlemen convened, with full Resolution that they would not permit the Mass to be set up again. Matters were not suffered to come to an open Rupture that Day, but the next, a Council was held, and Consultation taken of a proper Remedy. The Queen's Emissaries threatened, that she would return back to France if she were not indulged in this Matter. The Affair ended in an Act of Privy Council, inserted in the History p. 285. which was proclaimed at the Market Cross of Edinburgh; no Person offered to make any Opposition to it, except James Earl of Aran, eldest Son to the Duke of Chatterault late Governour, who took a Protestation against it at the same Market-place, which is also to be seen in the History, p. 286.

Mr. Knox himself in his History, p. 287. informs us, That he was much displeased with the Conduct of the Privy Council in this Matter; and that he openly in his Sermon upon the next Lord's Day after the above-mentioned Proclamation declared, That one Mass was more frightful to him than ten Thousand armed Enemies landed in any Part of the Realm. This Freedom of Speech gave great Offence to the Court, and the Queen her self had a long Conference with him upon that and other Subjects, of which we have the Sum in the History, p. 287. 288, &c.

We shall see from the History what Part Mr. Knox bore in the Affairs of the Church, during the Remainder of this Year 1561; and I have nothing

thing else in that Period to offer, which is not to be found in the Account of Matters given there.

In the Year 1562, Mr. Knox was employed in making up Differences betwixt the Earls of Bothwell and Arran, which is insert in the History p. 305, &c. This is an Evidence how much he was regarded by the most eminent Persons of the Kingdom, and how much Interest he had with them.

This same Year the Queen being informed that her Uncles were like to recover their former Interest at the Court of France, received the News with great Joy. Mr. Knox being informed of her Behaviour, and apprehending that the Power of the Queen's Relations would produce dismal Effects in Prejudice of the Reformed Interest in these Parts, thought fit to preach upon Psal. ii. 10, 11. From which Words, he taxed the Ignorance, Vanity and Despise of Princes against all Vertue, and against all those in whom Hatred of Vice, and Love of Vertue appeared.

The Queen being informed of his Words, sent Mr. Alexander Cockburn eldest Son to the Laird of Ormeston with a Message to Mr. Knox to bring him to the Queen. Mr. Cockburn having been formerly his Scholar, gave him some Account of his Accusation, and of his Accusers; he very readily came to the Queen, and had a Conference with her, which is in the History, p. 309, 310, &c.

This Year Mr. Knox was appointed by the General Assembly, Commissioner to the Counties of Kyle and Galloway, and by his Influence, several of the most eminent Gentlemen of Kyle, Cunningham and Carrick, entered into a Bond, and subscribed it at Air, September 4th 1562: This Bond, with a good many Subscriptions subjoined to it, is to be found in his History, p. 316, &c.

He went from the Shire of Air to Nithsdale and Galloway, and had Conferences about Matters of great Importance with the Master of Maxwell; and from this County he wrote to the Duke of Chaterault, giving him Cautions both against the Bishop of St. Andrews and the Earl of Huntley, whose Counsels Mr. Knox judged might prove pernicious to the reformed Interest; at this Time also Mr. Quintin Kennedy a Son of the House of Cassils, Prior of Whithorn, and Abbot of Cross-regal, offered a publick Conference and Dispute with Mr. Knox: This Offer Mr. Knox very readily embraced, and the Dispute was held in the Village of Maybole in Carrick, for the Space of three Days, the Subject of the Dispute was concerning the Mass, impartial Readers will judge, how Mr. Knox acquitted himself by reading the Dispute it self, which was afterwards printed; I have seen some Copies of it, and leave it to the Curious to form their own Opinion.

In the End of May 1563, the Queen held her first Parliament, after her Return from France. Mr. Knox and the rest of the zealous Professors of the Protestant Religion, exerted themselves to the utmost, that the Articles agreed upon at Leith, before the Queen's Arrival, might be ratified in this Parliament: But this could not be obtained; all that could be gotten done, was the passing of an Act of Oblivion since March 1558. In the Beginning of the Parliament, Mr. Knox endeavoured to the utmost to excite the Earl of Murray to appear with Zeal and Courage to get these Matters carried through in Parliament; but finding him more cool than he expected, there followed a Breach betwixt them,

which continued for a Year and an Half; of this Mr. Knox himself gives an Account in his History, p. 366.

Mr. Knox was exceedingly grieved that the Reformed Religion was not explicitly confirmed by this Parliament; and before the Dissolution of it, he had a Sermon before a great many of the Members, wherein he with Vehemency expressed his Sense of that Matter, of which he gives an Account in his History p. 331. at which Time also he expressed his great Abhorrency of the Queen's marrying a Papist.

Upon Account chiefly of his adventuring to speak of the Queen's Marriage, there was great Offence taken both by the Queen and Courtiers; the Laird of Drumlanrig brought him a Charge to appear before the Queen, which he did after Dinner.

The Queen was in extreme Passion, and several Things passed betwixt the Queen and Mr. Knox; she was very desirous to have had him punished, but by the Advice of some about her, she was prevailed upon to desist for that Time.

There happened another Incident which was like to have brought about much Trouble to Mr. Knox this Year, which was this. The Queen had spent most of this Summer in hunting in the West Parts, and in her Return from that Progress, stayed for some Time in Stirling; during the Time of her Stay there, those of her Family she had left at her Palace of Halyrudehouse, took upon them to convocate greater Numbers to the Mass than had been usual, and upon the very Lord's Day upon which the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was celebrated in the Town of Edinburgh, they resorted in great Numbers to the Mass; some of the most zealous Protestants being informed of this, went to the Abbey, that they might take down the Names of such as they saw going to that Service; this Appearance gave the Alarm to the Queen's Servants, who sent to the Laird of Pitarrow the Comptroller, to advertise him that they were in great Danger, and craved his Assistance, he with great Expedition came down and brought the Provost and Baillies of Edinburgh along with him and many others; it happened upon this Occasion, that Patrick Cranston went into the Queens Chappel, and finding the Altar covered, and the Priest ready to celebrate the Mass, said, The Queens Majesty is not here, how dare you then be so malapert as openly to do against the Law. The Report of this being carried to the Queen, she caused summon the said Patrick Cranston and Andrew Armstrong to find Surety to underly the Law for Forethought Felony, having made violent Invasion into the Queen's Palace; Mr. Knox being afraid that Extremity might be used against these two zealous Men, and being authorized by the last General Assembly to give Advertisement to the whole Body of Protestants in Scotland, when any Danger appeared, wrote a circular Letter, which is inserted in his History, Page 336 and 337, dated at Edinburgh, October 8th 1563, wherein he desires them to conveen for the Support of these Men against the Time of their Appearance. Some Copies of this Letter of Mr. Knox were intercepted and brought to the Queen; it was concluded in her Cabinet Council, that it contained Treason, and the Nobility were advertised to be present at Mr. Knox's Tryal, which was appointed against

gainst the middle of December: The Nobility concerned according to the Queen's Appointment, and having heard Mr. Knox's Defence, he was absolved by them. Of this remarkable Passage Mr. Knox gives us a full Account in his History, from P. 339 to 343.

The General Assembly of the Church also approved of Mr. Knox's Conduct, with respect to the abovementioned Affair, he having been authorized by them to give Advertisment of any common Danger; this gave great Offence to the Queen and Court.

Another remarkable Passage of Mr. Knox's Life happened in the Year 1564. At the General Assembly, there was a select Committee appointed by them to meet with several Persons of Distinction, who had Offices in the State, to confer together upon several controverted Heads, the Chief of which was the setting the Boundaries betwixt the Power of the supreme Magistrate and the People. Mr. Knox and the rest of his Brethren espoused the same Principles which have been owned by the Supporters of the late happy Revolution, the Courtiers were for screwing up the Royal Prerogative to a great Pitch, the whole Conference is at full Length given in Mr. Knox's History, from Page 349 to 366; but they broke up without coming to any Agreement; it is to no Purpose to abridge the Account of this Matter given in the History, and therefore I refer the Reader to it.

Mr. Knox fell into some Trouble the next Year 1565, upon this Occasion: Henry Lord Dernly being married to the Queen upon the 19. Day of July this Year, was advised by the Protestants about the Court to come to hear Mr. Knox preach, which they thought might contribute much to procure the Good-will of the People, at their Desire he went to Sermon upon Sunday August 19. Mr. Knox took his Text in the xxvi. Isa. 13. and 17 ver. from which Place he discoursed of the Government of wicked Princes, who for the Sins of the People are sent as Tyrants and Scourges to plague them, and among other Things he said that God sets in that Room (for the Offences and Ingratitude of the People) Boys and Women; there were also some other Words uttered by him, which gave great Offence to the young King, e. g. That God justly punished Ahab and his Posterity, because he would not take Order with that Harlot Jezabel.

Mr. Knox was immediately commanded to appear before the Council; he obeyed, and was accompanied by a good Number of the most considerable Men of the Town; when he was called the Secretary declared, that the King's Majesty was offended with some Words spoken in his Sermon, (especially such as are above rehearsed) desiring him to abstain from Preaching for 15 or 20 Days, and that Mr. Craig should supply his Place.

Mr. Knox answered, That he had spoken nothing but according to his Text, and if the Church would command him either to speak or abstain, he would obey, so far as the Word of God would permit him.

The Publisher of Mr. Knox's History, Edit. Quarto, P. 419. adds in the Margin, That in answering he said more than he had preached, for he added, That as the King had for Pleasure of the Queen gone to Mass, and dishonoured the Lord God, so should God in his Justice,

make her an Instrument of his Ruin; and so it fell out in a very short Time; but the Queen being incensed with these Words fell out in Tears, and to please her John Knox must abstain from Preaching for a Time.

The General Assembly, which met in December 1565, in their 4th Session, appointed Mr. Knox to pen a consolatory Letter in their Name, to encourage Ministers, Exhorters and Readers to continue in their Vocation, which many were under great Temptation to leave for want of Subsistence, and to exhort the Professors of the Realm to supply their Necessities. Mr. Knox was also appointed by this Assembly to visit, preach and plant the Kirks in the South till the next Assembly, and to remain so long as he could at this Work.

The General Assembly, which convened at Edinburgh in December 1566, upon Mr. Knox's Desire, allowed him to go to England to visit two of his Sons, who were educated in the University of Cambridge, and to do his other necessary Affairs in that Kingdom; he got very ample Testimonials from the Assembly of his Life, Doctrine and Usefulness, and was by them recommended to all to whom he should come; they limited his abode in England to the Meeting of the next General Assembly June 25.

This same General Assembly being informed, that some worthy and learned Divines in England were prosecuted by the Bishops, because they refused to use the Habits appointed by Law to be used by Church-men, caused a Letter to be written and sent by Mr. Knox, wherein they with great Earnestness entreated that they might deal gently with such Ministers as scrupled concerning the Use of these Vestments. This Letter is published by Bishop Spotswood in his History, and in the History of the Troubles at Francfort, as also by Mr. Strype in his Life of Archbishop Parker; it is likewise to be found in the Register of the General Assembly, so that there is no Occasion for inserting it here; the Letter itself seems to have been penned by Mr. Knox, as is affirmed in the 5th Book of the History, where we have also a Copy of the Assembly's Letter.

In the Year 1567, July 29. Mr. Knox preached a Sermon at the Coronation of King James VI. of Scotland, and afterwards I. of Great Britain. This Sermon is commended by Buchanan in his History, who no doubt heard it, and could well judge of the Beauties of such a Performance; after this Sermon the Superintendents of Lothian, Angus, and Bishop of Orkney set the Crown on his Head, the Earl of Morton and Lord Hume took the Coronation Oath in his Name.

This Year is very remarkable, upon the Account of the great Turn of Affairs in Scotland by the Demission of the Government by Queen Mary, and the constituting the Earl of Murray Regent, who held a Parliament, which began upon the 15. of December; this was a very numerous Convention of all the Estates, as appears from authentick Lists of the Members of it, which I have seen. Mr. Knox preached a zealous Sermon at the opening of it; in this Parliament the Confession of Faith before ratified anno 1560, was of new confirmed, and many other Acts made for Confirmation of the reformed Religion.

In the Year 1569, Mr. Knox was in extream Affliction upon account of the Murder of the Earl of Murray Regent, which fell out January 23. 1569; he apprehended that the Interest of Religion was exposed to the utmost Danger by his Fall, and expressed himself with great Concern upon that Account both in publick and private. I have seen a Form of Prayer composed by him upon this Event, which Mr. Calderwood has preserved, which shows his genuine Sentiments of this Matter.

His deep Concern for this and several other Things which he looked upon as Presages of great Calamity to the Protestant Cause, are extreamly well expressed by Mr. Smeton in his Answer to Mr. Archibald Hamilton's Dialogue, De confusione Calvinianæ sectæ apud Scotos, p. 116. Post multos & pene infinitos labores, quos vir Dei patienter & constanter pro Dei gloria promovenda, & evangelio Christi propagando pertulit, tractus paulatim cepit imbeciliori esse corpore, cum incredibilis tamen animi perspicacia & solertia, non imminueretur aut languesceret: Sed quod mirum omnibus fuit, sua quotidie caperet incrementa; ad labores accesserunt multa alia, quæ sic pii viri pectus exulcerarunt, ut totus in meditationibus, lachrymis & suspiriis marcesceret, nam anno Dom. 1569 Octavo cal. Februarii Jacobus Stuardus, felicitis memoriæ prorex, ornamentum & lumen hujus nationis, quo nullus unquam extitit aut religionis observantior, aut amantior aequi, perditissimi nebulonis Jacobi Hamiltonii prodicione, qui sibi & toti fere illi genti exitium attulit, propter peccata nostra, quæ multa & magna fuerunt, e medio sublatus est: Hic cum propter veram pietatem, & integritatem morum Knoxio imprimis charus fuisset, dici non potest quantum ad mortem illustri viri indoluit: Vidit enim, quæ angustia, quæ turbæ, quæ mala in mœsta, & multum jam lugente rep. hoc facinus essent consecutura: Quæ res sæpius in animum incurrens eum vehementer affecit, versavit, & torfit: Adde quod eo etiam tempore præterquam quod late grassabatur impietas, quam ille semper fortiter oppugnabat, cæperunt etiam ii qui prius de religione bene meriti videbantur, paulatim deficere, regiam auctoritatem labetactare, nefariorum scelerum patrocinium suscipere, adeoque & remp. ipsamque religionem in summum discrimen adducere, quo quid acerbius pio pectori obtingere potuit?

There is a remarkable Passage told by Bishop Spotiswood in his History, 2d Edit. pag. 234. upon the Occasion of the Murder of this Regent; and because it relates to Mr. Knox, I shall give it intire in the Bishop's own Words.

There fell out the next Day after his Death, a Thing which I thought was not to be passed: He was killed on the Saturday, and died (as I have said) a little before Midnight: The Word of his Death coming to Edinburgh, Thomas Maitland, a younger Brother of Lethington (this is he whom Buchanan makes his Collocutor in the Dialogue de jure Regni) knowing what Esteem John Knox made of the Regent, and loving none of the two, caused a writing to be laid in the Pulpit where John Knox was that Day to preach, to this Sense, and almost in the same Words, Take up the Man, whom you accounted another God, and consider the End whereto his Ambition hath brought him. John Knox finding the Paper, and taking it to be a Memorial for recommending some sick Persons in his Prayers, after he had

read the same, laid it by, nothing, as it seems, commoved therewith; yet in the End of the Sermon falling to regrave the Loss that the Church and Commonwealth had received by the Death of the Regent, and shewing how God did often, for the Sins of the People take away, good Rulers and Governors. I perceive, said he, albeit this be an Accident we should all take to Heart, there be some that rejoice in this wicked Fact, making it the Subject of their Mirth, among whom there is one that hath caused a writing to be cast in this Place, insulting upon this, which is all good Mens Sorrow. This wicked Man, whosoever he be, shall not go unpunished, and shall die where none shall be to lament him. The Gentleman was himself present at Sermon, and being come to the Lodging, asked his Sister, who was also there, if she did not think *John Knox* was raving to speak so of the Man he knew not: But she weeping said, That she was sorry he had not followed her Council; for she had dissuaded him from that doing; none of this Man's Denunciations, said she, are wont to prove idle, but have their own Effect. Shortly after the Troubles of the Country increasing, the Gentleman betook himself to travel, and passing into *Italy*, died there, having no known Person to attend him: This I thought not unworthy of Record, being informed thereof by the Gentleman's Sister, to whom these Speeches were uttered, and who was privy to the whole Purpose, for an Advertisement to all Persons not to make a light Account of the Threatnings of God's Servants. The Gentleman was otherwise a Youth of great Hopes, learned and courteous, but miscarried with Affection, and not to be excused in this, that he took Pleasure in the Fall of him whom he judged an Enemy; an Thing inhumane, and abhorred of the very Heathen.

From this Passage it is evident, that Mr. Knox was in very great Esteem, and that he was reputed to be endued with an extraordinary Faculty of predicting Things to come.

In the Year 1571 the Hamiltons, and others who had entred into a Combination to oppose the Government of the Earl of Lennox, began to fortify the Town of Edinburgh against him. And having the Laird of Grange, Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, of their Party, they held a Council in the Castle upon the 4th of May; the Captain at this Meeting desired, that they might give Security for the Safety of Mr. Knox's Person, which was a Thing much desired by the most considerable Inhabitants of the Town of Edinburgh; the Hamiltons answered, that they could not promise him Security upon their Honours, because there was many Rascals, and others in the Town, who loved him not, and might do him Harm without their Knowledge. When Mr. Knox's Friends found Matters in this State, and that no Good was designed by that Party against him, Mr. Craig his Colleague, and the most valuable Inhabitants of the Town, came to him, and intreated him in the Name of the Lord, to leave the Town, because of the Danger he was in; he at first peremptorily refused to leave them, and none of their Arguments could move him, until they told him, that his continuing in the Town might very probably be the Occasion of shedding much innocent Blood; for his Friends would never see him suffer any Harm without using their Endeavours to defend him, and
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the contrary Faction being strongest in the Town at present, they doubted if they should be able to resist them; therefore they besought him to remove, both for his own Sake and theirs. Being thus earnestly desired, he left the Town, May 5th, and went to Abbotshall in Fife, and from thence to St. Andrews, where he remained till the 23. of August 1572, as we shall see afterwards.

In the Year 1572 there was a Convention of the Ministers at Leith; in which it was agreed unto, that a certain kind of Episcopacy should be introduced into the Church. The Bishops, who came in by Virtue of this Convention were called *Tulchan Bishops*, the Word *Tulchan* in the Irish Language signifying the Skin of a Calf stuffed with Straw, to make the Appearance of a living Calf, which Device was used in the Highlands of Scotland, that the Cows might easily yield their Milk, which they did not without a great Struggle when their Calves were taken from them; from this Custom the Bishops now introduced were called *Tulchan*, because, although the Courtiers had got the far greater Part of the Revenues of the Bishopricks, yet they could not get a colourable Title to these Rents as the Law then stood, except they had a Conveyance from those who had the Title of Bishops; for this Reason it was thought a good Expedient by the great Men, who had a great Desire to enjoy the Profits of the Bishopricks, that this Sort of Bishops should be brought into the Church, and indeed all of them by certain *Patrons* conveyed the far greater Part of the Revenues to their *Patrons*, reserving a very small Part to themselves. The Earl of Morton had got the Archbishoprick of St. Andrews, for his Share, and designed that Mr. John Douglas Rector of the University of St. Andrews; a Person in whom he had intire Confidence, should be elected Archbishop; for this Purpose the Electors were convened, February 8. 1572, where there was some Opposition made to Mr. Douglas's Election, but at length he carried it. Mr. Knox being in St. Andrews at that Time, was much displeased with this Election, and the next Lord's Day being to preach in the Forenoon, where the Earl of Morton was present, peremptorily refused to inaugurate and receive the now-elected Bishop, yea, he publicly denounced an Anathema both to the Giver and Receiver of this Bishoprick. Notwithstanding of this Opposition Mr. Douglas was admitted Archbishop, according to the Order for admitting Superintendents and Ministers; for they had not as yet framed any particular Form for admitting Bishops. Mr. John Ruthertoord, Provost of the old College of St. Andrews, and Messieurs Archibald and John Hamiltons Professors in the new College, spread a Report next Week, that Mr. Knox's Opposition to the Election of the Bishop proceeded from Displeasure that he was not elected himself. When he heard this, he vindicated himself publicly from the Pulpit next Lord's Day to this Purpose. I have refused a far greater Bishoprick than ever it was, which I might have had with the Favour of greater Men than ever he had his; I did and do repine not from Malecontent, but for the Discharge of my Conscience, that the Kirk of Scotland be not subject to that Order. This seems to relate to the Offer of a Bishoprick in England made to him in King Edward VI.'s Time, as I before took Notice.

The Troubles of the Country being much abated, and the People of Town of Edinburgh, who had been obliged to leave it, being returned, they sent two of their Number, viz. Nicol Edward and John Johnston Scribe, to St. Andrews, to invite Mr. Knox to return to them, and to seek his Advice as to the Choice of another Minister to assist him. They were exceedingly displeased with the Conduct of Mr. John Craig during the Time of the Troubles, who had made too great Compliances with those who appeared against the Authority of the young King and his Regents, and were unwilling any longer to submit to his Ministry. The Inhabitants of Edinburgh sent along with their Commissioners the following Letter.

The Comfort of the Holy Spirit for Salutation. Of the restoring of us undeserved of our God into our Town, we believe ye are not ignorant; and yet we cannot excuse our Sloath, that we have not as yet advertised you thereof, being troubled to obtain that Liberty which we had before our Departing therefrae, wherein of yet we are occupied, was and is the Cause of our Slackness, which we doubt not ye will accept in good Part. Our Estate at present in that Thing which to us at present is most dear, is, that Ministers may be had: Of whom, for the present, we are destitute, you only excepted, moveth us more than any other Thing; and for that Purpose, and for treating of such other Things as concern the State of the Kirk, we directed the Bearers to the Assembly at St. Johnstoun, who will certify you of their Answer which they have received: But because you are he to whom we are married, under God, we would crave, and crave of God, if Hability of your Person might sustain Travel, that once again your Voice might be heard among us, and that Thing reformed, which some Time by you was planted among us. Loath are we to distress or hurt your Person anywise, and far loather to want you, we being joined together in Love by God, and knowing your Care to be no less for us than it hath been heretofore. We refer your returning to yourself and your Judgment; but if it may stand with your Will, we desire the same most earnestly. And knowing the Sufficiency of the Bearers, who will declare our Mind to you at great Length, wherein ye shall give them Credit, We commit you to the Protection of the Eternal. Off Edinburgh the 4th of August 1572.

Your Brethren and Children in God, with their Names
subscribed with their own Hands.

The Superintendent of Lothian was with them when they presented this Letter. When Mr. Knox had read it, he condescended to return, upon this Condition, that he should not be desired in any sort to cease to speak against the treasonable Dealings of these who kept out the Castle of Edinburgh, and he desired them to signify this to the whole Brethren, lest they repent afterwards of his Austerity against those in the Castle, or fear to be treated the worse on his Account; and when he returned, he once and again repeated these Words to the Brethren there, before he entered the Pulpit; they answered, that they never meant to put a Bridle on his Tongue, but desired him to speak according to his Conscience, as in former Times; they desired also that he might give them his Advice

Advice, as to the Choice of a Minister. And after some Reasoning, they agreed upon Mr. James Lawson, Sub-principal of the King's College of Aberdeen.

Mr. Knox left St. Andrews, August 17th, and came to Leith on the 23d. Upon the last Day of that Month, he preached in the Great Kirk, but his Voice was become very weak, and therefore he desired another Place to teach in, wherein his Voice might be heard, if it were but to an hundred Persons, which was granted.

Immediately after this Agreement, Commissioners were sent to Mr. Lawson at Aberdeen, with whom Mr. Knox wrote the following Letter to him.

Beloved Brother, seeing God of his Mercy, far above my Expectation, hath called me once again to Edinburgh, and yet I feel Nature so decayed, and daily to decay, that I look not for a long Continuance of my Battle, I would gladly once discharge my Conscience unto your Bosom, and into the Bosom of others, in whom I think the fear of God remaineth. If I had the Ability of Body, I should not have put you to the pains to which I require you now, that is once to visit me, that we may confer together of heavenly Things, for in Earth there is no Stability, except the Kirk of Jesus Christ, ever fighting under the Cross, to whose Protection I heartily commit you. From Edinburgh 7th of September 1572. Accelera mi Frater, alioqui fero venies.

Mr. Lawson came to Edinburgh, September 15th, and preached upon the Friday thereafter; to the great Satisfaction of the People, and continued preaching until he was admitted to the Charge of the holy Ministry in Edinburgh; Mr. Knox preached in the Tolbooth as long as he had strength of Body.

About the 12th of September 1572, Mr. Killigrew, Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth, came to Edinburgh, and brought with him the lamentable Account of the barbarous Massacre of the Protestants in Paris. This very much sunk Mr. Knox, and impaired his Health exceedingly; all the Ministers of Edinburgh expressed their Abhorrence and Detestation of this bloody Butchery of their Protestant Brethren, particularly Mr. Knox, who in his Sermon said, Sentence is pronounced in Scotland against that Murderer the King of France, and God's Vengeance shall never depart from him, nor his House; but that his Name shall remain in Execration to Posterity to come, and none that shall come of his Loins, shall enjoy that Kingdom in Peace and Quietness, unless Repentance prevent God's Judgments. He desired to tell the French Ambassador then in Edinburgh what he had said; the Ambassador, Monsieur la Crocque applied to the Regent and Council, and complained that his Master was called a Traitor and Murderer of his Subjects, under a Promise and Trust, and desired that an Edict might be published, discharging the Subjects of Scotland to speak any Thing to the Dishonour of his Master, especially the Ministers in their Sermons. This was waved by the Council, and the Ambassador was told, that they could not hinder the Ministers from speaking against themselves.

Upon the Lord's Day November 9th. 1572, Mr. Lawson was admitted a Minister of Edinburgh, by Mr. Knox. His Voice was so weak, that very few heard him; he declared the Duty of a Minister to his People, and the Duty of a People to their Minister, he praised God that had

given them a Minister in his Room, who was now unable to teach, and desired that God might augment his Graces to him, a thousand Fold above that which he had, if it were his Pleasure, and so ended with pronouncing the Blessing.

From this Time forth Mr. Knox sensibly decayed in Strength, and hastened to his End. Upon the 11th. of November he was seized with a violent Cough, and great Pains of Body, so that upon the 13th, he was obliged to give over his ordinary reading of the Scriptures, for it was his Custom every Day to read some Chapters of the Old and New Testament in his Family, together with some Psalms.

I think it of considerable Moment to give a distinct Account of the last Hours of this great Man. Mr. Seton, in the Treatise before cited, gives a very good Account of this Matter, from an Ear and Eye Witness, which is very well worthy the serious Perusal. The Reverend Mr. Robert Fleming, late Minister at London, in his Preface prefixed to his practical Discourse, occasioned by the Death of King William, London 1702, says, That the whole of this Account deserves to be written in Letters of Gold. From this and some other Vouchers, Bishop Spotiswood gives a pretty full Account of his Sickness and Death; but because both these are in the Hands of many, and that the industrious and learned Mr. David Calderwood has in his large Manuscript History, given a much fuller Account of his last Moments, than any of these Authors, and that he had excellent Opportunities to know more of him than any other Person, being possessed of all Mr. Knox's Papers, and that this Manuscript History is in very few Hands: I shall presume to copy what he has left us, concerning Mr. Knox's last Sickness and Death, in his own Words, which follow.

Upon Friday the 14th. of November, Mr. Knox arose, beside his accustomed Diet, and yet when he was risen, he could scarce sit on a Stool: Being demanded what he would do when he was out of his Bed he said he would go to the Kirk and preach, taking it for the Lord's Day, adding, that he had been meditating all that Night upon the Resurrection of Christ, which was the Subject which followed next after the Death of Christ, which he had been preaching upon the former Lord's Day. Often and many Times he desired through his Life, that he might end his Days in the Teaching and Meditations of the Sufferings, Death and Resurrection of Christ, and his Desire was granted him. Perceiving his Mistake, he desired the Elders and Deacons, Members of his Session might be sent for, that he might take his last Farewel of them, as he had done of his People at Mr. Lawson's Ordination, when he told them he would never enter into that Place again. Upon the Lord's Day November 16th he kepted his Bed, and would take no Meat, supposing it had been the first Sabbath of the Fast, which was appointed, till the Laird of Braid, who was sitting at his Bed-side, called him to Remembrance; and caused him to take a little Meat.

Upon Monday the 17th the Elders and Deacons of his Session came to him, and in his Discourse to them he protested to them, that he had taught nothing, but true and sound Doctrine, beating down by the Threatnings of God's Judgments the Proud and Stubborn, and raising up
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and comforting the troubled Consciences, by the Promises of God's Mercies; and how severe soever he was against any Man, it was not for Hatred of his Person, but only to beat down in them their Vice, and that in them, which rebelled against God, which God would not leave unpunished, and for Discharge of his Conscience before God: And that he made not Merchandize of the Word of God, whose Message he bore, and to whom he must make an Account for the same; in respect whereof, albeit he was but a weak and unworthy Creature, and a fearful Man, he feared not the Faces of Men; therefore he exhorted them to stand constant in the Doctrine, which they had heard of his Mouth, how unworthy soever he was, and willed them never to join with wicked Doers, especially with the Castle of *Edinburgh*, it remaining in the State wherein now it is, whom he assured them God would confound both in Body and Soul, if they repented not; and altho' they should triumph in this World, yet he besought them never to meddle with that Faction, but rather choise with *David* to flee to the Mountains, than to remain in the Company of the Wicked. As to the Severity he had used against the Laird of *Grange*, with whom he had been so familiar, *he said*, It was only to bring him to acknowledge his shameful Declining, that thereby he might turn to Repentance; and willed Mr. *David Lindsay* and Mr. *James Lawson* then present, to signify to him, that *John Knox*, now going to die, was the same Man as he was before, when able of Body; and to will him to consider his own State, wherein he now standeth.

As for Answer to the Secretary *Lethington's* Bill given into the Session, he desired all Men to consider his, and the Works of the rest, which testified they denied there was any God, or Heaven or Hell, wherein Vertue should be rewarded, or Vice punished; that it was not Education, that brought a Man to be a true Christian, nor brought a Man to the true Knowledge, and Fear of God, but the Illumination of the Soul by God's Spirit; for who was better brought up, than *Julian* the Apostate, and sundry others. As for the Nomination of the Reporters, which the Bill required, he refused; howbeit he could very well have done it. As to that Part of the Bill, wherein it is said, *That Mr. Knox was a Man subject to Vanity, and all are not Oracles*; he confessed he was but a most vile Creature, and a wretched Man, yet the Words he had spoken should be found to be as true as the Oracles; which have been uttered by any of the Servants of God before; for he had said nothing, but that whereof he had Warrant out of the Word, to wit, That the Justice of God should never be satisfied, till the Blood of the Shedders of innocent Blood were shed again, or God moved them to unfeigned Repentance. And he caused read the Ninth *Psalme*. Farther he added, that the Secretary was the chief Author of all the Troubles raised, both in *England* and *Scotland*; so with Exhortation to them, he commended them to God. After Prayer was ended, they parted from him with many Tears.

After this Speech his Infirmary increased; for he never spoke almost but with great Pain, and yet few came to him, to whom he gave not some Admonition and Exhortation. Mr. *David Lindsay* reported what follows to diverse. One Time when he came to visit Mr. *Knox*;
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he asked him how he did? He answered, Well Brother, I thank God, I have desired all this Day to have had you, that I might send you yet to yon Man in the Castle, whom you know I have loved so dearly; go I pray you, and tell him, that I have sent you to him yet once to warn him, and bid him, in the Name of God, leave that evil Course, and leave the Castle; and if not, that he shall be brought down over the Walls with Shame, and hang against the Sun; so God hath assured me. Mr. *David* thought the Message hard, yet Mr. *Knox* pressing him, he went to the Castle, and met first with Sir *Robert Melvil* walking on the Wall, and told him what was his Errand, who, as he thought, was much moved with the Matter. Thereafter he communed with *Grange* the Captain, whom he thought also somewhat moved; the Captain went from him to Secretary *Lethingtoun*, with whom after he had conferred a little, he returned to Mr. *Lindsay*, and said, Go tell Mr. *Knox* he is but a dr---ng Prophet. Mr. *David* returned to Mr. *Knox*, and reported how he had discharged his Commission, and that it was not very well accepted of the Captain, after he had conferred with the Secretary. Well, says Mr. *Knox*, I have been earnest with my God anent these two Men; for the one, *Grange*, I am sorry that so it should befall him, yet God assureth me, there is Mercy for his Soul: For the other I have no Warrant, that ever he shall be well. Mr. *David* thought, that he spoke hard, yet laid it up in his Mind, till Mr. *Knox* was at Rest with God, and found the Truth of that which he had spoken, within a little after.

Mr. *Knox* before his Sickness had commanded his Wife and his Servant *Richard Banantyne*, that when God should visit him with Sickness, and he was not able to read himself, one of them should read to him, the xvii. Chapter of *John*, a Chapter of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, and the liii. Chapter of *Isaiah*, which was done: Few or no Hours of the Day passed, wherein somewhat was not read, as he appointed; sometimes *Calvin's* Sermons upon the *Ephesians* were read in *French*. One Time when reading them, and they supposing him to be asleep, asked him if he heard? He answered, I hear, and I praise God, I understand far better: These Words he uttered again, about four Hours before he expired.

The Earl of *Morton*, Lord *Boyd*, and the Laird of *Drumlanrig* came to visit him, on *Wednesday* the 19. To the Earl Mr. *Knox* was heard to say, My Lord, God hath given you many Blessings, he hath given you Wisdom, Riches, many good and great Friends, and is now to prefer you to the Government of this Realm; in his Name I charge you, that you use these Blessings right, and better in Time to come, than you have done in Time past; in all your Actions seek first the Glory of God, the Furtherance of the Gospel, the Maintenance of his Church, and the Ministry; and next be careful of the King, to procure his Good, and the Welfare of the Realm; if you do this, God shall be with you, and honour you; if otherwise you do it not, he shall deprive you of all these Benefits, and your End shall be Shame and Ignominy. These Words the Earl nine Years after, at the Time of his Execution, called to Mind, saying he found them to be true, and Mr. *Knox* therein a Prophet.

Next

Next Lord's Day my Lord *Lindsay*, and several other Gentlemen, came to visit him: He exhorted them to continue in the Truth, and to have no Dealing with that damnable House of the Castle of *Edinburgh*. The Lord *Ruthven*, when he came to visit him, said, Sir, if there be any Thing I am able to do for you, I pray you charge me with it. Mr. *Knox* answered, I am now beyond all the Pleasure and Friendship of the World. The Earl of *Glencairn* visited him often, and so did many Barons and Gentlemen. A Gentlewoman fearing God, desired him to praise God, for the Good he had been enabled to do, and began to speak of his Usefulness. He answered, Tongue, Tongue, Lady, Flesh of itself is too proud, and needeth no Means to esteem itself; he protested he did only claim the free Mercy of God in Christ, and willed her never to puff up the Flesh, which of itself was too proud, and ready to do this, without any other Provocation. He exhorted her to Humility, and to cast away stinking Pride; and put her in Remembrance of what a Woman had said to her long ago, Lady, Lady, *The black Ox hath never trod upon your Foot*.

Upon the Lord's Day the 23, which was the first Sabbath of the Fast, in the Time of the Afternoon's Sermon, none being present but such as waited on him, after Mr. *Knox* had lien a long Space very quiet, as they thought, he said, If any be present, let them come, and see the Work of God; for he thought to have departed, as they judged; and his Servant *Richard Banantyne* sent for *John Johnston*; Mr. *Knox* broke out in these Words, These two last Nights, I have been in Meditation, for the troubled Kirk of God, despised in the World, but precious in his Sight; I have called to God for it, and commended it to Christ her Head; I have been fighting against Satan, who is ever ready to assault; I have fought against spiritual Wickednesses, and have prevailed; I have been in Heaven, where presently I am to be, and tasted of the heavenly Joys. Thereafter he said the Lord's Prayer, and the Belief, with a Paraphrase on every Petition and Article; when he was saying, *Our Father which is in Heaven*, he added, who can pronounce so holy Words, &c. Many came to visit him after Sermon; some perceiving his Breath to be shortned, asked if he had any Pain? He answered, I have no more Pain, than he that is now in Heaven, and am content to ly here seven Years, if so it shall please God. He said often, Live in Christ, and let never Flesh fear Death. When he was lying, as it was supposed fast asleep, he was at his Meditations, and would burst forth in these Speeches, or the like, Lord grant us the right and perfect Hatred of Sin: Lord grant true Pastors to thy Kirk, that Purity of Doctrine may be retained: Lord restore Peace again to this Common-wealth, with godly Rulers and Magistrates: Lord make an End of Troubles: Lord, I commend my Soul and Body into thy Hands.

That Night, about nine of the Clock, Dr. *Preston* came to him, and asked how he did? Mr. *Knox* answered, I have been tempted by Satan, and when he perceived he could not prevail, he tempted me to trust, and rejoice in myself, and to boast; but I repulsed him with this Sentence, *Quid habes quod non accepisti?*

Upon *Monday November 24*, he rose about 9 or 10 Hours, and yet was not able to stand alone; he put on his Hose and Doublet, and sat in a Chair the Space of half an Hour, and then went to his Bed again; being asked by the Good-man of *Kingzeancleugh*, if he had any Pain? He answered, No great Pain, but such as I trust will put an End to this Battle: And said to him, I must leave the Care of my Wife and Children to you, to whom you must be an Husband in my Room. In the Afternoon he caused his Wife read to him, the xv. Chap. of the 1 Epistle to the *Corinthians*; and when it was ended, he said, Is not that a most comfortable Chapter? Within a little, he said, I commend my Soul, Spirit and Body, pointing up his three Fingers, into thy Hands, O Lord. About 5 of the Clock, he said to his Wife, Go read where I cast my first Anchor; and so she read the xvii. of *John*, and after that some Sermons of Mr. *Calvin* upon the *Ephesians*. About half an Hour to Ten, they went to the ordinary Prayer, which being ended, Dr. *Preston* said, Sir, heard ye the Prayer? Mr. *Knox* answered, I would to God ye and all Men heard as I heard; I praise God for that heavenly Sound. Then *Robert Campbell* of *Kingzeancleugh* sat down before him on a Stool; and incontinent he said, Now it is come; for he had given a long Sigh and Sob. Then said *Richard Banantyne* his Servant, Now Sir, the Time ye have long called to God for is come, to wit, an End of your Battles; and seeing all natural Powers now fail, give us some Sign, that ye remember upon the comfortable Promises, which ye have often shewed unto us. Mr. *Knox* lifted up his one Hand, and incontinent thereafter rendered his Spirit.

On this Manner departed this Man of God, the Light and Comfort of our Kirk, a Mirrour of Godliness, a Pattern to Ministers, for the holy Life, Soundness of Doctrine, and Boldness in reprovng Vice. He had a mighty Spirit of Judgment and Wisdom; that Trouble came never to the Kirk, after his Entry in publick Preaching, but he foresaw the End thereof. Many Things he did foretel (as hath been noticed in their Places) I add now that he foretold the Queen, that because she would not come and hear the Word, she should be compelled to hear it, nill she will she; and so she was at her Arraignment. And to her Husband the King he said, Have ye, for the Pleasure of that Dame, cast the *Psalms Book* into the Fire? The Lord shall strike both Head and Tail. *Beza* calleth him the Apostle of the *Scots*; and comprehendeth all his Praise in few Words, when he calleth him in his *Icones*, the great Mr. *Knox*.

This the Account the learned and industrious Mr. David Calderwood gives us of Mr. Knox's last Sickness and Death, the Circumstances of which he had the best Opportunities to be informed of, both from many Persons alive in his Time, who knew him, and likewise from his own Writings, which were in his Hands: The material Passages in this Account agree so well with the Narratives given us by Bishop Spotiswood, Mr. Smeton, Melchior Adamus, and Mr. David Buchanan, that there is very little Room left to doubt of them. I shall subjoin what he farther adds, concerning Mr. Knox in these Words.

Upon

Upon *Wednesday* the 26. of *November*, Mr. Knox was buried in the Kirk-yard of *St. Giles*, being conveyed by the Earl of *Morton*, that Day chosen Regent, and other Lords, who were in Town at that Time; when being laid in the Grave, the Earl of *Morton* said, There lies a Man, who in his Life never feared the Face of a Man, who hath been often threatned with Dag and Dagger; but yet hath ended his Days in Peace and Honour; for he had God's Providence watching over him in a special Manner, when his very Life was sought. I cannot (adds Mr. *Calderwood*) pass by one remarkable Sign of God's singular Care towards him; it was his Custom to sit at the Table-head in his own House, with his Back to a Window; yet upon a certain Night he sat on the Side of the Table, when a Bullet was shot in at the Window, purposely to kill him; but the Conspirators missed him, and the Bullet lighted on the Candlestick, and made an Hole in the Foot of it, as is yet to be seen. Mr. *Caldrewood* concludes his Account of Mr. Knox with these Verses.

Scotorum primum, te, Ecclesia, Cnoxe, docentem
Audiit, autpiciis estque reducta tuis;
Nam te, coelestis pietas super omnia traxit,
Atque Reformatae Religionis amor.

It now remains, that I give an Account of Mr. Knox's domestick Affairs and Writings. He was twice married, 1st. To Marjorie Bowes an English Woman. I noticed the Time of her Death, in this Narrative; but cannot find out the Time of his Marriage to her. Her Mother Mrs. Bowes appears from Mr. Knox's Letters to her (several of which are still preserved) to have been a Person of great Knowledge, and singular Piety; by this first Wife he had two Sons Nathaniel and Eleazer, of whom I got the following Accounts, by the Favour of the learned and worthy Mr. Thomas Baker, S. T. B. Fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge lately deceased, who, with a great Deal of Labour and Industry, had made large Collections from authentick MSS. for illustrating the History of Britain: This most obliging Person communicated to me several Notes, concerning these two Sons of Mr. Knox.

From which it appears, That Nathaniel and Eleazer Knoxs were matriculated, in the Matriculation Book of the University of Cambridge, December 2d 1572.

That the said Nathaniel was made Batchelor of Arts 1576, and Master of Arts 1580, both which Degrees were conferred upon him by the said University.

That he was admitted Fellow of St. John's College in the said University, An. Dom. 1577.

That he died, An. Domini 1580.

That the said Eleazer Knox was made a Batchelor of Arts 1577, by the said University.

That he was admitted Fellow of St. John's College there 22. March 1579.

That he was made Master of Arts, by the foresaid University 1581.

That he was one of the Preachers emitted by the University, An. Dom. 1581.

That he was made Vicar of Clacton-magna, 17. May 1587 (New-court's Repertorium, Lond. Vol. 2d. P. 154.)

That he was made Batchelor in Divinity, by the foresaid University of Cambridge 1588.

That he died 1591, and was buried in the Chapel of St. John's College in Cambridge.

These Particulars, concerning Mr. Knox's two Sons, were copied from the Registers of the University of Cambridge, and of St. John's College there, by my worthy Friend Mr. Baker above mentioned, and signed by him, which I have still in my Custody for my Voucher.

I never could hear of any other Sons of Mr. Knox. Mr. Knox married for his second Wife, Mrs. Margaret Stewart Daughter to Andrew Lord Ochiltrie, a zealous Promoter of the Reformation; he had by her three Daughters, as appears from the Records of the General Assembly, March 1573, who continued the Pension, which Mr. Knox had from the Kirk, to his Wife Margaret Stewart, and Mr. Knox's three Daughters by her, who are said to be unprovided, for the Year 1573: The Pension was 500 Merks Money, two Chalders Wheat, six Chalders Bear, and four Chalders Oats. This Favour is granted upon Account of the long and fruitful Travels made by Mr. Knox in the Kirk, and for the Education and Support of his Wife and Children.

Whether he had any Daughters by his first Wife, I cannot certainly determine; but it is probable he had, from what follows: For one of his Daughters was married to Mr. Robert Pont, Minister of St. Cuthbert's, and for some Time a Lord of Session: It is not probable, that his Wife was of the second Marriage; for no Doubt Mr. Pont was an old Man, before any of that Marriage could be of Age.

Another of Mr. Knox's Daughters was married to Mr. John Wells, Minister of the Gospel at Air, and athird to Mr. James Fleming, Minister of the Gospel at Grandfather to the late Reverend Mr. Robert Fleming, Minister at London, tho' Mr. Robert's Father was of another Marriage. This is all I can gather, concerning Mr. Knox's Posterity: His Widow married, for her second Husband, Sir Andrew Ker of Faudounside.

I come now to give an Account of his Writings, and of the Works he left behind him not published. His Works printed in the Time of his Life, are as follow.

The first Performance of his, which was printed was, A faithful Admonition, made by him to the true Professors of the Gospel of Christ, within the Kingdom of England, 1554. It is reprinted both in the Folio and 4to. Editions of his History 1644. and at the End of this.

2. He wrote a Letter to Mary Queen Regent of Scotland 1556, and thereafter augmented it 1558. Of this I have given some Account already; it is also printed in the Folio and 4to. Editions of his History, and also in this Edition. There is an 8vo. Edition of it printed at Geneva, 1558.

3. That same Year 1558 was printed Geneva, The Appellation of John Knox, from the cruel and unjust Sentence pronounced against him, by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland, with his Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, Estates and Commonality of the same Realm. With this is printed an Admonition to England and Scotland, to call

call them to Repentance, written by Anthony Gilby, and Mr. Knox's Advertisement, concerning the Second Blast of the Trumpet. Mr. Knox's Appellation to the Nobility and Commonality of Scotland is printed with the History 1644, in the Folio and 4to. Editions, and likewise in this Edition.

That same Year was printed, The First Blast of the Trumpet, against the monstrous Regiment of Women, 8vo. 1558. reprinted in this Edition.

In the Year 1559, he wrot his brief Exhortation to England, for the speedy Embracing of Christ's Gospel, heretofore by the Tyranny of Mary, suppressed and banished; it is reprinted together with his History, Edinburgh, 4to. 1644. also in this Edition.

In the Year 1560 was printed at Geneva, Mr. Knox's Answer to a great Number of blasphemous Cavillations, written by an Anabaptist, and Adversary to God's eternal Predestination, by John Knox Minister of God's Word in Scotland.

Mr. Knox's next Performance may be reckoned, The Confession of Faith, ratified by the Parliament 1560, in the composing of which Mr. Knox without Doubt had a principal Share.

The first Book of Discipline was also in a great Measure owing to him, as also the Order of Admission of Superintendants and Ministers, and of Excommunication and Fasting; all which were approved by the General Assembly.

Archbishop Spotiswood informs us, That Mr. Knox made a Reply to the Abbot of Croftagwell's Faith or Catechism. Mr. Knox himself tells us in his History, that the Account of his Conference with this Abbot was published.

In the Year 1566, his Sermon upon Isai. xxvi. 13; 17. before the King, was published, of which I have formerly taken Notice.

Mr. Knox also wrote an Answer to a Letter, written by James Tyrie a Jesuit, Edinburgh 1568. Mr. Knox's Answer was published 1571.

I have heard of no more of Mr. Knox's Works published in his own Time. The Chief of those he left behind him, is his History of the Church, published after his Death; and because there has been great Controversie concerning this Book, I shall gather together all I have found concerning it, in order to set the matter in a clear Light.

The first Mention I have seen concerning this History, is in a Letter from Sir Thomas Randolph, Ambassador from Queen Elisabeth to Scotland, to Sir William Cicerel, dated at Edinburgh 23. September 1560, which I copied from the Original, in which Letter are these Words. I have tawlked at large with Mr. Knox concernynge hys Hystorie. As mykle as ys wrytten thereof shall be sent to your Honour, at the comynge of the Lords Embassadors by Mr. John Woode: He hath wrytten only one Booke. If yow lyke that, he shall contynue the same, or adde onie more. He sayethe, That he must have farther Helpe, then is to be had in thys Countrie for more assured Knowledge of Thyngs passed, then he hathe hymself, or can com bye here; yt is a Worke not to be neglected, and greatly to be wysshed that yt sholde be well handled.

From this Passage it is evident, that Mr. Knox in the Year 1560 had finished a Part of his History. From the Records of the General Assembly it appears, that he left an History of the Church behind him;

for at the first General Assembly after Mr. Knox's Death, his Servant Richard Banantyne, who was his Amanuensis, gave in the following Supplication.

Unto your Wifdoms humbly means and shows, I your Servitor *Richard Banantyne*, Servant to your Unquhill most dearest Brother *John Knox* of worthy Memory; That where it is not unknown to your Wifdoms, that he left to the Kirk and Town of *Edinburgh* his History, containing in effect the Beginning and Progress of Christ's true Religion, now of God's great Mercy established in this Realm; wherein he hath continued and perfectly ended at the Year of God 1564. So that of Things done sinfyne, nothing be him is put in that Form and Ordour, that he has put the former. Yet not the less there are certain Scrolls and Papers, and Minuts of Things left to me by him, to use at my Pleasure, whereof a Part were written and subscribed by his own Hand, and another be mine at his Command, which, if they were collected and gathered together, would make a sufficient Declaration of the principal Things, that have occurred since the ending of his former History, at the Year foresaid; and so should serve for Stuff and Matter, to any of Understanding and Ability in that Kinde of Exercise, that would apply themselves to make a History even unto the Day of his Death. But for so meikle as the said Scrolls are so intacked and mixed together, that if they should come in any Hands not used nor accoustomed with the same, as I have been, they should altogether lose and perish: And seeing also I am not able on my own Costs and Expences, to apply myself and spend my Time, to put them in Order, which would consume a very long Time; much less am I able to write them, and put them in Register, as they require to be, without your Wifdoms make some Provision for the same: Wherefore I most humbly request you Wifdoms, That I may have some reasonable Pension, appointed to me by your Wifdoms Discretion, that thereby I may be more able to await and attend upon the same; lest these Things, done by that Servant of God dear to you all, should perish and decay, which they shall do indeed, if they be not put in Register, which I will do willinglie, if your Wifdoms would provide as said is. And your Wifdoms Answer, &c.

In Return to this Supplication, the Assembly gave the following Answer.

The Assembly accepted the said *Richard's* Offer, and request the Kirk of *Edinburgh*, to provide and appoint some learned Men, to support *Richard Banantyne*, to put the said History, that is now in Scrolls and Papers in good Form, with Aid of the said *Richard*. And because he is not able to await thereon, upon his own Expences, appoints to him the Sum of Fourty Pounds, to be payed of the 1572 Years Croke, be the Collectors under-written, viz. the Collector of *Lothian, Fife, Angus*, and the *West, Galloway* and *Murray*, every one of them to pay six Pounds thirteen Shillings four Pennies of the said Croke; and

it shall be allowed to them in Count, they bringing the said *Richard's* Acquittance thereupon.

I do not find from the Records of the Assembly, or from any other Authority, what was done in consequence of this Recommendation, towards the publishing of this History; but it is certain, that an History was printed under Mr. Knox's Name in 8vo. There is a Passage in Mr. Calderwood's MSS. History, which will contribute to ascertain the Time when this 8vo. Edition was printed at London, in the following Words. February 1586, Vaultroulier the Printer took with him a Copy of Mr. Knox's History to England, and printed twelve hundred of them; the Stationers, at the Archbishop's Command, seized them, the 18 of February; it was thought, that he would get Leave to proceed again, because the Council perceived, that it would bring the Queen of Scots in Detestation. It seems very probable, that it was the 8vo. Edition which was thus seized.

*But to give a farther Account of this History, it will be necessary to consider, as accurately as can be, the remaining manuscript Copies of it. The first is in the publick Library of the College of Glasgow, and was gifted to them, by the late Reverend and learned Mr. Robert Fleming, Minister, first at Rotterdam, and then to the Scots Congregation at London, who had it transmitted to him, from his worthy Grandfather, Mr. James Fleming, who was married to one of Mr. Knox's Daughters, and was an intimate Friend of Mr. John Knox Minister at Melross. It is probable, that this MSS. is written with the Hand of the last named Mr. John Knox, by a Writing upon the Beginning of the MSS. signed by the said Mr. John Knox, which Writing cannot be distinguished from that of the History. This seems to be the oldest, and most valuable Copy of the History now extant; of it the above-named Mr. Fleming gives the following Account, in the Preface to his practical Discourse occasioned by the Death of King William, printed at London 1702, Pag. 14. That his Grandfather Mr. James Fleming, having married a Daughter of Mr. John Knox the Reformer, came to be possessed of some of his Manuscripts; and that especially by the Means of Mr. John Knox the younger, Minister of Melross in the Merse, a Relation of the former, tho' I know not (*says he*) how near, who was my Grandfather's intimate Friend; that among other Papers, I found a manuscript Copy of Mr. Knox's History, which I sent to the Library of Glasgow, that it might not be lost; that I sent along with it a loose Leaf, being the Title Page of an imperfect Work, which seemed to be written, by the same Hand that the MSS. History was (tho' I could not positively assert this;) that if it was the same Hand that wrote both, it was a plain Evidence, that the Author, at least the Writer of the History, was not the Reformer, but the younger Mr. Knox, seeing the former died in the Year 1572, and the other was alive nine Years after, &c. Therefore to unriddle all that was dark in this Matter, I told, that I could help with some Thing traditional that Way, viz. That I understood from my Father, that Mr. Knox the Reformer had begun an History of this Kind, and left large Materials behind him for compleating it; and that the later Mr. Knox had perfected the Work, pursuant to the Order of the General Assembly, in the Year*

1573 or 1574. so far as it was to be found in this MSS. And that therefore, upon a double Account, it might justly be intituled, *The History of the Reformation written by Mr. John Knox.*

And because this Edition is printed from an exact Copy taken from the Glasgow Manuscript, I think it will not be improper here to subjoin a full Copy of a Letter from the Reverend Mr. Wodrow to Bishop Nicolson then Archdeacon of Carlisle, dated at Glasgow September 1. 1701, wherein he gives the Bishop an Account of the Differences betwixt that Manuscript, and the printed Editions of this History by Mr. David Buchanan; especially since Bishop Nicolson has published only a Part of Mr. Wodrow's Letter in the Appendix to his Scots historical Library, Numb. 6.

Sir, 'Tis near a Month since I ended my Collation of *Knox*, and for my Heart I could not get so much Time in Town as to revise my confused Notes. I hope this shall not come too late to your Hands, or if it do, there is no great Loss, for I suspect you'll find little in it very considerable; such as it is, I hope you'll receive as a small Return, for I stand indebted to you. In one of my former I gave some Account of the old Edition of *Knox* in 12mo, and our Manuscript, (what I find in the Scroll of this former Letter is) I have now procured the old Copy of *Knox's History* in a large 12mo; it is marked at the Beginning and the End, going no further than the fourth Book, 'tis probable it never had the fifth: In all Things it jumps with our Manuscript, particularly in these Places challenged by the Author of *the fundamental Charter*, and disagrees with the ordinary Editions in the Passages excepted against.

The Edition of *David Buchanan* I refer to is that in Folio London 1644. You know there is another Edition in 4to, reprinted that same Year at *Edinburgh*, and I find little Diversity betwixt them. The Preface you see is *D. B.'s*, and so is *Mr. Knox's Life*. In the next two Pages you have an Account of *Mr. Patrick Hamilton* and *Walter Mill*, which I suppose are added by the same Hand, since they are not in our Manuscript: You may notice likewise, that all the marginal Lemmata are wanting in our Copy, and many in the 12mo old Copy, which I shall after this mark by O. C. and so fall to his Share likewise. The O. C. goes no farther than the fourth Book, and here you are only to expect the Collation of our Manuscript with *David Buchanan's Edition*, which after this I shall mark by *D. B.* The first Thing that occurs in the Manuscript is a Preface of the Author's, which *D. B.* wants, for what Reason 'tis hard to tell; there is not much very material in it. After a short Account of the sad State of the People under Popery, the Author tells us, that Bruits were dispersed of us the Professors of Jesus Christ within this Realm. In the Beginning of our Interprise Orders were taken all our Proceedings should be committed to Register, as they were, by such as then travelled painfully both by Tongue and Pen; and so was collected a just Volume (as will after appear) containing Things done from the 53d Year of God, till the Arrival of the Queen's Majesty furth of *France*, with the which the Collectors and Writers of that Time was content, and never minded to have travelled in that Kind of Writing: But after Invocation of
the

the Name of God, and Consultation with some Faithful, it was concluded, that faithful Rehearſal ſhould be made of ſuch Perſonages as God had made Inſtruments of his Glory, by oppoſing themſelves to manifeſt Abuſes, Superſtition and Idolatry; and albeit there was no great Number, yet are they more than the Collectors would have looked for at the Beginning; and therefore the Volume is ſomewhat enlarged above Expectation; and yet in the Beginning we muſt crave of all the gentle Readers not to look off us for ſuch a Hiſtory as ſhall expreſs all Things that have occurred within this Realm, during the Time of this terrible Conflict that has been betwixt the Saints of God and theſe bloody Wolves, that claim to themſelves the Title of *Clergy*: For with the Policy mind we to middle na farther than it hath true Religion mixed with it. So far our Author; where we may notice he lives in the Times of theſe Tranſactions he gives an Account of, which is a Conſideration that ſtrikes againſt the Author of *the fundamental Charter of Preſbytery*. There is little farther in this Preface ſave the Author's Apology for his naked Relation of Truth, and his Stile.

Now as to the Book itſelf, I ſhall not trouble you with all the more minute Differences I have marked, which might be ſome Way uſeful for any that were to give the World an accurate Edition of *Knox*; which I think ſhall not be in Haſte. I only touch at theſe Variations that are more conſiderable.

P. 2. of *D. B.* in the Articles of the *Lollards*, only that which is in *Italic* Character is in the Manuſcript.

P. 4. *D. B.* you will notice, that the Reference to *Fox's* Martyrology is in the Manuſcript; and the Argument the Author of *the fundamental Charter*, after Biſhop *Spotiſwood*, brings from this Paſſage, was that which ſtruck me moſt of any he brought, till of late I have fallen on the Edition of *Fox* in *Latin Folio*, *Baſil* 1559, 14. Years before Mr. *Knox's* Death, where P. 121. at a conſiderable Length is inſerted the Account of *Patricius Hamiltonius Scotus*, which *Knox* might ſee, and no doubt refers to.

P. 34. *D. B.* Line 18. from theſe Words, *Mary Daughter to Robert Bruce*, to theſe Words, *After that he ſpake, &c.* are added by *D. B.* for enlightening the Story; and nine Lines below our Manuſcript wants the Story about the feigned Teſtament.

P. 35. *D. B.* our Manuſcript wants the favourable Character of King *James V.* from Line 11. *Yet to ſpeak the Truth to the Queſtions of his Government, &c.*

P. 41. *D. B.* Line 33, *&c.* runs in our Manuſcript, For by God's Word would not the Divorcement of his Father from *Elizabeth Hume* his firſt Wife, be found lawful, and ſo would the ſaid Marriage be declared null, and he a Baſtard. And the Differences and Additions are yet greater in the ſame Page, Line 41. Firſt becauſe he himſelf was born, to Page 42. Line 3. The Cardinal puts the Earl, *&c.* And *D. B.'s* marginal Note, which is not in our Manuſcript, ſeems either to reflect on *Knox*, or diſcover a Suſpicion of the Story he has delivered himſelf.

P. 55. *D. B.* we have more Additions, the Words Line 21. From, where the Cardinal, to Line 24. or that bloody Wolf, *&c.* are not in

our Manuscript: And Line 29. of the same Page, all that *D. B.* hath from the Cardinal, seeing it was forbidden, &c. to Line 44. and to the Servant of God, &c. is wanting in our Manuscript. Hitherto the O. C. jumps with our Manuscript; where I observe it differ I shall notice it.

P. 57. Line 30. you see *D. B.* refers to certain Records: But in the Manuscript it runs, The Manner of his Accusation, Process, and Affizes following, as we have received the same from the Book of Martyrs, which Word by Word we have here inserted, and that because the said Book is rare to be had; by this Book of Martyrs I suppose Mr. *Fox* must be meant; and it might have been another of Mr. *Sage's* Arguments.

P. 67. *D. B.* from Line 23. And conferred a pretty while, to Page 68. to Line 12. The Cardinal treading, &c. is wholly wanting in our Manuscript.

P. 69. from Line 22. The Trumpet sounding, to Line 42. on the other Side, When the People beheld, &c. is not in our Manuscript; and so we want the famous Prophecy by Mr. *Wishart* about the Cardinal's Death.

P. 70. there is so much Difference betwixt *D. B.* and the Manuscript, as makes me think *David Buchanan* has had some other Copy, or altered too much, the Additions are so many, and so mixed, that without transcribing both you would not understand them. There is not much considerable in this Page for clearing any weighty Part of the History of these Times, and so I pass it.

P. 86. *D. B.* from Line 42. Then God will sure stop, &c. to Page 89. Line 7. This Conclusion, &c. is wanting in the Manuscript.

P. 101. *D. B.* at these Words Line 32. Failed of all he had written, the Manuscript adds a severe Invektive against Queen *Mary*, which it seems *Buchanan* thought too piquant; and by the By, this is another Presumption the Book was written by *Knox*. The Words in the Manuscript are, *And therefore it were expedient, that her Daughter, now mischievously reigning, should look to that which passed before, lest that in following the Councils of the Wicked, she end more miserably than her crafty Mother did.*

P. 136. *D. B.* The Story of taking down of the Frier's House in St. *Johnstoun*, is related with some different Circumstances in the Manuscript, which being of little Consequence, I shall not take up your Time with them.

P. 218. *D. B.* Line 23. from as *John Knox* had fore-warned, to Page 222. *Cecil's* first Letter is wanting in the O. C. But the Manuscript here agrees with *Buchanan*.

P. 233. in the Title of the Contract at *Berwick*, you see *D. B.* has it *James Duke of Chatellaraunt*, and other of the Council and Nobility, our Manuscript has it *James Duke of Chatellaraunt*, Earl of *Arran*, Lord *Hamilton*, second Person of the Realm of *Scotland*, and Heir apparent to the Crown, &c. and Line last of the same Page, *D. B.* has it, Except the Realm of *Scotland*, and the said Nobility, &c. whereas in the Manuscript 'tis, Shall except the said Realm of *Scotland*, the said Duke of *Chattellaraunt* being declared by Act of Parliament in

Scot-

Scotland, to be Heir apparent to the Crown thereof, and the said Nobility, &c.

P. 252. (or 245) as it is misplaced, *D. B.* Line 9. our MSS. adds, God for his great Mercy rid us from the rest of the *Guisian* Blood, Amen, Amen; for of the Tyranny of the *Guisian* Blood in her that for our Unthankfulness now reigneth above us, we have had sufficient Experience, but of any Vertue that ever was espied in King *James V.* whose Daughter she is called; to this Hour we have never a Spectacle to appear; so that you see the Editor has not only pared, but added from Line 9 to 13.

In the Proclamation, July 8. 1560, *D. B.* stiles Queen *Elizabeth* Queen of *England, France* and *Ireland*, the MSS. wants *France*.

P. 259. *D. B.* In the Confession of Faith, our MSS. wants the marginal Places of Scripture, which you see are in *Buchanan* in great Abundance.

P. 279. *D. B.* at Line 3. these Words, Their Commission was to crave Assistance, the MSS. adds, and to propound the Earl of *Arran*, who then was in no small Estimation with us, to the Queen of *England* in Marriage.

P. 281. *D. B.* Line 1. some in *France*, &c. to Line 10. the Death of this King is wanting in our MSS. In Place of this Paragraph, our MSS. hath what follows, The godly in *France* upon this sudden Death set forth in Verse an Admonition to Kings.

*Ad hujus temporis monarchas, protrepticon carmen
Consiliis christum oppugnans & fraudibus ingens
Regum ille terror Carolus,
Ipsis ridiculus pueris, furiosus & excors,
Totus repente corruit,
Tuque Henrice malis dum consultoribus utens,
Sitis piorum sanguinem,
Ipse tuo, vecors inopina cæde peremptus,
Terram imbuiisti sanguine,
Henrici, deinceps sectans vestigia patris,
Franciscus in felix puer,
Clamantem christum surda dum negligit aure,
Aure putrefacta corruit;
Versuti, fatui, surdi, spectacula reges
Hæc vos sapere vel mori jubent.*

The old Copy agrees exactly with the MSS. only there is added a *Scottish* Translation of the above Latin Verses, which I do not trouble you with; you know this Paragraph in *D. B.* which is wanting in our MSS. is one of the chief Places Mr. *Sage* objects against, as what could not be write by *Knox*, since *Charles IX.* died after *Knox* about the 1574; but then his Objection will not militate against the MSS. which names only *Henry II.* and *Francis II.* Indeed if we take *Carolus* for *Charles IX.* the Difficulty remains, and one would think *Buchanan* has done so, but I would chose rather to understand it of

Charles VIII. who died about 1498, because in the Latin Line he goes before *Henricus pater Francisci*; but this I intirely submit to you as better versed in the Accounts of these Times, than to need any Help from me.

P. 288. *D. B.* last Line, after sing the the xxiii. Psalm, follows in the MSS. of the Election of Elders and Deacons in the privy Kirk of *Edinburgh*, In the beginning when there was no Face of a Kirk or open Assemblies, but private and secret in Houses and in the Fields, which neither *D. B.* nor the O. C. have. I would insert it here, for 'tis in my Scrolls, and I suppose I sent a Copy of it to the Archdeacon, but being pretty long, and lately printed in the 2d Volume of our Confessions, P. 636, 642. from the *Glasgow* MSS. of *Knox*, I shall not swell this Work with it; tho' it be a curious Remain of the first Settlement of Religion in *Scotland*, and gives the only tolerable Account I know of the singular Practice of changing Elders annually in the City of *Edinburgh*: But I return to my Letter.

P. 31. Line 19. *D. B.* says, The Books of Discipline have been of late so oft published, that we shall forbear to print them at this Time, hoping that no good Men will refuse to follow the same, till God in a greater Light establish a more perfect. This Passage is not in our MSS. Instead of it, it has what follows, And now because divers Times heretofore, we have made mention of the said Book (of Discipline,) we have thought expedient to insert the whole in this Part of our History, to the End that the Posterities to come, may judge as well what the worldling refused, as what Policy the godly Ministers required, that they, if God grant unto them, Occasion and Liberty, may either establish a more perfect, or else imitate this, which Avaritiousness would not suffer this corrupt Generation to approve. Accordingly the first Book of Discipline is inserted, and ends the 3d Book of *Knox's* History; the O. C. agrees here, and has a Part of the Book of Discipline, but breaks off abruptly in the middle.

You see how far the MSS. and the old Copy jump; how *Mr. Buchanan* has overlooked the old Copy, which, no doubt, was to be had in his Time, I cannot account for: However the Agreement of the MSS. and O. C. seems to me another strong Presumption of *Knox's* being the Author of this History, especially if I add, that the O. C. seems to be printed a little after *Knox's* Death; so we have done with the first three Books of *Knox's*, which end the first Volume of our MSS. and all along you see *Mr. Sage*, or whoever be the Author of his Preface fore said, has all his Arguments against *Knox's* being the Author of this History from *Buchanan's* Additions; and consequently they have nothing in them straitning.

I now go to the fourth Book, which the O. C. has not, and so you can have only the Collation of *D. B.* and our MSS. In the general I may notice, that there are here a good many Reflections on Queen *Mary* and *Lethington*, which *D. B.* has not, and a great many more lesser Differences in this fourth Book, than in the former three. After all there is little wanting in *D. B.* that tends to the clearing of the Story of these Times; I only give you a Taste of the Character the MSS. gives of Queen *Mary's* Carriage with *Chartellet*. *D. B.* P.

351. Line 17. tells us, All this Winter *Chattellet* was so familiar with the Queen, that the Nobility could not have Access. The MSS. adds, She would ly on *Chattellet's* Shoulder, and sometimes steal a Kiss of his Neck; all this was honest enough, for it was the gentle Entertainment of a Stranger; but this Familiarity was so great, that he privily conveyed himself under the Queen's Bed, &c. as you have it in *Buchanan*: I shall only add two more Differences between *D. B.* and the Manuscript.

P. 348. *D. B.* Line penult, Idolatry was never in greater Quiet; over against this in our MSS. upon the Margin are these Words, *Let the World be Judge now 1571, for Lethington then was, as he now is, the Father of all Mischief.*

P. 352. *D. B.* where you'll find an Account of the great Death and Famine, concerning which the MSS. has as follows, The Boll of Wheat gave vi Pounds, the Boll of Bear vi Merks and an half, the Boll of Meal iv Merks, the Boll of Oats fifty shilling, an Ox to draw the Pleugh xx Merks, a Wedder xxx shilling, and so all the rest proportionably. I thought this might serve to fix the Value of Money and Commodities at that Time.

I shall take up your Time no more with this fourth Book, only you'll observe that our MSS. ends with the fourth Book, as 'tis in *Buchanan's* Folio Edition: At the End of which there is added in the Quarto Edition at *Edinburgh* a Paragraph, with an account of Articles and Petitions, which are not in the Folio Edition; this makes me suspect there may be some Variations betwixt the Folio and Quarto Editions, which I have not noticed. I design to cause collate thir two Editions, and if the Variations be considerable, you shall have account as soon as possible.

The fifth Book is not in our MSS. so all the foresaid Author's Observations taken from it fall to the Ground. I suppose it has either been compiled out of Mr. *Knox's* Papers by *Richard Banantyne*, of whom in my former Letter, which however I do not incline to, (because the fifth Book is not in the O. C. which I (till I get farther Light) suppose to have been done by *Banantyne*, or about that Time) or rather compiled and added by *D. Buchanan*.

Now, Sir, by this Time I have quite wearied you, and almost myself too, by so long a Scroll, which if it can be any way useful to help on your *Scots* historical Library, I have much more than all my small Pains can amount to. I must at this Time defer troubling you with Matters of natural History; these shall be the Subject of the next from

SIR,

Your, &c.

Glasgow, Septem.
1. 1701.

From this Letter we have the best account of this Manuscript, from which the present Edition is printed, and at the same Time a sufficient Answer to all the Objections of any Moment against Mr. Knox's being the Author of this History; and now it is sufficient Time to proceed to what yet remains to be discoursed of before I finish this Life.

(n 2)

There

There is another MSS. of the four Books of this History in the Reverend Mr. Wodrow's Hands, which differs but very little from the Glasgow MSS. and where it differs, agrees with the old Octavo printed Copy.

There is also a complete MSS. Copy of the first four Books of this History belonging now to Mr. Gavin Hamilton Bookseller in Edinburgh, which formerly belonged to the late Reverend Mr. Matthew Reid Minister of the Gospel at North Berwick; it is written in a very old Hand, the old spelling is kept, and I am informed that it exactly agrees with the Glasgow MSS. with which it was collated, during the Time this Edition was a printing.

The printed Editions of this History have been already taken notice of. I have nothing more to offer as to the old Octavo Copy, it is now become very scarce, I have never seen above five or six Copies of it: Bishop Nicholson observes, Scots Hist. Library, p. 362. I have seen (says he) four or five Copies of the Octavo Edition of Knox's History, all of them Fragments, beginning at p. 17. and ending abruptly with 560; in that in the Library at St. Martins, there is the following Note giving a Reason for such a Defect, 'This Book being suppressed, the remaining Copies are imperfect without beginning or end.

This agrees with Mr. Calderwood's Account of this Edition before-cited, and accounts for the Scarceness of the Book; Bishop Spotswood cites this Edition frequently upon the Margin, under its running Title, The History of the Church of Scotland.

There were two posterior Editions published by Mr. David Buchanan, one at London in Folio anno 1644, another that same Year at Edinburgh in Quarto. Mr. Buchanan puts the initial Letters of his Name to the Epistle to the Reader, D. B. and it is generally thought that he wrote Mr. Knox's Life, which is prefixed to these Editions, together with the large and learned Preface. He gives this Account of the History when he enters upon the Life of Knox; Which History, namely, so much of it I mean, as formerly was published, hath gone commonly under his Name, because he is the Man of whom most is spoken throughout the whole History, as being a most earnest and diligent Agent in the Business of the Reformation of the Church; next, because he hath penned with his own Hand, or spoken by Word of Mouth the most Part of the remarkable and most useful Things for Posterity in the History. 3dly, The whole History is gathered out of his Papers and Manuscripts; and so ye see why it is generally received to be of John Knox.

There are some small Differences betwixt the Folio and Quarto Editions of this History; the Life of Mr. Knox in the Quarto is somewhat enlarged, and Mr. Wodrow has noticed in his Letter to the Bishop of Carlisle, that the fourth Book of the Quarto Edition has some Additions at the End of it, not to be found in the Folio; it has likewise Mr. Knox's brief Exhortation to England, dated at Geneva, January 12. 1559. from p. 100 to 112, which is not added to the Folio Edition. There are perhaps some Differences betwixt these two Editions in the Body of the History, but as far as I have observed, they are of small Moment; the Margins and
lemmata

lemmata in both Editions seem generally to be of Mr. Buchanan's adding, very few being in the MSS. and many are added which are not in the old Octavo Edition; what Vouchers Mr. Buchanan the Editor had for them I cannot tell, several of them point to the Year 1567.

It is not easy to give any tolerable Account of the fifth Book. Richard Banantyne assures the General Assembly, that Mr. Knox his Master had continued, and perfectly ended his History at the Year 1564; and indeed not only the Glasgow MSS. ends there, but Mr. Wodrow's and Mr. Gavin Hamilton's also; and Mr. Calderwood observeth, that here ends Mr. Knox's History. It seems probable that Mr. David Buchanan himself is the Author of it, perhaps he was beholden to Mr. Knox's Scrolls, but I wish he had carefully distinguished Mr. Knox's Composition from his own, and forbore his Interpolations in the Body of the History, which is a Liberty no Person ought to take with any Author. This Edition now offered to the publick, upon many Accounts, bids fair to be a genuine one; it is published from the Glasgow MSS. which seems to be the most authentick Copy now remaining, it agrees both with Mr. Wodrow's Copy and the other old Copy, which seems to be of considerable Value, and differs very little from the old Octavo Edition. There are several remarkable Incidents in this History, no where else to be found, and many curious original Papers preserved in it, which are not to be met with elsewhere; the Editors have given the fifth Book, as Mr. Buchanan has published it, and leave it to the Reader to value it as he finds Cause; several other scarce Pieces of Mr. Knox are likewise added to this Edition of the History, which 'tis hoped will make this Work both very useful to all, and particularly acceptable to the curious Reader. So careful have they been to give an Edition beyond Exception, that they have not so much as adventured to alter the spelling in the Glasgow MSS. which with good Ground they look upon as the Standard.

Besides Mr. Knox's Works which have been printed, There are some MSS. of his in the Hands of the Reverend Mr. Wodrow, and several of them preserved by the faithful and learned Mr. David Calderwood in his large History. I shall give the Titles of such of them as are in Mr. Wodrow's Hands. 1. There is a Volume in Folio in an old Hand fairly written; it seems to have been copied by John Gray, who was Scribe to the General Assembly, for the Use of Margaret Stewart Mr. Knox's Widow, for both their Names are written upon the Book. It contains, 1. Preparations to Prayer drawn by John Knox, it consists of four Sheets. 2. The sixth Psalm of David godly expounded, it consists of ten Sheets; it was written in the Year 1553, when he was leaving England; at the End of it is written at the very Point of my Journey last January 1553, your Son with sorrowful Heart J. K. 3. The Epistle sent to several Congregations in England, shewing the Plaigs which shall schortlie cum upon that Realm for refusing God's Worde and imbrassing Idolatrie John Knox. 4. To the faithful in London, Newcastle and Berwick; it has at the End upon my Departure from Deipe 1553, Whidder God knowis, &c. signed John Knox.

Mr. Wodrow has also in his Possession another Volume in Quarto, containing 518 Pages; upon the Title Page is written, The Epistles of

Mr. John Knox worthy to be read, &c. *And in another Hand are the following Words, This Book belonged sometime to Margaret Stewart Widow to Mr. Knox, afterwards married to the Knight of Fadounside, Sister she was to James Earl of Arran. This Volume contains the following Treatises.*

1. Mr. Knox's Confession before the Bishop of Durham, April 4. 1550.
 2. His Declaration in a Sum concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.
 3. A Declaration what true Prayer is by John Knox; it is distinct from the Treatise in the other Volume, and consists of four Sheets.
 4. The Exposition upon the 6th Psalm, the same with that in the other Volume.
 5. John Knox to the faithful in London, &c. *ibid.*
 6. Knox's Admonition to the Professors in England; this is printed.
 7. Certain Epistles and Letters of the Servant of God, John Knox, sent from divers Places to his Friends and Familiars in Jesus Christ.
- These Epistles are forty six in Number, written from the Year 1553 to the Year 1557.*

Thus I have given an Account of all Mr. Knox's Works, whether in Print or Manuscript; several of which the diligent and learned Mr. Wodrow, so frequently mentioned, resolves to publish in his large Collections concerning Mr. Knox's Life.

I shall conclude this whole Narrative with the Characters given of him by Writers of great Note, several of whom were his Contemporaries.

The first shall be from the learned and eloquent Mr. Thomas Smeton Principal of the College of Glasgow, who in an Account of Mr. Knox's last Hours and Death, subjoined to his Answer to Archibald Hamilton 1579, p. 115. gives this Account of him, De quo ut vere & ingenue dicam, nescio an unquam Deus magis pium aut majus Ingenium in fragili & imbecillo corpusculo collocavit: Certe scio haud facile quendam inveniri posse, in quo plura spiritus sancti dona, in solidum Scotticane ecclesiae gaudium illuxerint: Nemo in subeundis animi & corporis laboribus minus sibi pepercit; nemo in concreditam sibi provinciam intentior fuit: Nemo tamen dum viveret odiis impiorum hominum magis impetitus est, & maledicorum calumniis laceratus: Quamvis illi ea fuit animi magnitudo, ut contra audentior iret: Nec satis esse putarunt diaboli organa vivum proscindere, nisi mortuum etiam indigne lacerarent, &c. And at the End of this Treatise, Mr. Smeton thus concludes his Character of him, Certe in illo rectam tum vivendi tum moriendi regulam, quamvis obloquantur prophani, Deus nobis demonstravit.

The next shall be from the celebrated Beza his great and intimate Friend in his Icones virorum doctrina simul & pietate illustrium, printed 1580, where Mr. Knox gets the first Place among those whom Beza designs, Restituti in Scotia christianismi instauratores precipui: And he thus speaks of him, A quibus (Anglis scilicet) ad Scotos transeuntibus primus occurrit magnus ille Joannes Knoxius, quem si Scotorum, in vero Dei cultu instaurando velut apostolum quendam dixerō, dixisse me quod res est existimabo: And after giving a brief and succinct Account of the most remarkable Passages of his Life, he thus concludes, Excep-
pit

pit hæc tempora tempestas illa horribilis quæ *Knoxium* inter cæteros *Genevæ* usque expulit, ubi aliquot annos una cum reliquis *Anglis* exulibus maxima cum omnium virtutum laude versatus, tandem consiliis omnibus cum *Joanne Calvino* communicatis in patriam anno *Dom. 1559* reversus; incredibile est quanta divini plane spiritus virtute fretus, evangelium annunciarit, usque adeo vicissim ipsius pietati ac diligentiae favente numine, ut velut ipsius conspectum ne idolis quidem ferentibus profligata idololatria, non veram tantum doctrinam, sed etiam veram, & ad divini verbi normam exactam disciplinam passim tum verbis, tum re ipsa statuerit: Neque vero fuerunt brevis alicujus temporis illi labores, Satana modis omnibus hoc opus impediende sed tredecim totos annos *Edinburgi* athleta Christi fortissime depugnavit; donec corporis imbecillitate victus, anno *Dom. 1572* v. idus *Novembris*, haud secus quam olim *Eradium Augustinus*, ita *Knoxus* legitimis ecclesiæ suffragiis sibi, non in ulla gradus pseud-episcopatus tyrannide, cui merito fuit inimicissimus, sed in evangelico ministerio una cum reliquis collegis & presbyteris æquo prorsus jure administrando, *Joannem Lawsonum*, spectatissimæ tum doctrinæ, tum integritatis hominem successorem designatum, maxima cum gratulatione amplexus, ecclesiæ valediceret: Vita ad vicessimum quartum usque diem *Decembris* (a) domi in lectulo tam pie & sancte producta, ut integerrima quinquaginta *Septem* (b) annorum vita beatissimo exitu veluti coronata, merito ambigatur meliusve vixerit, an beatius vitam finierit, singulare quidem certe felicissimæ tum vitæ, tum mortis exemplum cunctis reliquerit.

The great Biographer Melchior Adamus in his vitæ theologorum exterorem makes very honourable mention of Mr. Knox; for thus he writes of him, Joannem Knoxum Scotia protulit, insigne patriæ suæ lumen, qui in mediis & plusquam cimmeriis tenebris verbi divini lucernam suis popularibus prætulit; subtilitate (in theologia) abjecta simplicitatem amplexus est, quam ipse salvator & sancti apostoli nobis commendant, sensitque *Scoticas* argutias doctrinæ legis atque evangelii inimicas esse, & sophisticam illam garrulam homini christiano indignam, caligine itaque omni discussa Christum justitiæ solem & lucem in tenebris lucentem adgnovit, adoravit; edita *Edinburgi* fidei confessione clara. Fuit vir non minoris elocutionis, quam virtutis & elogiorum Dei præco constans, atque fortis per omnem vitam.

I may add to these Testimonies above-mentioned that of Jacobus Verheiden in his Effigies Præstantium theologorum qui Romanum Antichristum præcipue oppugnarunt, printed Hagæ comitis 1602. He thus concludes the Account he gives of Mr. Knox, Quare hic tanquam Scotia lux, qui Christum mundi lucem in tam densis tenebris prædicavit, merito est dicendus, illam lucem semper Scoti quo conservarent; censuit vitæ pietatem, modestiam, humilitatem, cæterasque christianas virtutes colendas, maximeque exercendas esse: Quæ tanquam optima lucis illius nutrimenta, ecclesiastica requirit disciplina, quam & Scoti hodie procurante hoc Knoxo, integram, illibatamque servant: Qui quidam Knoxus Scotiam relinquens, ad lucem illam Christum, quam annunciaverat anno 1572 commigravit.

(a) This is a mistake in *Beza*, for he died upon the 24. of *November*, as is before narrated.

(b) This is also an Error, for he lived to the 67th Year of his Age.

I shall conclude with the Character which the faithful and laborious Mr. Strype gives of Mr. Knox in his Life of Archbishop Parker. To these (viz. Mr. Haddon and Cavalerius who died 1572) I subjoin the Death of a third Protestant of great Fame in the Church of Scotland, namely, John Knox Minister of Edinburgh, who died in Peace in November, aged 67; he comforted himself in his last Sickness by the holy Scriptures read to him, and particularly the xvii. Chapter of St. John, and the xv. Chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, which Chapters he ordered his Wife to read to him. He was the great Instrument of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland: But in the Days of King Edward VI. he preached in England, first at Berwick, then at Newcastle, thence he came more Southward to London, and at last he was appointed one of the King's itinerary Preachers, and in November 1552, had an Annuity of forty Pounds assigned him to be paid of the Augmentation quarterly, till he was promoted to some Benefice: Being offered a Living in London he refused it; but departing to the Parts of Buckinghamshire, there he preached God's Word, and upon King Edward's Death retired beyond the Sea, and came first to Geneva, where he remained at his private Study, until by Calvin's Counsel he became first Preacher to the English Exiles at Franckfort, who had sent for him, afterwards by reason of his Refusal to use the English Book of Common Prayer, he departed with some of the Company to Geneva, and there for a while was Preacher to the Scots and English, using a new Book framed after the Order of Geneva, and allowed by Calvin: In May 1559, he returned to his own Country to forward the Reformation, where he lived to the Day of his Death; but his violent Methods, and disloyal Behaviour towards the Queen of Scots is generally condemned.

I have only this to remark upon Mr. Strype's last Words, without entering into any Dispute upon that Matter, that the whole Protestant Clergy of England had the same Opinion of Queen Mary of Scotland, which Mr. Knox and the Body of the Protestants in Scotland entertained, yea Mr. Strype himself informs us, p. 354. of this Life of Archbishop Parker, That the Archbishop looked upon her as the choice Cause of the Audacity of the Papists, and wished she were removed, tho' it were by Justice: With the English joined also all the foreign Protestant Writers, who lived at this Time, who were of the same Sentiments with Mr. Knox as to this Queen; so that at least he was by no means singular in them. I have disguised no Part of his Conduct, and every Body is at Liberty to judge of it as they see Cause. Perhaps some may find Reason to think of him as all the Protestants who were contemporary with him did, if others think fit still to retain these bad Impressions given of him by the Popish Writers, his virulent Enemies, which are repeated by some professed Protestants, I am afraid that all I could farther offer in order to remove them should have very little Success, for which Reason I rather choose to leave every Person to balance this Matter impartially in their own Minds. Thus I have put an End to this Subject, hoping that any Thing I have advanced, shall give no just Ground of Offence to the impartial Inquirers after Truth, which will at last get the better of all Disguise, and overcome all Opposition made against it.



T H E P R E F A C E.

To the Gentill Reidare,
*Graice and Peace from God the Father of our Lord Je-
sus Christ, with the perpetuall Incress of the Holy
Spirit.*



IT is not unknowin (Christiane Readar) that the
same Cloude of Ignorance, that long hes darkned
many Realmes under this accursed Kingdome of
that *Romane* Antichryst, had also so over-coverit
this pure Realme, that Idolatrie had bein man-
teined, the Bluid of Innocentis hathe bein sched,
and Christ Jesus his eternall Trueth hathe bein ab-
horred, detested and blasphemit. But that same
God that causeth Lycht to schine out of Darknes,
in the Multitude of his Mercies, hathe of long Tyme oppinnit the Eys
of sume evin within this Realme, to sie the Vanitie of that whiche then
wes universallie embraced for trew Religioun, and hes gewin unto thame
Strenthe to oppone thamselves unto the same. And now, into these our
last and maist corrupt Dayes, hes maid his Trueth sa to triumphe a-
monges us, that in Despyte of Sathane, Hypocrysie is disclofed, and
the trew worshipping of God is manifested to all the Inhabitantis of
this Realme, quhois Eys Sathane blindis not, eyther be thair filthie
Lustis, or ellis be Ambitioun and unsaciabill Covetousness, which mak
thame repunge to the Power of God working by his Word. And be-
caus we ar not ignorant quhat divers Bruitis wer disperfed of us the Pro-
fessors

The AUTHOR'S Preface.

effors of Jesus Chryste within this Realme in the Begining of our Interpryse; Ordor wes takin, that all our Proceidingis sould be committed to Register, as that thay wer be sick as than panfullie travellit bothe be Toung and Pen; And so wes collected a iust Volume (as efter will appeir) containig Thingis done from the 58th Yeir of God till the Arrivell of the Queinis Majestie furthe off *France*, withe the whiche the Collector and Wrytter for that Tyme wes content, and never myndit farther to have travellit in that Kynd of Wrytting. Bot efter Invocatioun of the Name of God, and efter Consultation withe some saythefull, quhat by thame wes thought expedient to advance Godis Glorie, and to edifie this present Generatioun, and the Posteritie to cum, it wes concludit, that saythefull Reherfall sould be maid of suche Personages as God had maid Instruments of his Glorie, by opponing of thame selfis to manifest Abusses, Superstitioun and Idolatrie. And albeit thair be no grit Number, zit ar thay mo than the Collector wald have luikit for at the Beginning, and thairfoir is the Volume samequhat enlarged above his Expectatioun: And zit in the Begining mone we crave of all the Gentill Reidars, not to luik of us for suche an Historie as sall expres all Thingis that have occurrit within this Realme during the Tyme of this terribill Conflict that hes bein betwix the Sanctis of God and these bloodie Wolfes quho clame to thame selves the Titill of Clergie, and to have Authoritie over the Saullis of Men: For with the Policie mynd we to meddle no farther then it has Religion mixit with it. And thairfoir albeit that many Thingis whiche wer done be omitted, zit gif we invent no Lies, we think our selves blameles in that Behalf. Of ane uther we mone foirwairne the discreet Reidares, whiche is that thai be not offendit that the simple Trueth be spoken without Percialitie, for seeing that of Men we nether hunt for Rewaird, nor zit for vane Glorie, we litill pas by the Approbatioun of suche as seldome judge well of God and of his Workis. Let not thairfoir the Reidar wonder albeit that our Styлле varie and speik diverslie of Men, according as thai have declaired themselves sometyme Enemies and sometyme Friendis, sometyme fervent, sometyme colde, sometyme constante, sometyme changeabill in the Cause of God and of his holie Religioun, for in this our Simplicitie we suppois that the godlie sall espye our Purpois, whiche is, that God may be prayffit for his Mercie schawin, this present Age may be admonischit to be thankfull for Godis Benefites offred, and the Posteritie to cum may be instructed how wondrously hathe the Lycht of Christ Jesus prevailed againes Darknes in this last and most corrupt Age.

THE





T H E
H I S T O R I E
O F T H E

Reformatioun of Religioun, within
the Realme of *Scotland*,

Conteining the Maner, and be quhat Persones
the Lycht of Chrystis Evangell hes bein
manifested unto this Realme, after that
horribill and universall Defectioun from
the Treuth, whiche hes cum be Meanes of
that *Romane* Antichryst.

T H E F I R S T B U I K.



IN the Scrollis of *Glasgow* is fund Mentioun of ane,
quhais Name is not expressed, that in the Yeir of God
1422. was brunt for Heresie; bot quhat was his Opini-
ounis, or by quhat Ordor he wes condemaed, it ap-
peiris not evidentlie; But our Cronicles make men-
tioun, that in the Dayes of King *James* the first, about
the Yeir of God 1431. wes deprehendit in the Univer-
sitie of Saint *Androis*, one namit *Paull Craw*, a *Bobeme*,
quho was accusit of Heresie, befor suche as then
wer callit Doctors of Theologie. His Accusatioun consisted principallie, that
he followed *Johne Hus* and *Weickleis*, in the Opinioun of the Sacrament, quha
denyis that the Substanc of Breid and Wyne war changed be Vertew of ony

Wordis, or that Confessioun shold be maid to Preistis, or yit Prayers to Sancts departed. Whyll that God gave him Graice to resist thame, and not to consent to thair Impietie, he wes comitted to the secular Judge (for our Bischopis follow *Pylatt*, quho bothe did condempe, and also wesche his Handis) quho condemned him to the Fyre, in the quhilk he wes consumed in the said City of Sanct *Androis*, about the Tyme afoir wryttin. And to declair thame-selves to be the Generatioun of Sathan, quho, from the Beginning, had bein Enemie to the Treuthe, and he that desyred the same to be hid frome the Knowledge of Men. Thay put ane Ball of Bras in his Mouthe, to the End that he shold not gif Confessioun of his Faythe to the Pepill, neyther yit that thai shold understand the Defence, whiche he had against thair injust Accusatioun and Condemnatioun. Bot that thair Sires Practise did not gritlie advance thair Kingdome of Darknes, neyther yit wes it abill utterlie till extinguische the Treuthe: For albeit, that in the Dayes of King *James* the secound and thrid, we find small Questioun of Religioun movit within this Realme, yit in the Tyme of King *James* the fourt, in the sext Yeir of his Rignne, and in the 22d Yeir of his Age, whiche was the Yeir of 1494. wer summonit befoir the King and his grit Counsaill, by *Robert Blakeder*, callit Archibischope of *Glasgow*; the Number of thirtie Personis remaining, some in *Kyllestewart*, some in *Kingis Kyll*, and some in *Cuninghame*: Among quhome wer *George Campbell* of *Sesnok*, *Adam Reid* of *Barskymminge*, *Jobne Campbell* of *Newmylnes*, *Andro Schaw* of *Powenmate*, *Helein Chalmer* Ladie *Pokelie*, *Chalmer* Ladie *Stairs*. These wer callit the *Lollardes* of *Kylle*. Thay war accusit of the Artickilles following, as we have ressavit thame furthe of the Register of *Glasgow*.

I. First, That Images ar not to be had, nor yit to be worschiped.

II. That the Reliquies of Sancts ar not to be worschiped.

III. That Lawis and Ordinances of Men varie from Tyme to Tyme, and that by the Pope.

IV. That it is not lawfull to fight, or to defend the Fayth. We translait according to the Barbarousnes of thair Latin and Dytement.

V. That Chryst gave Power to Piter onelie, and not to his Successors to bind and loose within the Kirk.

VI. That Chryst ordanit no Preistis to consecrate.

VII. That efter the Consecratioun in the Mes, thair remaines Breid, and that thair is not thair the naturall Bodie of Chryst.

VIII. That Teithes aucht not to be gevin to ecclesiasticall Men (as thai war than callit.)

IX. That Chryst at his cuming hes takin away Power from Kingis to juge. This Artickle we dout not to be the vennemous Accusatioun of the Enemies, quhais Practise hes evir bein to mak the Doctrine of Jesus Chryst suspect to Kingis and Reuleris; as that God thairby wald depois them of thair royall Seattes, quhairby the contrarie nothing confirmis the Power of Magistrates more thane dois Godis Worde. But to the Artickles.

X. That everie saythfull Man or Woman is a Priest.

XI. That the Unctioun of Kingis ceassit at the cuming of Chryst.

XII. That the Pope is not the Successour of Petir, bot quhair he said, Go behind me Sathan.

XIII. That the Paipe deceavis the Pepill by his Bull^s and his Indulgences.

XIV. That the Mes profatis not the Saulls that ar in Purgatorie.

XV.

- XV. *That the Paipe and the Bischopis deceave the Pepill be thair Pardonis.*
 XVI. *That Indulgences aucht not to be grantit to ficht againes the Saracens.*
 XVII. *That the Paip exaltis himself aganis God, and above God.*
 XVIII. *That the Paip cannot remitt the Pains of Purgatorie.*
 XIX. *That the Blessingis of the Bischopis (dum Doggis thay sould have bein styllit) ar of na Valew.*
 XX. *That the Excommunicatioun of the Kirk is not to be feirit.*
 XXI. *That into na Cair it is lawfull to sweir.*
 XXII. *That Preistis mycht have Wyffis, according to the Constitutioun of the Law.*
 XXIII. *That trew Christianes receive the Bodie of Jesus Christ everie Day.*
 XXIV. *That efter Matrimonie contractit, the Kirk may mak no Divorcement.*
 XXV. *That Excommunicatioun bindis not.*
 XXVI. *That the Paip forgevis not Sinne, bot onelie God.*
 XXVII. *That Fayth sould not be gevin to Miracles.*
 XXVIII. *That we sould not pray to the glorious Virgine Marie, bot to God onelie.*
 XXIX. *That we ar na mair bound to pray in the Kirk, than in uther Places.*
 XXX. *That we ar not bound to beleve all that the Doctors of the Kirk have writtin.*
 XXXI. *That suche as worschip the Sacramentis of the Kirk (we suppois thai meint the Sacrament of the Aulter) comitts Idolatrie.*
 XXXII. *That the Paip is the Heid of the Kirk of the Antichrist.*
 XXXIII. *That the Paip and his Ministers ar Murtherers.*
 XXXIV. *That thai quiblk ar callit Principals in the Kirk, ar Theists and Rubers.*

By these Artickles, whiche God of his mercyfull Providence caufit the Enemies of his Treuthe to keap in thair Registeris, may appeir how mercyfully God hath luikit upone this Realme, retaining within it sum spoune of his Licht, evin in the Tyme of greitest Darknes. Neyther aucht anie Man to wonder, albeit sum Thingis be abscurelie, and sum Thingis doutfully spoken. Bot rather aucht all saythfull to magnifie Godis Mercie, quho without publict Doctrin gave so grit Lycht. And farther, We aukht to considder, that seing that the Enemies of Jesus Christ gatherit the foirsaid Artickles, thairupone to accuise the Personis foirsaid, that thai wald deprave the Meining of God's Servandis so far as thai could; as we doubt not bot thai have done in the Headis of Excommunicatioun, Swearing, and of Matrimony: In the whiche it is no dout bot the Servandis of God did damme the Abuse onlie, and not the rycht Ordinance of God; for quho knawis not, that Excomuncatioun in theis Dayes wes altogether abusit? That Swearing aboundit without Punishment, or Remors of Conscience: And that Divorcementis war mayd for suche Causses, as warldie Men had inventit. Bot to our Historie. Albeit that the Accusatioun of the Bischope and of his Complices was verie greavous, yit, God so assistit his Servants, partlie be inclyning the Kingis Hairt to Gentilnes (for diveris of thame war his grit familiaris) and partlie be gevin bold and godlie Answeris to thair Accusators, that the Enemies in the End war frustrate of thair Purpois: For quhill the Bischope in Mockage said to *Adam Reid* of *Barskyming*; *Reid*, beleve ye that God is in Heaven? He answerit, not as I do the Sacraments sevin: Quhairat the Bischope thinking to have triumphat, said, Sir, lo, he denyis that God is in Heaven, quhairat the King wondring, said, *Adam Reid*! Quhat say ye? The uther answerit, Pleis your Grace to

heir the End betwix the Churle and me. And thairwith he turned to the Bischope and said, I nether think nor beleve, as thow thinks that God is in Heavin; bot I ame moift assurit, that he is not onelie in the Heavin, bot also in the Earthe: Bot thow and thy Factioun declairis be your Workis, that eyther ye think thair is no God at all, or ells that he is so set upe in Heaven, that he regairdis not quhat is done into the Earthe; for gif thow firmelie belevethe that God war in the Heaven, thow sould nocht mak thy self cheik-mate to the King, and altogether forgett the Charge that Jesus Christ the Sone of God gave to his Apostles, whiche was, To preiche the Evangell, and not to play the proude Prelatis, as all the Rabill of yow do this Day. And now, Sir, said he to the King, judge ye, quhiddir the Bischope or I beleve best that God is in Heaven. Quhill the Bischope and his Band could not weill revenge thamefelfis, and quhille many tauntis wer gevin thame in thair Teithe, the King willing to put ane end to farder Reasoning, said to the said *Adam Reid*; wil thou burne thy Bill? He answerit, Sir, and the Bischope and ye will. Withe these and the lyk Skoffis, the Bischope and his Band war sa daschit out of Countinace, that the grittest Parte of Accusatioun was turnit to Lauchter. Efter that Dyet, we find almoist no Questioun for Maters of Religioun, the spaice of nie of thirtie Yeirs; for not lang efter, to wit, in the Yeir of God 1500. the said Bischope *Blakeder* depairtit this Lyfe, going in his superstitious Devotioun to *Jerusalem*: Unto quhome succedit Mr. *James Betoun*, Sone to the Laird of *Balfour* in *Fyfe*, quha was mair cairfull for the Warld nor he was to preiche Christ, or yit to advance our Religioun, bot for the Fashioun only; and as he socht the Warld it fled him nocht, for it was weill knawin that at once he was Archibischope of Sanct *Androis*, Abbote of *Dumfermiling*, *Abirbrothe*, *Kilwinning*, and Chancelar of *Scotland*: For efter the unhappie Feild of *Flowdane*, in the whiche perished King *James* the fourt, with the maist Parte of the Nobilitie of the Realme, the said *Betoun*, with the rest of the Prelatis, had the haill Regiment of the Realme, and be Resfoun thair of held and travellit to hald the Treuth of God in Thraldome and Bondage, till that it pleissit God of his grit Mercy in the Yeir of God 1527. to rais upe his Servandis Mr. *Patrick Haumiltoun*, at quhome our Historie dois beginne: Of quhois Progenie, Lyif, and Eruditioun, becaus Men of Fame and Renown hes in divers Works writtin, we omitt all curious Repetitioun, sending suche as wald knaw farder than we wryit to *Francis Lamberd*, *Johne Firtbe*, and to that notable Wark laitlie set furthe be *Johne Fox*, *Inglisman*, of the Lyiffis and Deidis of Martyris within this Yle, in this our Age.

This Servand of God, the said Mr. *Patrick*, being in his Youth provydit to ressonabill Honours and Leving (he was intitulat Abbot of *Fearne*) as one haitting the Warld and the Vanitie thair of, leff *Scotland*, and past to the Scoolles in *Germanie*; for than the Fame of the Universtie of *Vitemberge* was gritlie divulgat in all Cuntreyis, quhair be Godis Providence he became familiare with these Lychtis and notable Servands of Chryst Jesus of that Tyme, *Martyne Luther*, *Philip Melancthon*, and the said *Francis Lumbert*; and did so growe and advance in godlie Knawledge, joynit with Fervencie and Integritie of Lyif, that he was in Admiratioun with monye. The Zeill of God's Glory did so eit him upe, that he could of no lang Continewance remane thair, bot returnit to his Cuntrey, quhair the brycht Beames of the trew Lycht, whiche be God's Graice wes plantit in his Hairt, begane moift abundantlie

to brust furth als weill in publick as in secret ; for he was (besydes his godlie Knowlege) weill learned in Philosophie, he abhorred Sophistrie, and wald that the Text of *Aristotilles* sould have bein better understood and mor usir in the Scooles, than then it was ; for Sophistrie had corrupted all alsweill in Divinitie as in Humanitie. In schort Proces of Tyme, the Fame of his Reasonis and Doctrine trublit the Clergie, and came to the Earis of Bischope *James Betony*, of quhome befor we have maid mentioun, quha being ane conjured Enemie to Jesus Christ, and one that lang had the holle Regiment of the Realme, bare impatientlie that anie Trubill sould be maid to that Kingdome of Darknes, quhairof, within this Realme, he wes the Heid ; and thairfoir he so travellit withe the said Mr. *Patrick*, that he got him to Sanct *Androis*. Quhair, efter the Conference of divers Dayis, he had his Friedome and Libertie ; the said Bischope and his blodie Buchouris, callit Doctors, seimit to approve his Doctrine, and to grant that mony Thingis cravit Reformatioun in the ecclesiasticall Regiment ; and amongest the rest, thair was ane that secreatlie consentit with him almaist in all Thingis, namit, Freir *Alexander Campbell*, a Man of goode Wit and Leirning, bot yit corrupt be the Warld, as efter we will heir. Quhen the Bischopis and Clergie had fullie understood the Mynd and Jugement of the said Mr. *Patrick*, and feiring that be him, thair Kingdome sould be indamaged, thay travellit with the King, quho then wes young and altogether adiect to thair Commandiment, that he sould pas in Pilgrimage to St. *Dothes* of *Ross*, to the end that no Intercessioun sould be maid for the Lyif of the innocent Servand of God, who suspecting no suche Crueltie, as in thair Hairtis wes concludit, remainit still (a Lambe among the Wolfis) till that upone a Nycht, he wes intercepted in his Chalmer, and by the Bischopis Band wes caryit to the Castell, quhair that Nycht he wes keipit, and upone the Morne producit in Jugement ; he wes condemned to die be Fyre, for the Testimonie of Godis Treuth. The Artickles for the whiche he sufferit, war bot of *Pilgrimage*, *Purgatorie*, *Prayer to Sancts*, and for the *Deid*, and suche Triffells. Albeit that Maters of gritter Importance had bein in Questioun, as his Tractise, whiche in the End we have addit, may witnes. Now that the Condemnatioun of the said Mr. *Patrick* sould have gritter Auctoritie, thay caussit the same to be subscriyvit, by all those of any Estimatioun, that with thame war present ; and to mak thair Number grit, thai tuik the Subscriptioun of Childrein, gif thai war of the Nobilitie ; for the Earle of *Cassillis*, whiche last deceissit in *France*, thane being bot tuelf or 13 Yeirs of Age, wes compellit to subscriyve his Deithe, as him self did confess. Immediatlie efter Dennar, the Fyre was prepairit befor the *Auld College*, and he led to the Plaice of Executioun ; and yit Men suppoissit, that all was done bot to gif unto him a Terror, and to have caussit him to have recantit, and have become recreant to those blodie Beistis ; bot God, for his awin Glorie, for the Comfort of his Servant, and for Manifestatioun of thair beistly Tyrannie, had utherwayis decreit : For he so strenthned his faythfull Witnes, that nether the Luif of Lyif, nor yit the Feir of that cruell Deithe culd move him a Jote to swerve from the Treuth once professit. At the Plaice of Executioun, he gave to his Servant, quha had bein Chalmer-cheild to him of a long Tyme, his Gowne, his Coit, Bonnet and suche lyk Garmentis, saying, *These will not profeit in the Fyre, thay will profeit thee ; efter this, of me thou can receive no Comoditie, except the Exempill of my Deithe, whiche I pray thee heir in Mynd : For albeit it be bitter to the Flesche, and feirfull befor Men, yit it is the Entrance unto eternall Lyif,*

whiche none fall possess that denys Christ Jesus befor this wickit Generatioun. The innocent Servand of God, being bound to the Staik in the Middis of sum Coillis, sum Timber and uther Matter apointed for the Fyre, a Trane of Powder was maid and set one Fyre, quhilk gave to the blissit Martyre of God a Glais, scoarched † his left Hand, and that Syid of his Faice, bot neyther kendlit the Wood nor yit the Coillis; and so remainit the appointed to Deathe in Torment, till that Men ran to the Castell agane for mair Powder, and Firre Wood more abill to tak Fyre, whiche at last being kindellit, with loude Voice he cryit, *Lord Jesus receave my Spirit: How lang fall Darknes overquellme this Realme? And how lang wilt thou suffer this Tyranny of Men?* The Fyre was slowe, thairfor was his Torment the more: Bot moir of all was he greaved be certane wickit Men, among quhome Campbell the Black Freir (of quhome we spak befor) was principall, quho continuallie cryit, *Convert Heretyk, call upoun our Ladie, say, Salve Regina, &c.* To quhome he answerit, *Depairt and troubill me not ye Messingers of Sathan.* Bot quhill that the foirsaid Freir still roared one Thing, in grit Vehemencie, he said unto him, *Wicked Man, thou knowis the contrarie, to me thou bes confessit, I appeil thee befor the Tribunall Sait of Christ Jesus.* After whiche, and uther Words, which weill could not be understaund nor marked, beyth for the Tumult and Vehemencie of the Fyre, the Witnes of Christ Jesus gat Victorie, efter lang Sufferance, the last of Februar, in the Yeir of God 1527 Yeirs. The said Freir depairted this Lyif within few Dayis efter, in quhat Estait we refer to the Manifestatioun of the general Day. Bot it was planelie knawin, that he deit in Glasgow in a Phrenesie, and as one dispaired. Now that all Men may understand quhat was the singulare Eruditioun and godlie Knowlege of the said Mr. Patrick, we have insertit this his litle pithie Wark, conteneing his Assertiounis and Determinatiounis concerning the Law, the Office of the same, concerning Fayth, and the trew Fruitis thair of; first be the said Mr. Patrick collectit in *Latin*, and efter translaied in *Englische*.

Of the Law.

THe Law is a Doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth Evill, as the Comandementis heir conteinit do specifie.

The ten Comandementis.

THow fall worship bot ane God. II. Thow fall mak the no Image to worship it. III. Thow fall not sweir be his Name in vane. IV. Hold the Sabbothe Day holy. V. Honour thy Father and thy Mother. VI. Thow fall not kill. VII. Thow fall not comitt Adulterie. VIII. Thow fall not steill. IX. Thow fall beir no fals Witnes. X. Thow fall not desyre ought that belongeth to thy nychbour.

He that loveth the God and his Nychbour, keipethe all the Comandementis of God. *Love the Lord thy God with all thyne Hairt, with all thy Saul, and with all thy Mynd. This is the first and grit Comandement. The second is lyk unto this, Love thy Nychbour as thy self. In these two Comandementis hang all the Law and the Prophetis. He that loveth the God loveth his Nychbour. Gif any Man say, he loveth God, and yit hateth his Nychbour, he is a Lier: He that loveth not his Brother quhome he hath sein, how can he love God quhome he hateth not sein.*

† Skrumpled, MSS. The 8vo, and other printed Copies have *scoarched*.

sein. He that loveth his Nychbour as himself, keipeth the haill Comandementis of God. *Qubattover that ye wald that Men shuld do unto yow, evin so do ye unto thame; for this is the Law and the Propheetis.* He that lovith his Nychbour fulfillit the Law; *Thow sall not comitt Adulterie, Thow sall not kill, Thow sall not steill, Thow sall not beir fals Witnes against thy Nychbour, Thow sall not desyre,* and so furthe, gif thair be any uther Comandement, all ar comprehendit under this Saying, *Love thy Nychbour as thy self.* He that loveth his Nychbour keipeth all the Comandementis of God, Rom. xiii. Gal. v. He that loveth God, loveth his Nychbour, 1 Jo. iv. *Ergo,* He that loveth God keipeth his Comandementis. He that hathe the Fayth, luifit God; *My Father luifit yow, because ye luifit me, and belevit that I cam of God.* He that hathe the Fayth keipeth all the Comandementis of God; *He that hathe the Fayth lovith God; and he that lovith God keipeth all the Comandementis of God.* *Ergo,* He that hathe Fayth keipeth all the Comandementis of God. He that keipeth one Comandement, keipeth thame all, for without Fayth it is impossibill to keip any of the Comandementis of God; and he that hes Fayth keipis all the Comandementis of God: *Ergo,* He that keipis one Comandement keipeth thame all. He that keipeth not all the Comandementis of God, he keipeth nane of thame; he that keipeth one of the Comandementis of God, keipes all: *Ergo,* He that keipes not all the Comandementis, he keipes nane of thame. It is not in our Power without Graice to keipe any of Godis Comandementis, and Graice is not in our Power: *Ergo,* It is not in our Power to keipe any of the Comandementis of God. Evn so may yow reassoun concerning the Holie Ghoist and Fayth. The Law was gevin to schawe us our Synnes. *Be the Law cummis the Knowledge of Synne; I knew not qubath Synne menit, bot throughe the Law. I knew not qubath Luifi menit, except the Law had said, Thow sall not luifi. Without Law Sinne was deid,* that is, moved me not; neyther wist I that it was Synne, whiche notwithstanding was Sin, and forbidden be the Law. The Law biddeth us do that whiche is impossibill for us, for it biddis us keip all the Comandementis of God; and yit it is not in our Power to keip any of thame: *Ergo,* It biddis us do that whiche is impossibill for us. Thow wilt say, *Quhairfoir doith God comand us that whiche is impossibill for us?* I answer, To mak the know, that thow art bot evill, and that thair is no Remedie to save the in thyne awin Hand, and that thow must seik Remedie at sum uther: For the Law doeth nothing bot comand the.

Of the Gospell.

THe Gospell is als muche to say in our Tounge, as gude Tydings, lyk as everie one of these Sentences be.

Christ is the Saviour of the Warld. Christ is our Saviour. Christ died for us. Christ died for our Synnes. Christ offered himself for us. Christ bare our Sinnes upoun his Back. Christ bocht us with his Bloode. Christ wofche us with his Blode. Christ came in the Warld to save Sinneris. Christ came in this Warld to tak away our Synnis. Christ was the Price that was gevin for us, and for our Synnis. Christ was maid Dettor for our Synnis. Christ hathe payit our Dett: For he died for us. Christ hathe maid Satisfatioun for us, and for our Synnis. Christ is our Richteousnes. Christ is our Wisdome. Christ is our Sanctificatioun. Christ is our Redemptioun. Christ is our Sa-

tisfactioun. Christ is our Gudeness. Christ hes pacifyit the Father of Hevin. Christ is ours, and all his. Christ hes deliverit us from the Law, from the Devill, and from Hell. The Father of Hevin hes forgevin us for Christis Saik. Or, anye suche uther, as declair unto us the Mercyes of God.

The Nature of the Law and of the Gospell.

THe Law schawis us our Synne, our Condemnatioun, is the Word of Ire, is the Word of Dispair, is the Word of Displessor.

The Gospell schawis us a Remedie for it, our Redemptioun, is the Word of Grace, is the Word of Comfort, is the Word of Peace.

A Disputatioun betwix the Law and the Gospell.

THe Law sayethe, Pay thy Det, Thow art a Synner disperat, Thow fall die.

The Gospell sayethe, Christ haith payit it, Thy Synnes ar forgevin the, Be of gude Comfort, Thow fall be savit.

The Law sayethe, Mak Amendis for thy Synne, The Father of Hevin is wrath with the, Quhair is thy Ryghteousnes, Gudnes, and Satisfactioun? Thow art bound and obligat unto me, the Devill and Hell.

The Gospell sayethe, Christ hath maid it for the, Christ hes pacifyit him with his Bloode; Christ is thy Ryghteousnes, Goodnes, and Satisfactioun, Christ hes deliverit the from thame all.

Of Faythe.

Faythe is to beleve God, lyk as Abrahame belevit God, and it was comptit to him for Ryghteousnes. He that beleveth God, beleveth his Word. To beleve in him is to beleve his Word, and accompt it trew that he speikes; he that belevit not Godis Word, beleveth not himself, he comptit him fals and a Lier, and belevit not that he may and will fulfill his Word: And so he denyeth bothe the Mycht of God and himself.

Faythe is the Gift of God; eny good Thing is the Gift of God; Fayth is good: *Ergo*, Fayth is the Gift of God. The Gift of God is not in our Power; Fayth is the Gift of God: *Ergo*, Fayth is not in our Power. Without Faythe it is impossibill to pleis God, all that cumeth not of Fayth is Sinne; for without Fayth can no Man pleis God. Besydis that he that lacketh Faythe, he trusteth not God; He that trusteth not God, trusteth not in his Word; He that trusteth not in his Word, haldeth him fals and a Lier; He that haldeth him fals and a Lier, he beleveth not that he may do that he promissit, and so denyit he, that he is God. And how can a Man being of this Fasshoun pleis God? No Manner of Wayis, yea suppois he did all the Wark of Men and Angellis. All that is done in Fayth pleisset God; Ryght is the Word of God, and all his Warkis in Fayth. Lord, thyne Eys luik to Fayth; that is als muche to say as, Lord, thow delyttest in Fayth. God loveth him that beleveth in him: How can thay than displeis him; he that hes the Fayth is just and goode, and a goode Trie bringeth the furthe goode Fruite: *Ergo*, All that is in Fayth done pleisset the God. Moreover he that had the Fayth beleveth God; He that beleveth God, beleveth his Word; He that beleveth his Words, woteth weill that he is trew and

and faythfull, and may not lie: Bot knowethe weill that he may, and will bothe, fulfill his Worde. How can he than displeis him? For thou canst not do ane grither Honour unto God, than to compt him trew. Thou wilt than say, That Thift, Murther, Adulterie and all Vices pleis God? None verilie, for thay can not be done in Fayth; for a gude Trie beareth the gude Fruite. He that hathe the Faythe wotethe weill that he pleisethe God; for all that is done in Faythe pleisethe God. Fayth is a Surenes, *Fayth is a sure Confidence of thingis that ar hopit for, and a Certaintie of thingis whiche ar not seen. The same Spirit certifeit our Spirit that we ar the Children of God.* Moreover, he that had the Faythe wottethe weill that God will fulfill his Worde: *Erge, Fayth is a Surenes.*

A Man is justifyt be Faythe.

A Brahme belevit God, and it was imputed to him for Rychteousnes. We suppose thairfor, That a Man is justifyt (sayethe the Apostle) *without the Works of the Law*; he that workethe not, but belevit in him that justifyt the Ungodlie, his Fayth is countit unto him for Rychteousnes. *The just Man levithe by Faith, Abac. ii. Rom. i.* We wait that a Man that is justifyt, is not justifyt be the Warkis of the Law, bot be the Faythe of Jesus Christ, and not be the Deidis of the Law.

Of the Fayth of Christ.

THe Fayth of Chryst is to beleve in him, that is to beleve his Word, and to beleve, that he will help the in all thy Neid, and deliver the frome Evill. Thou wilt ask me quhat Word? I answer, The Gospell. He that belevit in Christ sal be savit; he that belevit the Sone hath eternal Lyif. *Veralie, veralie I say unto yow, He that belevethe in me hathe eternall Lyif. This I wryte unto yow, that beleving in the Name of the Sone of God, ye may know that ye have eternall Lyif. Thomas, becaus thou hes sein me thow belevs, bot happie ar thay that have not sein, and yit beleve in me. All the Prophetis to him beir Witnes, That quosoever beleveth in him sall have Remessioun of thair Sinnes. Quhat most I do that I may be savit? The Apostle answerit, Beleve in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be savit. Gif thou acknowledge with the Mouth, that Jesus is the Lord, and beleve in thine Hairs that God rasisit him up frome the Deathe, thou sal be saved. He that belevis not in Christ sal be condemned, he that belevis not in the Sone sall never sie Lyiff, bot the Yre of God abyethe upon him. The Holie Ghoist sall repruiff the World of Sinne, becaus thai beleve not in me; they that belevis in Jesus Christ ar the Sonnis of God. Ye ar all the Sonnis of God, becaus ye beleve in Jesus Christ. He that belevis Christ the Sonne of God is save. Piter said, Thou art Christ the Sone of the leving God. Jesus answerit and said unto him, Happie art thou Simoun the Sone of Jonas, for Flesche and Bloode kathe not oppinnit unto the that, bot my Father whiche is in Hevin. We have belevit and knowin, that thou art Christ the Sone of the leving God, whiche sould come in the World. I beleve, that thou art Christ the Sone of the leving God which sould cum into the World. These Things ar writen that ye mycht beleve that Jesus is the Sone of God, and that in beleving ye mycht have Lyif. I beleve that Jesus is the Sone of the leving God. He that belevethe God belevethe the Gospell. He that belevethe*

God belevethe his Word, and the Gospell is his Word; thairfore he that beleveth God belevethe his Gospell.

As Christ is the Saviour of the World, Christ is our Saviour. Christ bocht us with his Bloode. Christ wische us with his Bloode. Christ offred himself for us. Christ bare our Synnes upoun his Back. He that belevs not his Gospell, belevit not God. He that belevit not Godis Worde, belevit nor himself; And the Gospell is Godis Worde: *Ergo*, He that belevit not the Gospell, belevit not God himself, and consequentlie thay that beleve not as is above writin, and suche uther, beleve not God. He that belevs the Gospell sal be savit. *Go ye into all the World, and preache the Gospell unto everie Creature. He that belevit and is batisst sal be savit; bot he that belevit not sal be condemned.*

A Comparisoun betwix Fayth and Incredulitie.

Faythe is the Root of all Gude; makethe God and Man Freinds; bringethe God and Man together.

Incredulitie is the Rute of all Evill; makethe thame deidlie Fais; bringethe thame fundrie.

All that proceidethe from Fayth pleisethe God. All that proceidethe from Incredulitie displeisethe God. Faythe onlie makethe a Man good and rychteous. Incredulitie makethe him injust and evill. Fayth onelie makethe a Man the Member of Christ, the Inheritour of Hevin, the Servant of God. Fayth schawethe God to be a sweit Father. Fayth haldethe stit by the Worde of God, countethe God to be trew. Faythe knowethe God, loveth God and his Nychbour. Faythe onelie saveth, extolleth God and his Works.

Incredulitie makethe him the Member of the Devill, the Inheritour of Hell, the Servant of the Devill. Incredulitie makethe God a terrible Judge. It causethe Man wander heir and thair, makethe him fals and a Lier. Incredulitie knawethe him not. Incredulitie loveth neyther God nor Nychbour, onely condemnethe, extollith Flesche and hir awin Deidis.

Of Hope.

Hope is a Truistie luiking for of Thingis that ar promiseit to come unto us, as we hope the evirlasting Joy quhilk Christ hes promiseit unto all that believe in him. We sould put our Hope and Trust in God onlie, and in no uther Thing. *It is gude to truist in God, and not in Man: He that trustethe in his awin Hart he is a Foole. It is gude to truist in God, and not in Princes: They shall be lyk unto Images that make thame, and all that truist in thame: He that truistethe in his awin Thochtis dois ungodlie: Cursit be he that that trustethe in Man: Bid the riche Men of this World, that thai trust not in thair unstabill Riches, but that thai trust in the loving God: It is hard for thame that truist in Money to enter into the Kingdome of God. Moreover, we sould trust in him onelie, that he may help us; ergo, we sould trust in him onelie. Weill is him that trustis in God, and wo to him that trust him not. Weill is the Man that trustis in God, for God sal be his Truist: He that trustethe in him fall understand the Treuthe, They shall all rejoyss that trust in the, they fall all evir be glaid, and thow will defend thame.*

Of Charitie.

Charitie is the Love of thy Nychbour: The Roulle of Charitie is, To do as thou waldest war done unto the; for Charitie esteemeth all alyk, the Ryche and the Pure, the Freind and the Foe, the thankul and unthankful, the Kinsman and Stranger.

A Comparisoun betwix Faith, Hope, and Charitie.

Fayth cumethe of the Worde of God: Hope cumethe of Fayth; And Charitie springethe of thame baithe. Fayth belevethe the Worde; Hope truistes efter that whiche is promessit be the Worde; and Charitie deith gude to hir Nychbour, throuche the Love that sche has to God, and Gladres that is within herself, and Fayth luikethe to God and his Word, Hope lookethe to his Gift and Rewarde, Cheritie loukethe unto hir Nychbours Profeit; Faythe receavethe God, Hope receavethe his Rewarde, Cheritie loikethe unto hir Nychbour with a glaid Hairt, and that without ony Respect of Rewaird; Faythe perteinit to God onlie, Hope to his Rewarde, and Cheritie to hir Nychbour.

Of goode Workis.

NO maner of Warkis mak us rychteous: We beleve that a Man sal be justifiyt without Warks. No Man is justifiyt be the Deidis of the Law, bot be the Fayth of Jesus Christ; and we beleive in Jesus Christ that we may be justifiyt be the Fayth of Christ, and not be the Deidis of the Law. Gif Rychteousnes came be the Law thane Christ died in vain; that no Man is justifiyt be the Law it is manifest, for a rychteous Man levethe be his Fayth; bot the Law is not of Fayth. Mairover, since Christ the Maker of Heavin and Earthe, and all that thairin is, behovit to die for us, we ar compellit to grant that we war so far drownit in Synne, that neyther our Deidis, nor all the Creatures that evir God maid or mycht mak, mycht have helpit us out of thame: *Ergo*, no Deidis nor Warkis may mak us rychteous: No Warcks macks us unrychteous, for gif ony Warks maid us unrychteous than the contrary Warks wald mak us rychteous. Bot it is provin that no Warkis can mak us rychteous: *Ergo*, No Warkis mak us unrychteous.

Workis mak us neyther good nor evill.

IT is provin that Warkis neyther mak us rychteous nor unrychteous: *Ergo*, Na Warkis neyther mak us goode nor evill, for rychteous and goode ar bothe one Thing, and unrychteous and evill, one. Good Warkis mak not a good Man, nor evill Warkis ane evill Man; bot a good Man makethe good Warkis, and ane evill Man evill Warkis. Goode Fruit makethe not the Trie gude, nor evill Fruit the Trie evill, bot a goode Trie beirethe goode Fruit, and a evill Trie evill Fruit: A goode Man cannot do evill Workis, nor ane evill Man goode Workis, for ane evill Trie cannot beir good Fruit, nor a goode Trie evill Fruit. A Man is goode befoir he do goode Workis, and ane evill Man is evill befoir he do evill Workis, for the Trie is goode befoir

it beir goode Fruit, and evill befor it beir evill Fruit: Everie Man is eyther goode or evill; ether mak the Trie goode and the Fruit goode also, or ellis mak the Trie evill, and the Fruit lyikwyis evill also. Everie Mannis Work is ether goode or evill, for all Fruits is ether goode or evill, ether mak the Trie goode and the Fruite also, or ellis mak the Trie evill and the Fruit of it lyikwyis evill also. A goode Man is knawin be his Warkis, for a goode Man doethe goode Workis, and ane evill Man evill Warkis, *Ye sall know thame be thair Fruitis, for a goode Trie bringethe furthe goode Fruite, and an evill Trie evill Fruit.* A Man is liknit to the Trie, and his Warkis to the Fruit of the Trie. *Beware of the fals Propheetis whiche come unto you in Scheipis clothing, bot inwaralie thai ar ravonning Wolfes, ye sall know thame be thair Fruittis.*

None of our Workis nether save us nor condeme us.

IT is provin that no Warkis make us eyther rychteous or unrychteous, goode nor evill; bot first we ar goode befor that we do goode Workis, and evill befor we do evill Workis: *Ergo*, No Work neyther condeme us nor save us. Thou wilt say than makethe it no Matter quhat we do? I answer the, Yis. For gif you do evill, it is a sure Argument that thow art evill and wantis Fayth; gif yow do gude, it is ane Argument that thow art gude and hes Fayth; *for a gude Trie beirethe gude Fruit, and an evill Trie evill Fruit*; Yit gude Fruit makethe not the Trie gude, nor evill Fruit the Trie evill, so that Man is goode befor he do guide Warkis, and evill befor he do evill Warkis. The Man is the Trie, the Warkis ar the Fruite, Fayth makethe the good Trie, Incredulitie the evill Trie: Suche a Trie, suche a Fruite, suche Man, suche Warkis: For all that is done in Fayth pleasethe God, and ar goode Warkis, and all that is done without Fayth displeasethe God, and ar evill Warkis. Quhosoever thinkethe to be savit be his Warks, denyethe that Christ is our Saviour, and that Christ died for him; and fynallie all Thing that belangethe to Christ. For how is he thy Saviour, gif thow mycht save thy self with thy Warkis? Or to quhat End. sould he have died for the, gif any Warks of thyne mycht have saved the? Quhat is this to say, Christ died for the? Is it not that thow souldest have died perpetuallie, and that Christ to deliver the frome Deithe died for the, and changed thy perpetuall Deithe in his awin Deithe? For thow maidest the Fault, and he sufferit the Pane, and that for the Love he buir to the, befor evir thow wast borne, when thow haddest done neyther goode nor evill. Now since he hes payit thy Det, thow diest not; no thow canest not, bot souldest have bein damned, gif his Deithe war not. Bot suir he was punisched for the, thow sall not be punisched. Finally, he hes delyverit the frome the Condemnatioun, and desyrit nocht of the, bot that thow souldest acknowledge quhat he hes done for the, and beir it in mynd, and that thow waldest helpe uther for his Saik bothe in Word and Deid, evin as he had helpit the for nocht, and without Reward. O how readie wald we be to helpe uthers, gif we knew his Gudnes, and Gentilnes towards us? He is a gude and a gentil Lord, and he dois all Thingis for nocht. Lat us, I beseik yow, follow his Futeesteppis, whome all the Warld aucht to prayis and worschipe. *Amen.*

He that thinketh to be saved by his Workis, calleth himself Christ.

FOr he calleth himself a Saviour, whiche apperteineth to Christ onlie. What is a Saviour? Bot he that saveth. And thou sayest, I save my self, whiche is alsomuche to say, as, I am Christ; for Christ is onelie the Saviour of the World. We sould do no goode Workis for that intent to get the Inheritance of Heavin or Remission of Synnes throw thame, for quhosoevyr belevethe to get the Inheritance of Hevin or Remission of Synnes throw Warkis, he belevis not to get that for Christis Saik. And thai that beleve that thair Synnes ar not forgevin thame, and that thai sal not be saved for Christis Saik, they beleve not the Gospell; for the Gospell sayeth, Thou sal be saved for Christis Saik; Synnes ar forgevin you for Christis Saik. He that belevethe not the Gospell, belevethe not God: and consequentlie, they that beleve to be saved by thair Warkis, or to get Remission of Synnes by thair awin Deidis, beleve not God, bot recount him a Liar, and so utterlie deny him to be God. Thow wilt say, Sall we then do no good Workis? I say not so: Bot I say, we sould do no gude Warkis, for that Intent to get the Kingdome of Hevin, or Remission of Synnes; for gif we beleve to get the Inheritance of Hevin throw gude Workis, then we beleve not to get it throw the Promeis of God. Or gif we think to get Remission of our Synnes, as said is, we beleve not that thai ar forgevin us by Christ, and so we count God a Liar; for God sayeth, Thou shalt have the Inheritance of Hevin for my Sonnes Saik. You say, It is not so, bot I win it throw my awin Works. So I condemne not good Workis, but I condemne the fals Trust in ony Workis, for all the Work a Man putteth Confidence in, ar thairwith intoxicat, or impposonit and become evill.

Quhairfor do gude Workis, bot bewar thow do thame to get ony goode throw thame, for gif thow do, thow receavest the Good, not as the Gift of God, bot as Debt unto the, and makest thy self Fellow with God, becaus thow will tak nothing frome him for nocht. What neideth he anie Thing of thyne, quho geveth all Thing, and is not the poorer? Thairfor do nothing to him, bot tak of him, for he is a gentill Lord, and with ane glaidier Hairt will give us all Thingis that we neid, than we tak it of him. So that gif we want anie Thing, let us wytte our selfies. Preis not then to the Inheritance of Hevin, throw Presumptioun of thy good Workis; for gif thow do, thow comptest thy self holy and equall unto him, becaus thow wilt tak nothing of him for nocht; and so fall thow fall as *Lucifer* fell frome the Hevin for his Pryde. This ends the said Mr. *Patricks* Artickles. And so we returne to our Historie.

When those cruell Wolffis had (as thai supposed) clein devoured the Prey, they fand thamefelfis in wors cais than thay war befor; for then within St. *Androis*, yea, almost within the haill Realme (who hard of that Fact) thair was none fund who began not to enquire, quhairfor wes Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* brout? And quhen his Articklis wer reherfit, Questioun was haldin, gife suche Artickles war necessar to be belevit under the Pane of Damnatioun. And so within schort spaice mony began to call in doubt that whiche befor thay held for a certane Veritie, in so muche that the Universitie of St. *Androis*, and St. *Leonards* College principallie, be the Labours of Mr. *Gawane Legie*, and the Novittis of the Abbey be the Sup-prior, began to smell sumquhat of

the Veritie, and to espy the Vanitie of the receaved Superstitioun; yea within few Yeirs efter begane bayth blak and gray Freiris publictlie to preiche aganis the Pryde and ydill Lyiff of Bischopis, and aganist the Abuis of the hole Ecclesiasticall Estait; amongest quhome was one callit Freir *William Airthe*, quho, in a Sermone preiched in *Dundie*, spak sumquhat moir liberallie against the licentious Lyif of the Bischopis nor they could weill beir. He spak farther against the Abuse of Cursing and of Miracles. The Bischope of *Brechine*, having his Placeboes and Jackmen in the Toun, buffettit the Freir, and callit him Heretyck. The Freir impatient of the Injurie receavit, past to St. *Androis*, and did communicat the Heidis of his Sermone with Mr. *Johnne Mair*, whose Word than was haldin as ane Oracle in Matteris of Religiou; and being assurit of him, that suche Doctrine mycht weill be defendit, and that he wald defend it, for it contened no Heresie. Thair was a Day apointit to the said Freir, to mak Repetitioun of the same Sermone: And Advertisement wes gevin to all suche as wes offendit at the former to be present. And so in the Paroche Kirk of St. *Androis*, upoun the Day appointit, appeared the said Freir, and had amongst his Auditours, Mr. *Johnne Mair*, Mr. *George Lockart*, the Abott of *Cambuskenneth*, Mr. *Patrick Hepburne* Pryor then of St. *Androis*, with all the Doctors and Maisters of the Universities. The Theme of his Sermone was, *Veritie is the strongest of all Thingis*. His Discours of cursing was, That gif it war rychtlie usit, it was the moist feirfull Thing upoun the Face of the Earth; for it was the verie Separatioun of Man from God; bot that it sould not be usit raschlie, and for everie lycht Caus, but onelie against oppin and incorrigibill Sinneris: Bot now, said he, the Avarice of Preistis, and the Ignorance of thair Office, hes caussit it altogether to be vilipendit. For the Preist, said he, whose Dewtie and Office it is to pray for the Pepill, standis up one Sondag, and cryis, 'Ane hes tint a Spurtill; thair is a Flaill stoun beyoind the Burne; the Cudwyif of the uther syid of the Gait hes tint a Horne Spone; Godis malesoun and myne I give to thame that knawis of this Geir, and restoiris it not.' How the Pepill mocked thair cursing, he farther tauld a mirrie Taill, How efter a Sermone that he had at *Dumfermeling*, he cam to a House quhair Gossopis war drinkane thair Sondagis pennie; and he being dry, askit drink; Yis Fayther (said ane of the Gossopis) ye sall have drink, bot ye man first resolve ane Dout quhilk is rislin among us, *to wit*, quhat Servant will serve a Man best on leist Expenses? The gude Angle, said I, quho is Mannis keipar, quho makes grit Service without Expens. Tusche, said the Gossipe, we mein no so heiche Matteris; we meane, Quhat honest Man will do grittest Service for leist Expens. And quhill I was mussing, said the Freir, quhat that sould mein, he said, 'I sie, Father, that the grittest Clerkis ar not the wisest Men. Knew ye not how the Bischopis and thair Officialis servis us Houfbandmen? Will thay not gif us a Letter of cursing for a Plak, to lest for a Yeir, to curs all that luik over our Dyik, and that keipis our Corne better nor the sleiping Boy that will have thrie Schillingis of Fie, a Sark, and a Pair of Schone in the Yeir; and thairfoir gif thair cursing dow ony Thing, we hald the Bischoppis best cheip Servantis in that Behalf, that ar within the Realme.' As concerning Mirackles, he declaired quhat Diligence the Ancients took to try trew Miracles frome fals. Bot now, said he, Gredines of Preistis not only receive fals Miracles, bot also thei cheris and fies Knaves for that Purpois, that thair Chapells may be the better renowned, and thair offerand may be augmentit. And thairupoun ar many Chappellis foundit, as
that

that our Ladie war mychtier, and that sche took mor Pleffur in one Place than in ane uther; as of lait Dayis our Ladie of *Kersgrange* hes hoppit fra ane grein Hillock to ane uther: But honest Men of *St. Androis*, said he, gif ye love your Wyifis and Dochters, hald thame at Hame, or ellis send thame in honest Cumpanie; for gif ye knew quhat Miracles war kythit thair, ye wald thank God nor our Ladie. And this he mirralie tantit thair Tryistis of Huredome and Adulterie ussit at suche Devotioun. Ane uther Artickle wes judgit more hard, for he allegit the comoun Law, That the civill Magistrate mycht correct the Kirkmen, and deprive thame of thair Benefices for oppin Vices. One uther Day the same Freir maid ane uther Sermone of the Abbote *Unreaßone*, unto whom, and quhais Lawis he compairit Prelatis of that Age; for thai was subdewit to na Lawis, na mair than was the Abbote *Unreaßone*. And among uther Things he tauld such a mirrie Bourde: Thair was, said he, a Prelate, or at leist a Prelattis Pere, a trew Servant to the King of Love, quho upoun a Nycht efter Supper, asked at his Gentillmen, be the Fayth that thai aucht to the King of Love, that thai sould trewlie declair how money sindrie Women eny ane of thame have had, and how mony of thame war Mennis Wyifis. Ane answerit, he had lyne with fyve, and two of thame war marryed. The uther answerit, I have had sevin, and thre of thame are maryed. It cam at last to my Lord himself, who macking verie nyce for a litill spaice, gave in the end ane plane Confessioun, and said, I am the youngest Man, and yit have I had the round Desoun, and sevin of thame ar Mennis Wyiffis. Now, said the Freir, this God and King of Love to quhom our Prelattis makis Homage, is the Maister Devill of Hell, frome quhome suche Fruittis do proceed. This Prelat was knowin be his proper Tokins to have bein Pryor *Patrick Hepburne*, now Bischop of *Murray*, quho to this Day hes continued in the Professioun, that he anis maid to his God and King of Love.

It was soppoßed notwithstanding this Kynd of Preiching, that this Freir remainit Papist in his Haire, for the rest of the Freirs seiring to lois the Benediçtiouns of the Bischopis, to wit, thair Malt and thair Meill, and thair uther apointed Penssiouns, caussit the Freir to flie to *Ingland*, quhair for Defence of the Paip and Papistrie, he was imprisonit at King *Haryis* Comand; bot so it pleisit God to oppin the Mouth of *Balaames* awin Assie, to cry out againis the vitious Lyits of the Clergie of that Age. Schort efter this, new Consultatioun was takin that sum sould be burnit, for Men began verie liberallie to speik. A mirrie Gentilman namit *Johne Lindefay*, Familiar to Bischope *James Beaton*, standing by quhen Consultation was had, said, *My Lord, gif ye burne any Man, except ye follow my Counsaill, ye will utterlie distroy your selfis; gif ye will burne thame, lat thame be burnit in how Sellaris, for the Reik of Mr. Patrick Hamitoun hes infectit als mony as it did blaw upoun.* This it pleisit God, that they sould be tauntit in thair awin Faces. But heir followis the moit mirrie of all. *Sandie Furroure*, quho had bein imprisoned sevin Yeirs in the Tour of *Lundone*, Sir *Johne Dungwell*, according to the Charitie of Kirkmen, interteinit his Wyiff, and waistit the poor Manis Substance; for the whiche Caus, at his returning, he spak moir liberalie of Preistis than thai could beir, and so wes he delatit to be accused of Heresie, and callit to his Answer to *St. Androis*. He lap up mirralie upoun the Scaffald, and casting a Gamound, said, *Quhair ar the rest of the Playeris?* Mr. *Andrew Oliphante* offendit thairwith said, *It sal be no Play to yow, Sir, besoir ye departe;* and so began to reid

his Accusatioun. The first Artickle quhairof wes, *That he despyttit the Mess.* His Answer was, *I heir mo Messis in eight Days, then thre Bischopis thair sitting sayis in a Yeir.* Accused secoundlie, *For Contemptioun of the Sacramentis.* The Preistis, said he, *was the moift comoun Contemnars of Sacramentis, and especialie of Matoimonie;* and that he witnessit be many thair present of the Preistis, and namit the Menis Wyiffis with quhome they had medlit, especialie Sir *Johne Dungweill*, quho had sevin Yeirs togither abusit his awin Wyiff, and consumed his Substance. And sayis, *Because I complein of sick Injuries, I am heir sumond and accusit, as ane that is worthie to be burnit :* For *Godis Cawfs*, said he, *will ye tak Wyiffis of your awin, that I and utherr quibais Wyiffis ye have abuissit, may be revengit upoun yow.* Than Bischope *Gawane Dunbar*, namit the auld Bischope of *Abirdein*, thinking to justifie himself befor the pepill, said, *Carle, thow salt not know my Wyif.* The said *Alexander* answerit, *My Lord, ye ar to auld, bot with the Graice of God, I sall drink with your Dochter befor I depairt.* And thairat was smyling of the best, and loude Lauchter of sum; for the Bischope had a Dochter marryit with *Andrew Balfour* in that same Town. Thane the Bischopis bad, *Away with the Carle.* Bot he answerit, *Nay, I will not depairt this Hour, for I have more to speik against the Vyces of Preistis, than I can express this baill Day.* And so efter divers Purposes, thei comandit him to burne his Bill; and he demanding the Cawfs, they said, *Becaus ye have spokin these Artickles quhairof yow ar accused.* His Answer was, *The mekill Devill beir thame away, that first and last spak thame.* And sa he tuk the Bill, and chawing it, he efterward spat it in *Mr. Andrew Oliphantis* Face. Saying, *Now, burne it or drown it, whether ye will, ye sall beir no moir of me; bot I muist have sumquhat of everie ane of yow, to begin my Pack againe, quhilk a Preist and my Wyfe, a Preistis Hure, hes spende.* And sa every Prelat and riche Preist, glaid to be quyte of his evill, gave him sumquhat, and so depairtit he; for he understoode nothing of Religion. Bot so feirfull it was to speik any thing against Preistis, that the leist Worde spokin against thame, yea albeit it war spoken in a Mans Sleip, was judgit Heresie; and that was practisit upoun *Rychard Carmihill*, yit alyve in *Fyfe*, who being young and a Singer in the Chapell Royall of *Stirling*, hapnit in his Sleip to say, *The Devill tak away the Preistis, for thai ar a gredie Pack.* He was thairfor accusit be Sir *Johne Clappertoun* Dein of the said Chapell, was compellit thairfor to burne his Bill. Bot God schort efter rayssit up against thame stronger Championnis. For *Alexander Seytoun*, a black Freir of gude Leirning and Effimatioun, began to tax the corrupt Doctrine of the Papistrie. For the Spaice of a whole Lent, he taucht the Comandimentis of God onelie, ever beatten in the Eiris of his Auditours, *That the Law of God had of many Yeirs not bein trewlie taucht; for Mennis Traditionis had obscurit the Puritie of it.* These wer his accustomed Propositionis. First, *Christ Jesus is the End and Perfection of the Law.* 2d. *Thair is no Sin quhair God's Law is not violated.* 3d. *To satisfie for Synnes, lvis not in Mannis Power, bot the Remission thair of cumethe be unsenyeit Repentance, and the Fayth apprehending God the Father mercifull in Chryst Jesus his Sone.* Whill oftentimes he puttis Auditours in Mvnd of these and the lyk Heidis; he maks no Mentioun of Purgatorie, Pardones, Pilgrimages, Prayers to Sanctis, nether of suche Triffilles: The dum Doctours, and the rest of that foirsworne Rabill, began to suspect him, and yit thei said nothing publickly till Lent was endit, and he passit to *Dundie*; and thane in his Absence, hyred for that Purpois, opinly condemned the holie Doctrine, whiche befor he haid taucht, whiche cuming to his Eiris, the said Freir *Alexander*

Alexander thane being in Dundie, without Delay he returned to St. Androis, caullit immediatlie to jow the Bell, and to give Significatioun that he wald preiche, as that he did indeid, in the whiche Sermon he affirmed, and that more planelie than at any uther Tyme, whatsoever he had taucht in all his Sermons befor the hole Lent tyde preceeding. Adding, " That within Scotland " thair war no trew Bischoppis, gif that Bischopis sould be knawin be sick " Notes and Vertewis, as Sanct Paull requyeres in Bischopis." This Delatioun flew with Winges to the Bischopis Eirs, quho, but farder Delay, send for the said Frier Alexander, quho began greavouslie to complain, and scharplie to accuse that he had so slanderouslie spokin of the Dignitie of Bischopis, as to say, *That it behovit a Bischope to be a Preichar, or ellis he was bot a dumme Dog, and fed not the Flock, bot fed his awin Bellie.* The Man being wittie, and myndit of that quhilk was ane maist assured Defence, said, *My Lord, the Reporters of sick Thingis ar manifest Lieris.* Quhairat the Bischope rejoyssit, and said, *Your Answer pleissis me weil; I nevir could think of yow, that ye wald have bein so foolishche as to affirme sick Thingis: Quhair ar thay Knaves that hes brocht me this Taill? Quho compeiring, and affirming the same that thai did befor; he still replyit, That thai war Lieris.* Bot quhill the Witnes wer multiplyit, and Men wer brocht to Attentioun, he turned him to the Bischope, and said, *My Lord, ye may keir, and consider quhat Eiris thir Affes have, quho can not deerve betwix Paull, Isay, Zacharie, and Malachie, and Freir Alexander Seytoun. In verie deid, my Lord, I said, that Paull sayis, It behovis a Bischope to be a Teichar. Isay said, That thai that fed not the Flock ar dum Doggis; and Zacharie sayis, Thai ar Idoll-pastors. I of my awin Heid affirmit nothing, bot declared quhat the Spirit of God befor had pronuncit. At quhome, my Lord, gif ye be not offendit, justlie ye can not be offendit at me; and so yit agane, my Lord, I say, That thai ar manifest Lieris, that reportit unto yow that I said, that ye and uther that preiche not ar no Bischopis bot Bellie-godis.* Albeit efter that, the Bischope was hichelie offendit, allweill at the Skuf and bitter Mock as at the bald Libertie of that learnit Man; yit durst he not hazarde at that present to execute his Malice consavit; for not onelie feirit he the Leirning and bald Spirit of the Man, bot also the Favour that he had, allweill of the Pepill as the Prince, King James the fifth, of quhome he had gud Credite; for he was at that Tyme his Confessour, and had exhortit him to the Feir of God, to the Meditatioun of Godis Law, and unto Puritie of Lyffe: Bot the Bischope, with his Complices, foirseing quhat Danger mycht cum to thair Estait, gif sick Familiaritie sould continew betwix the Prince, and a Man so leirnit, and so repugning to thair Effectiounis, labourit be all Meinis, to mak the said Frier Alexander odious unto the Kingis Graice, and easilie fand the Meinis be the Gray-Freiris (who be thair Hypocricie deceavethe mony) to traduce the Innocent as ane Heretyk. This Accusatioun was easilie recevit of the carnal Prince, quho altogether was gevin unto the filthie Lustis of the Flesche, and abhorit all Counsel that repugnit thairto. And becaus he did remember quhat a Terrour the Admonitiounis of the said Alexander wes unto his corrupted Conscience, without Resistence he subscriyvit to thair Accusatioun, affirming, that he knew mair thane thay did in that Mater; for he understode weill aneuche, that he smellit of the new Doctrine, by such Thingis as he had schawin to him under Confessioun; and thairfore he promissit, that he sould follow the Consaill of the Bischopis, in punisching of him, and of all utheris of that Sect. These Thingis understaude be the said Alexander, all-

weill be Informatiounis of his Freindis and Familiaris, as be the strange Continence of the King unto him, provydit the nixt Way to avoyd the Furie of a blindit Prince. And so in his Habit, he departit the Realme; and cuming to *Berwick*, he wrait bak to the Kingis Graice his Complaint and Admonition. The veray Tennour and Copie quhairof followis, and is this.

MAist gracious and Soverane Lord, under the Lord and King of all, of quhomē onelie thy Hienes and Majestie hes Power and Auſtoritie to exerceis Justice within this thy Realme under God, quho is King and Lord over all Realmes, and thy Graice, and all mortall Kingis are bot onelie Servandis unto that onelie immortal Prince Christ Jesus, &c. It is not, I wait, unknowin to thy Graces Hieness, how that thy Graces umquhille Servand and Orator (and evir sal be to my lyves end) is departed out of the Realme unto the nixt adjacent of *England*; nocht the les, I beleve the Caus of my departing is unknowin to your Graices Majestie: Whilk onelie is, Becaus the Bischopis and Kirkmen of thy Realme hes had heirtofoir sick Auſtoritie upoun thy Subjectis, that apeirandlie they wer rather King and you the Subject; quhilk injust Regiment is of the self fals, and contrair to holie Scripture and Law of God. Then thow art thair King and Maisteris, and they the Subjectis, quhilk is very trew and testifyit expresse be the Worde of God. And also, becaus they will gif no Man of anie Degrie or Stait (whome thay oft falslie call Heryticks) Audience, Time, nor Place to speik nor have Defence, quhilk is against all Law, both the auld Law, callit the Law of *Moyse*, and the new Law of the Evangell. So that gif I mycht have had Audience and Plaice to speik, and have schawin my just Defence, conforme to the Law of God, I sould nevir have fled to any uther Realme, suppois it sould have coist me my Lyif. Bot becaus I beleved that I sould have had no Audience nor Plaice, (they ar so grit with thy Grace) I departit, not doutand, but movit of God, unto ane better Tyme that God illuminet thy Graces Eyin, to gif everie Man Audience (as thow souldest and may, and is bound of the Law of God) whiche ar accusit to the Deithe. And to certifie thy Hienes that thir ar no vane Wordis, bot of Deid and Effect, heir I offer me to thy Graice to cum in thy Realme agane, so that thy Graice will gif me Audience, and heir quhat I have for me of the Law of God: And caus ony Bischope or Abbote, Freir or Seculare, quhilk is maist cunning (sum of thame cannot reid thair Matinis that ar maid Judges of Hereſie) to impugne me by the Law of God; and gif my Parte be found wrang, thy Graice being present and Judge, I refuis no Pane worthie or condign for my Fault. And gif that I convict thame be the Law of God, and thay have nothing to lay to my Charge, bot the Law of Man, and thair awin Inventionis, to uphald thair vane Glorie and prydfull Lyf, and dailie scourging of thy pure Lieges; I report me to thy Graice, as Judge, Quhither he hes the Victorie quhilk haldis him at the Law of God, quhilk cannot faill nor be fals, or thay quhilk haldis thame at the Law of Man, quhilk is rycht oft plane contrarie and against the Law of God, and thairfore of Necessitie fals, and full of lesingis: For all Thingis quhilk is contrarie to the Veritie (quhilk is Christ and his Law) is of Necessitie a lesing. And to witnefs that this cumis of all my Hairt, I fall remane in *Berwick* quhill I get thy Graces Answer, and fall without feill returne, having thy hand write, that I may have Audience and Place to speik. No more I desyir of thee, quhairof, gif I had bein suir, I sould nevir have departit; that
you

you may know the Treuth thair of, gif feir of the Justnes of my Caus, or dreed of Persecutioun for the same, had movit me to depairt, I wold not so pleissandlie revert; only Distrust was the Caus of my departing. Pardone me to say, that quhilk lyes to thy Graices Charge, Thow art bound be the Law of God (suppois thay falslie lie, saying it perteinis not to thy Grace to intromet with sick Matters) to caus every Man, in ony cais accused of his Lyf, to have his just Defence, and his Accusors produced conform to thair awin Law. They blind thy Graices Ein, that knowis nothing of this Law: Bot gif I prove not this out of thair awin Law, I offer me unto the Deithe. Thy Grace thairfore by Experience may daylie leirne (seing they nether feir the King of Heivin, as thair Lyf is testifyis, nether thair naturall Prince, as thair usurped Power in thair Actionnes schawis) why thy Hienes sould lie no langer blindit. Thou may consider that thay pretend nathing ellis, bot onlie the Manteinance and uphald of thair bairdit Mulls, augmenting of thair unsatiablie Avarice, and continuall doun thringing and swallowiing upe thy puir Lieges, nether preiching nor teiching out of the Law of God (as they schould) to the rud ignorant Pepill, bot ay contendand quha may be maist hie, maist ryche, and narrest thy Grace, to put the Temporal Lords and Liegis out of thy Conceat and Favour, quho sould be and ar maist tender Servands to thy Grace in all Tyme of neid, to the Defence of thee and thy Croun: And quhair they desyir thy Grace to put at thy temporall Lords and Liegis, becaus thay despyse thair vitious Lyf, quhat ells intend thei but onlie thy Deithe, as thou mayest easilie persave, suppois thay cullour thair fals Intent and Mynd, with the Persute of Heresie; for quhen thy Barounis ar put doun, quhat art thou bot the King of Baie, and thane of Necessitie man be guidit be thame, and than no dout, quhair a blind Man is guyde man be a fall in the Myre. Thairfore lat thy Grace tak Hardiment and Auctoritie, quhilk thou hes of God, and suffer not thair cruell Persecutioun to proceed, without Audience gevin to him that is accusit, and just Place of Defence: And than no dout you fall have thy Lieges Hairts, and all that thay can or may do in Time of Neid, Tranquillitie, Justice, and Policie in thy Realme, and finallie, the Kingdome of the Hevines. Pleis to gar have this or the Copie to the Clergie or Kirkmen, and keip the Principall, and thy Grace fall have Experience, gif I do against ane Word that I have hecht. I fall daylie mak my haitie Devotioun for thy Grace, and the Prosperitie and Weilsair of thy Bodie and Saull. I dout not bot thy gracious Hieness will give Answer of thir Presentis unto the Presentar of this unto thy Hienes. Of *Beruik*, by thy Hienes Servand and Oratour.

Sic subscribitur, Alexander Seytoun.

This Letter wes deliverit to the Kingis awin Handis, and of mony red, bot quhat could gostlie Admonitiounes avail, quhair the Pryde and Corruption of Prelacie commandit quhat thay pleissit, and the Flatterie of Courteouris fostered the insolent Prince to all Impitie.

From the Deithe of that constant Witnes of Jesus Christ, Mr. Patrik *Hau-miltoun*, God discloissing the Wickitnes of the Wicked, as before we have hard; thair was ane *Forres* of *Linlythgow* taikin, who efter lang Impreisment in the said Towr of St. *Androis* was adjudgit to the Fire be the said Bischope *James Beatoun* and his Doctors, for none uther Cryme, bot becaus he had a New Testament in *Inglish*; farther of that Historie we have not, except that

that he diet constantlie, and with grit Patience at St. *Androis*. Efter quhais Deithe the Flame of Persecutioun ceassed, till the Deathe of Mr. *Normane Gowrlaw*, the spaice of Ten Yeirs or thairby; not that thai blodie Beasts ceassed by all Meanes to suppress the Lycht of God, and to troubill suche as in ony sort wer suspected to abhorre thair Corruptioun, bot becaus the Realme was troublit with intestine and civill Weiris, in the whiche muche Bloode wes sched; first at *Melros*, betwix the *Douglass* and *Baccleuche* in the Yeir of God 1526, the 24th of *Julie*. Nixt at *Linlythgow*, betwix the *Haumiltounis* and the Earle of *Levinox*, where the said Erle with mony uthers lost his Lyif, the threttein Day of *September*. And last, betwix the King himself and the said *Douglas*, quhome he baneist the Realme, and held thame in Exile during his hole Dayis. Be resson of these, we say, and of uthers Troublis, the Bischopis and thair bloody Bandis could not find the Tyme so favorabill unto thame as thai requirit, to execute thair Tyrannie.

In this mide Tyme, so did the Wisdome of God provyd, that *Harie* the aucht King of *England* did abolishe from his Realme the Name and Authentie of the Paip of *Rome*, suppress the Abbayis, and uther Places of Idolatrie, whiche gave some Esperance to divers Realmes, that sum godlie Reformatioun sould have thair of ensewit. And thairfor from this our Cuntrey did divers leirnit Men, and uthers that leivit in feir of Persecutioun, repair to that Realme, whair albeit they fand not suche Puritie as thay wisched (and thairfor divers of thame socht uther Cuntreys) yit thai escaipit the Tirrannie of merciles Men, and wer reserved to better Tymes, that thai mycht fructifie within this Church in divers Places and Partis, and in divers Vocationis. *Alexander Seytoun* remanit in *England*, and publictly (with grit Prays and Comfort of mony) taught the Evangell in all Sinceritie certane Yeirs. And albeit the Craftines of *Winchister*, and uthers circumveinit the said *Alexander*, that thai causit him at *Paulis Croce*, to affirme certane Thingis that repugnit to his former trew Doctrine; yit it is no dout bot that as God had potentlie rounng with him in all his Lyif, that also in his Deithe (which schortly efter followed) he fand the Mercie of his God, wherupoun he exhorted all Men evir to depend. *Alexander Alifins*, Mr. *Jobne Fyfe*, and that famous Man Doctor *Machabeus* depairtit unto *Ducheland*, wher by Gods Providence thay wer distributed to severall Places. *Mackderwell*, for his singular Providence, besydis his Larning and Godlines, was electit Borow-Maister in one of their Steidis; *Alifins* wes apointit to the Universitie of *Lipsia*, and so was Mr. *Ibone Fyfe*, quhair, for thair honest Behaviour and grit Eruditioun, thai war haldin in Admiratioun with all the godlie. And in quhat Honour, Credite, and Estimatioun Doctor *Machabeus* was with *Christianus* King of *Denmark*, *Capmanhoven* and famous Men of divers Natiounis can testifie. Thus did God provyde for his Servantis, and did frustrate the Expectatioun of those blodie Beistis, quho by the Deyth of one in quhome the Lycht of God did cleirly schyne, intendit to have suppressed Christis Treuthe, for evir within this Realme: Bot the contrarie had God decreid. For his Deithe was the Caus, as said is, that mony did awak from the deidly Sleip of Ignorance; and so did Jesus Christ, quhilk is the onlie trew Lycht, schyne into mony, for the way taikin of one. And albeit that these notable Men did never efter (Mr. *Jobne Fyfe* onlie excepted) comfort this Cuntrey with thair bodely Presence; yit maid he thame fructifie in his Church, and rayfid thame upe Lychtis out of Darknes, to the Prays of his awin Mercy, and to the just Condemnatioun of thame that thane reul-

lit, *to wit*, of the King, Counsaill and Nobilitie, yea of the hole Pepill, quho sufferit suche notable Personages, without Crymes comitted, to be injustlie persecutit, and so exyled; utheris etter wer even so entreitit: Bot of thame we sall speik in thair awin Place. No soner gat the Bischopis Opertunitie (whiche alwayis thay socht) bot sa sone renewit they the Battell against Jesus Christ; for the soirsaid leproous Bischope, in the Yeir of God 1534 Yeirs, causit to be sumond Sir *William Kirk*, *Adame Dayis*, *Henrie Carines*, *Johne Stewart* Indwellaris of *Leyth*, with divers utheris, such as Mr. *William Johnstoun* Advocat, M. *Hendrie Henderfoun* Scoolmaister of *Edinburgh*, of quhom sum compeirit in the Abbay Kirk of *Halayrudhous*, and so abjured and publictlye brunt thair Billis, utheris compeirit not, and thairfore was exyllid; but in Judgement productit two, *to wit*, *David Stratoun* a Gentillman, and Mr. *Normane Goxerlawn* a Man of resonabill Eruditioun, of quhome we man schortlye speik. In Maister *Normane* appeared Knowledg, albeit joyned with Waiknes; Bot in *David Straytoun* could onely be espyed, for the first, Haitrent against the Pryd and Avariciousnes of Preistis; for the Caus of his Delatioun was, he had maid to himself a Fische-bote to go to the Sie; the Bischope of *Murray*, thane being Pryor of *St. Androis*, and his Factors urged him for the Teind thairof; His Answer was, *Gif thai wald have Teind thairof, whiche his Servandis wane in the Sie, it war bot Reassone thai sould cum and receive it, quhair he gat the Stok*; and so as was constantlie affirmed, he causit his Servandis cast the Tenth Fische in the Sie agane. Proces of Cursing wes leid against him, for not Payment of suche Comandis, whiche when he contemned, he wes delaitit to answer for Heresie. It troublit him vehementlye; and thairfor he began to frequent the Cumpanie of suche as war godlye; for befor he had bein a Man verie stubburne, and one that dispyllit all reiding (cheiflye of those Thingis that war godlye) bot miracoulouslye as it ware, he appeirit to be changit; for he delyttit in nothing bot in reiding (albeit himself culd not reid) and was ane vehement Exhorter to all Men to Concord, to Quietnes, and to the Contempt of the Warld: He frequentit muche the Cumpanie of the Laird of *Dun*, quhom God, in these Dayis, had mervelouslye illuminated. Upoun a Day, as the Laird of *Louristoun*, who yit levis, than being ane young Man, was reiding unto him upoun the New Testament, in a certane quiet Plaice in the Feilds, as God had apointit, he chancit to reid these Sentences of our Maister Christ Jesus; *He that denyis me befor Men, or is aschamit of me in the middis of this wickit Generatioun, I will deny him in the Presence of my Father, and before his Angellis*. At whiche Wordis, he suddanlye being as ane raveschir, cast himself upoun his Kneis, and extending bothe Handis and Visage constantlie to the Heavin a ressonabill Tyme, at lenthe he burst furth in these Wordis, *O Lord, I have bein wicked, and justlie may thou abstract thy Graice frome me: But, Lord, for thy Mercies Saik, lat me nevir deny thee, nor thy Treuthis, for feir of Deyth or corporall Pains*. The Ischew declaired that his Prayer was not vain, for quhen he with the soirsaid Mr. *Normond* wes productit in Jugement in the Abbey of *Halayrudhous*, the King himself (all cled in reid) being present, grit Labours was maid, that the said *David Stratoun* sould have recantit, and sould have brunt his Bill: But he evir standing at his Defence, alleging that he had not offendit, in the End was adjudgit to the Fire, and then when he persaved the Danger, askit Graice at the King, whiche he wald willinglye have grantit unto him; the Bischopis proudlie answerit, That the Kingis Handis wer bound in that Caice, and that he had no Graice to gif to suche as

be thair Law wer condemned. And so wes he, with the said Mr. *Normand*, efter Dinner, upoun the 27. Day of *August*, the Yeir of God 1534 foirsaid, led to a Plaice besyid the *Roode of Greinsyid*; and thair thai two war bayth hangit and brunt, according to the Mercy of the Papistickall Church. To that same Diet wer sumondit, as befoir we have said, uthers of quhome some escaipit in *England*, and so for that present escaipit the Deith. This thair Tyrannie, notwithstanding, the Knowledge of God did wondrouslie encreas within this Realme, pairtly be reiding, pairtly be brotherlie Conference, whiche in these dangerous Dayis wes used to the Comfort of mony; bot cheifly be Marchantis and Marineris, who frequentting uther Cuntreys, hard the trew Doctrine affirmit, and the Vanitie of the Papistickall Religioun oppinly rebui-
kit: Among quhome war *Dundie* and *Leyth* Principalls, againis quhom was maid ane verie strait Inquisition be *David Beatoun* crewell Cardinall. And divers wer compellit to abjure and burne thair Billis, some in *St. Androis*, and some at *Edinburghe*. About the same Tyme Captane *Johne Borthwick* was brunt in Figure, bot be Godis Providence escaipit thair Furie. And this was done for a Spectacle, and Triumphe to *Marie of Lorane*, laitly arryved fra *France*, as Wyif to King *James* the fyft King of *Scottis*: What Plagues sche brocht with hir, and how thai yit continew, suche as are not blind may manifestly sie. The Rage of these bloodie Beistis procedit so far, that the Kingis Court escaipit not the Danger; for in it divers wer suspected, and sum accused. And yit evir still did sum Lycht burst furth in the middis of Darknes; for the Treuthe of Christ Jesus enterit evin in the Closteris alsweill of Freirs as of Monks and Chanonis. *Johne Lin* a gray Freir, left his hypocriticall Habite, and the Den of those Murthereris, the gray Freiris. Ane blak Freir, callit Freir *Kyllor*, set furth the Historie of Christis Passioun in Forme of a Play, quhilk he bayth preiched and practised in *Striveling* oppinly, the King himself being present upoun a *Gud-Friday* in the Morning, in the whilk all Thingis wer so lyvelie expressit, that the veray simple Pepill understode and confessit, That the Preistis and abstinat Phariseis perswaidit the Pepill to refuis Jesus Christ, and caussit *Pylat* to condemne him; sa did the Bischopis, and Men callit religiours, blind the Pepill, and persuadit the Princes and Judges to persecute sick as profess Christ Jesus his bleffit Evangell. This plain speiking so enflamit the Hairtis of all that buir the Beistis Mark, that thai ceissit not, till that the Freir *Kylor*, and with him Freir *Baverage*, Sir *Duncane Symefoune*, *Robert Forrestar* ane Gentilman, and Dean *Thomas Forrat* Channon regular and Vicar of *Dolour*, ane Man of upricht Lyif, who altogether wer cruellie murthered in an Fyre, upoun the *Castill-hill* the last of *Februar*, the Yeir of God 1538. This Crueltie wes ussit be the said Cardinell, the Chancellor, the Bischope of *Glasgow*, and the incestuous Bischope of *Dumblane*. Efter that this Crueltie wes ussit in *Edinburgh* upoun the *Castell-hill*, to the Effect that the rest of the Bischopis mycht schaw thameselves no les fervent to suppres the Lycht of God, then he of *St. Androis* was, war apprehendit two of the Diocie of *Glasgow*, the ane namit *Hieronymus Russell*, a Cordilier Freir, a young Man of a meik Nature, quick Spirit, and of gude Letteris; and ane *Kennedie*, quhilk passit not 18 Yeirs of Age, and of excellent Ingyne in *Scottische* Poesie. To assist the Bischope of *Glasgow* in that crewell Jugement, or at least to caus him dipp his Hands in the Blude of the Sancts of God, wer sent Mr. *Johne Lauder*, Mr. *Andrew Oliphant*, and Freir *Maltman*, Servantis of Sathane, apt for that Purpois; the Day apoyntit to thair
Cruel-

Crueltie aprochit, the puir Sanctis of God presentit befor thai bloodie Buchours, greavous war the Crymes that war laid to thair Charge: *Kennedey* was faint at the first, and wald fane have recantit, bot whill that Plaice of Repentance was denyit unto him, the Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of all Comfort, began to wirk into him, yea the inward Comfort began to burst furth, allweill in Visage, as in Tounge and Word, for his Countenance begane to be cheirfull, and with a joyfull Voice upoun his Kneis, he said, *O eternal God, how wondrous is that Lufe and Mercy, that thou beirs unto Mankynd, and unto me the maist cative and miserabill Wretche above all utkeris; for, evin now, quhen I wald have denyit thee, and thy Sone, our Lord Jesus Christ my onlie Saviour, and sa have castin my self in everlasting Damnatioun; thou be thyne awin Hand has pullit me frome the veray Bottoome of Hell, and makis me to feil that bevinlie Comfort, quhilk tackis frome me that ungodlie Feir, whairwith befor I wes oppressed. Now I desy Deith, do quhat ye pleis; I prays my God, I am redie.* The godlie and learnit *Hieronymus*, rayled upoun by they godless Tyrantis, answerit, *This is your Hour and Power of Darknes; Now sit ye as Juges, we stand wrangousslie accused, and mair wrangousslie to be condemned; bot the Day sall cum, quhen our Innocencie sall appeir, and that ye sall sie your awin Blindnes, to your everlasting Confussioun. Go fordwart, and fulfill the Measur of your Iniquitie.* Quhill that they Servandis of God thus behaved thameselfis, aryissit a Varience betwix the Bischopis and the Beistis that come frome the Cardinall; for the Bischope said, *I think it better to spair thir Men, nor to put thame to deid: Quhairat Idiot Doctors offendit, said, Quhat will ye do my Lord? Will ye condemne all that my Lord Cardinall and the utker Bischopis and we have done? Gif sa ye do, ye schaw your self Enemie to the Kirk and us, and sa will we repute yow, be ye assurit.* At quhilk Wordis, the faythles Man affraide, adjudgit the innocentis to die, according to the Desyre of the Wicked. The meik and gentill *Hieronymus Russel* comforted the uther with mony comfortabill Sentences, oft saying unto him, *Brother, feir not, more potent is he that is in us, than is he that is in the Warld; the Pain that we sall suffer is schort, and sal be lycht, bot our Joy and our Consolatioun sall nevir have End: And thairfore, lat us contend to enter in unto our Maister and Saviour, by the same strait Way, quhilk he bes trod before us; Deyth cannot distroy us, for it is alredie distroyit be him, for quhaus Saik we suffer.* With thir and the lyik comfortabill Sentences, thay past to the Plaice of Executioun, and constantlie triumphit over Deyth and Sathan, evin in the midis of the flaming Fyre. And thus did they cruell Beistis intend nathing bot murther in all the Quarters of the Realme; for sa far had that blindit and maist vicious Man this Prince (maist vicious we call him for he nouthir sparit Manis Wyfe nor Maiden, na mair efter his Mariage nor he did befor) so far, I say, had he gevin himself to obey the Tirranie of thai cruell Beistis, that he had maid a solemne Vow, That nane sould be spairit that wes suspect of Herefie, yea, althocht it wes his awin Sone. To preiss and pusche him fordwart in all that his Furie, he wantit not Flattereris anew; for mony of his Minionis wer Pensioners to Preistis; among quhom, *Olipher Sinclare*, yit remaining Enemie to God, wes the Principall. And yit did not God ceiss to gif that blindit Prince some Documentis that some suddane Plague was to fall upoun him, in caiss he did not repent his wicked Lyif, and that his awin Mouthe did confesse: For efter that Sir *James Hamilton* was behided (justlie or injustlie we dispute not) this Visioun cam unto him, as to his familiaris himsalf did declair; the said Sir *James* apeired unto

him, havand in his Hand ane drawn Sword, be the quhilk fra 'the King he straik bayth the Airmes, saying to him thir Wordis, *Tak that, quhill thou re-save a finall Payment for all thine Impitie.* This Visioun, with sorrowfull Continance, he schew one the Morne, and schortlie thairefter died his two Sonis, both within the Spaice of 24 Hours; yea, some say, within the Spaice of sex Hours. In his awin Prefence *George Steill*, his grittest Flatterer, and grittest Enemie to God that was in his Court, droppit of his Hors, and died without Word that same Day that in oppin Audience of mony, the said *George* had refusid his Portioun of Christis Kingdome, gif the Prayeris of the Virgine *Mary* sould nocht bring him thairto. How terribill a Visioun the said Prince saw, lying in *Linlythgow*, that Nycht *Thomas Scott*, Justice Clerk, died in *Edinburgh*, Men of gude Credite can yit reporte: For affrayit at Midnycht, or efter, he cryit for Torches, and raissit all that lay besyde him in the Palace, and tauld that *Tome Scot* was deid; for he had bein at him with a Cumpanye of Devillis, and had said unto him this Word, *O wo to the Day that evir I knew thee or thy Service; for for serving of the, against God, against his Servants, and against Justice, I ame adjugit to endles Torment.* How terribill Voices the said *Thomas Scot* pronuncit befor his Deyth, Men of all Estait hard; and sum that live can Witnes, his Voice was evir, *Iusto Dei judicio condemnatus sum*: that is, I ame condemned be God's just Jugment. He was maist oppresed for Delatatioun and fals Accusatioun of suche as professit Christis Evangell, as *Mr. Thomis Marjoribanks*, and *Mr. Hew Rig*, then Advocatis, did confes to *Mr. Henrie Balnaves*, quha from the said *Thomas Scote* come to him, as he and *Mr. Thomas Bellendine* war sitting in *St. Gillis Kirk*, and askit him Forgevines in the Name of the said *Thomas*. Nane of thir terribill Foirwairningis could eyther change or mollifie the Haire of the indurat licherous and avaritious Tyrant, bot still he dois proceid from Impietie till Impietie. For in the mids of thir Admonitiounis, he caussit put Hands in that notable Man *Mr. George Bucquhanane*, to quhome for his singulare Eruditioun and honest Behaviour, was committit the Chairge to instruct sum of his Bastard Childrein: Bot be the mercifull Providence of God he escaipit, albeit with grit Difficultie, the Rage of thame that socht his Bloode, and remainis alyve to this Day, in the Yeir of God 1566 Yeirs, to the Glorie of God, to the grit Honour of this Natioun, and to the Comfort of thame that delyte in Letters and Vertew. That singulare Wark of *Davids* Psalmes in Latin Meetere and Poesie, besyd mony uther, can Witnes the rare Graices of God gevin to that Man, quhilk that Tirrant, be Instigatioun of the *Gray Freirs*, and of his uther Flattereris, wald altogither have devoirit, gif God had not provydit Remedie be escaiping to his Servant. This Crueltie and Persecutioun, notwithstanding the Monsters and Hypocreitis, the *Gray Freiris*, Day by Day came farther into Contempt; for not only did the leirnit espy and detest thair abhominabill Hypocrisie, bot also Men in quhome na sick Graices nor Giftis war thocht to have bein, begane plainlie to paint the same furth to the Pepill. As this Ryme quhilk heir we have insertit for the same Purpois, maid be *Alexander Erle of Glencairne*, yit alyve, can Witnes, intitulit, *Ane Epistill direct fra the balie Hermit of Alareit, to his Brethren the Gray Freirs.*

I Thomas Hermeit in Lareit,
Sanct Francis Ordour do hairtilie greit,
Beseikand you with gud Intent,
To be wakryif and diligent.
Their Lutheranis rissen of new,
Our Ordour dailie dois persew.
They Smaikis dois set thair baill Intent,
To reid the Inglishche New Testament,
And sayis we have thame clein decevit;
Thairfore in haist thay mon be stoppit.
Our Stait Hypocrisie thay pryffe,
And us blasphemis one this wyse,
Sayand, That we ar Heretyckis,
And false loud lying mastis Tykes,
Cumerars and Quellars of Christis Kirk,
Sweir Swongeors that will not wirk,
Bot idillie our Lewing wynis,
Devoiring Woilfis into Scheipis Skynis,
Huirkland with Huidis into our Neck,
With Judas Mynd to jouk and beck,
Seikand Christis Pepill to devoir,
The Doun thringers of Christis Gloir,
Professors of Hypocrisie,
And Doctours in Idolatrie,
Stout Fischeiris with the Feindis Net,
The Upclosers of Hevins Yet,
Cankcart Corruptors of the Creid,
Humlock Sawers among gud Seid,
To trow in Trators, that do Men tyist
The bie Way kennand thame fra Christ,
Monsters with the Beistis Mark,
Doges that nevir stintis to bark,
Kirkmen that ar to Christ unkend,
A Sect that Satanis self bes send,
Lourkand in Hoils, lyik Trator Toddis,
Mameiners of Idollis and fals Goddis,
Fantastik Fuillis and fenzeit Fleicheors,
To turne fra Treuth the verray Teichers,
For to declair thair baill Sentence,
Wald mekill cumber your Conscience;

To say your Fayth it is sa stark,
Your Cord and lousie Cote and Sark,
Ye lippin may bring you to Salvatioun,
And quyte excludis Christis Passioun.
I dreid this Doctrine, and it last,
Sall outhar gar us wirk or fast;
Thairfoir with Speid we mene provyde,
And not our Profite overslyde.
I schaip myself, within schort quhill,
To curs our Ladie in Argylle;
And thair one craftie Wayis to wirk,
Till that we biggit have ane Kirk,
Syne Miracles mak be your Advyce;
They Ketterells thocht thay had bot Lyce,
The twa Parte to us they will bring,
Bot ordourlie to dress this Thing:
A Gaist I purpois to gar gang,
Be consaill of Frier Walter Lang,
Quhilk sall mak certane Demonstratiounis,
To help us in our Procuratiounis,
Your halie Ordour to decoir:
That Practick be provit anis befoir,
Betwix Kirkaldie and Kinghorne,
Bot Lymmaris maid therat sick Scorne,
And to his Fame maid sick Degressioun,
Sensyne he bard not the Kingis Confessioun,
Thoicht at that Tyme he come no Speid;
I pray yow tak gude Will as Deid;
And sum amongest your self ressave,
As ane worth many of the lave.
Quhat I obtain may, throw his Airt,
Resfone wald ye had your Parte.
Your Ordour handillis no Money,
Bot for uther Casualtie,
As Beif, Meill, Butter and Cheifs,
Or quhat we have, that ye pleis,
Send your Brethren, et habete,
As now nocht ellis, bot valete,
Be Thomas your Brother at Comand,
A Culrun kythit throw mony a Land.

Quhan God had gevin unto that indurat Prince sufficient Documentis, that his Rebellioun against his bleffit Evangell sould not proussperouslie succaid, he rayssit up against him War, as that he did against obstinate Saul, in the whiche he miserable perished, as we sall efter heir.

The Occasioun of the War was this; Harie the eight, King of Ingland, had a grit Desyre to have spokin with our King, and in that Point travellit sa lang, till that he gat a full Promeis maid to his Ambassadour, Lord William Hawart; the Plaice of meitting was appointit at York, whilk the King

of *Ingland* kept with sick Solemnitie and Preparatiounis, as nevir for sick a Purpois was sein in *Ingland* befor. Grit Bruit of that Journey, and some Preparatioun for the same, was maid in *Scotland*; bot in the End, be Persuasioun of the Cardinall *David Beatoun*, and by utheris of his Factioun, that Journey was stayed, and the Kingis Promeis falsefeit. Quhairupoun war schairp Letteris of Reproche sent unto the King, and also unto his Counsaill. King *Harie* frustrat, returned unto *London*, and efter his Indignatioun declairit, began to fortifie with Men his Frontearis formentis *Scotland*. Thair war sent to the Bordors, Sir *Robert Bowes*, the Earle of *Angus*, and his Brother Sir *George Douglass*. Upon quhat uther trifling Questiounnes (as for the debaittable Land and sick lyk) the Warre brak up, we omitte to wrytte. The priapicall Occasioun was the falsifying of the Promeis befor maid; our King perceiving that the Warre wald ryis, askit the Prelattis and Kirkmen what Support thay wald mak to the sustaining of the same; for rather wald he yit satisfie the Desire of his Uncle, than he wald hazard Warre, quhair he saw his Force not abill to resist. Thay promiseit Montanns of Gold (as Sathan thair Father did to Christ Jesus, gif he wald worship him) for rather wald thay have gone to Hell, or he sould have met with King *Harie*: *For than*, thoch thay, *fairweill our Kingdome*; and *fairweill*, thoicht the Cardinall, *his Credite and Glorie in France*. In the End, thay promiseit fyiftie thousand Crounis be Yeir, to be weill payit, sa lang as the Warre lestit; and farder, that thair Servands, and utheris that aperteinit to thame, and war exeimed from comoun Service, sould not the less serve in Tyme of Necessitie. These vain Promiseis listit up in Pryde the Hairt of the unhappie King, and sa beginnis the Warre. The Realme wes quarterit, and Men war layd in *Jedbrughe* and *Kelfo*. All Men (Fooles we meane) bragged of Victorie. And in veray deid the Begining gave us a fair Schaw: For at the first Wardane Raid, quhilk was maid at the St. *Bartilmewis* Day, in the Yeir of God 1542. was the Wardane, Sir *Robert Bowis*, his Brother *Rychard Bowes* Captane of *Norame*, Sir *William Malberie* Knycht, a Bastard Sone of the Erle of *Angus*, and *James Douglas* of *Parkheid* then Rebels, with a grit Number of Borderers, Souldeors and Gentillmen taken.

The Raid was termed *Haden Rig*. The Erle of *Angus*, and Sir *George* his Brother, did narowlie eschaip. Our Papistis and Preistis, proud of this Victorie, encouraged the King, so that thair was nothing hard, bot, *All is ours; they ar bot Heretykis: Gif we be a thousand, and thay ten thousand, thay dar not fecht. France sall enter the ane Parte, and we the uther, and sa sall Ingland be conquest within a Yeir*. Gif any Man was sein to smyll at sick Vanitie, he was no moir bot a Trator and Heretyck. And yit be these Meinis, Men had gritter Libertie than they had befor, as concerning thair Consciences; for then ceissit the Persecutioun. The Wer continewed till Mid *September*; and then was send down the auld Duke of *Northfolk*, with sick ane Armie as ane hundredth Yeir befor had not cum in *Scotland*. Thay war in amassing thair Forces, and setting forward thair Preparatiounis and Munitiounis, quhilk wer exceiding grit, till Mid *October* and efter. And than thay marchit from *Berwick*, and tended to the West, evir halding *Tweed* upoun thair ane syid, and nevir camped from that River the Space of a Myll during the haill Tyme thay continewit in *Scotland*, quhilk was ten or twell Dayis. Farrayis war run upoun the Day to *Smalbame*, *Stichell*, and suche Places neir about, bot mony Snaperis thay gat, some Cornis thay brunt, befyidis that whiche the grit Host consumed, bot small Booting they caryit away. The King assemblit his Force at *Fala*: (For he was adver-

teischit,

teifchit, that thai had promiseit to cum to *Edinburghe*; and taking the Mustaris all at ane Hour, two Dayis befor *Hallow-even*, thair war fund with him 18000 able Men. Upoun the Borders that waitit upoun the *Inglish* Armie, wer ten thousand Men, with Eirle of *Huntlie*, Lordis *Erskin*, *Seyton* and *Home*. These wer juged Men anew to hafard Battell, albeit the uther war esteimed 40000. Quhill the King lyis at *Fala*, abyding upoun the Gunis, and upoun Adverteisment from the Armie; The Lords beginnes to remember how the King had bein lang abusit by his Flatterers, and principallie be the Pensioneris of the Preistis: It was anes concludit, that thai wald mak sume new Remembrance of *Lauder Brig*, to sie gif that wald, for a Seasoun, sumquhat helpe the Estait of thair Countrey; bot becaus the Lords could not agrie among thame selfis, upoun the Persones that deserved Punischment (for everie Man favoured his Freind) the hole eschaiped: And the Purpois wes opined unto the King, and by him to the Courteouris, quho efter that, till they came to *Edinburgh*, stude in no littill Feir; bot that was suddandlie foryet, as we fall efter heir. Quhill Tyme is this protracted, the *Inglish* Armie, for Scairsitie of Victualls (as wes bruited) reitit thame over *Tweed* upoun the Nycht, and sa beginis to skaill, quhairof the King adverteisit, desyris the Lords and Barownes to asit him, to follow thame in *England*. Quhais Answer was with ane Consent, *That to defend his Persoun and Realme, thay wald hazard Lyis and quhatsoever thay had; bot to invaid England, neyther had thay so just Tiill as thay desyred; neyther yit could thay be then abill to do ony Thing to the Hurt of England, considering that thay had lang befor bein absent from thair Houses, thair Provysoun was spent, thair Hors weryed, and that quhilk was gritest of all, the Tyme of the Yeir did utterlie reclame.* This thair Answer seamit to satisfie the King, for he in Wordis prayst thair prudent Foirsicht and wyse Counsaill. Bot the Mint maid to his Courteours, and that bald Repulse of his Desyris gevin to him in his awin Faice, so woundit his proud Hairt (for long had he rounge as himself list) that he decreed a notable Revenge, quhilk no dout he had not failed to have executed, gif God be his awin Hand had not cuttir the Cordis of his Impietie. He returns to *Edinburghe*, the Nobilitie, Barones, Gentilmen, and Comounis to thair awin Habitationes. And this was the secound and thrid Dayis of *November*. Without longer Delay, at the Palice of *Halyrudhous*, was a new Counsaill conveynit, a Counsaill we mein of his Abuffers, quhairin war Accusatiounis laid against the maist Parte of the Nobilitie; sum war Heretyckis, sum Favourars of *England*, sum Freindis to the *Douglis*, and sa could thair be none faythfull to the King, in thair Opinioun. The Cardinell and the Preistis castis Faggotis in the Fyre, with all thair Force; and finding the King holle adict to thair Devotioun, deliverit to him ane Scrolle, conteining the Names of sick as thay in thair Inquisitioun had convict for Heretykes; for this was the Ordour of Justice, quhilk those holie Fatheris kept in damning of innocent Men. Quhosoever wald delait anie of Heresie, he was hard: No Respect nor Consideratioun had what Mynd the Delatours bair to the Persoun delated; quhosoever war producit for Witnes wer admitted, how suspicious and infame that evir thay war; gif two or thre had proven anie Point, that by thair Law was haldin Heresie, that was ane Heretyck: Rested no moir bot a Day to be affixt to his Condemnation, and to the Executioun of thair corrupt Sentence.

What Man could be innocent, quhair sick Judges wer Partie, the World may this Day consider: Trew it is, by fals Judgment and fals Witnes, have

Innocentis bein oppressed from the Beginning. Bot this Fredome to sched innocent Bloode gat nevir the Devill bot in the Kingdome of Antichryst; *That the Innocent sould die, and nether know Accusator, nor yit the Witness that testifyit against him.* Bot how fall the Antichrist be knawin, gif he fall not be contrarious to God the Father, and his Sone Christ Jesus, in Law, Lyif and Doctrine? But this we omit. The same Scrolle had the Cardinell and Prelattis once presentit to the King befor that Tyme he returned from the Navigatioun about the Yllis. Bot then it wes refusit, by the proudent and stout Counsaill of the Laird of Grange, quha opinit cleirlye to the King the Practeis of the Prelatis, and the Danger thair of mycht ensue, quhilk considerit be the King (for being out of his Passioun he was tractable) gave this Answer, in the Palace of *Halyrudhous*, to the Cardinall and Prelattis, efter that thay had uttered thair Malice, and schew quhat Proffeit mycht aryis to the Crown, gif he wald follow thair Counsaill: *Pack yow Josrellis, get ye to your Chairges, and reform your awin Lyiffis, and be not Instruments of Discord, betwix my Nobilitie and me; or ellis I vow to God, I sall reforme yow, not as the King of Denmark by Imprisonment does, neyther yit as the King of Ingland baith by hanging and beiding: Bot I sall reforme yow be schairp Zubingeris, gif evir I heir suche Motioun of yow agane.* The Prelatis dascht and astonischit with this Answer, ceassed for a Seafoun to attempte anie farder, by Rigour against the Nobilitie; bot now being informed of all Proceidingis by thair Pensioners, *Oliver Sinclare*, *Rofs* Laird of *Cragie*, and utheris, who war to thame faythfull in all Things; they conclude to hazard once agane thair former Suit, quhilk was na soner proponit, bot als sone it was accepit, with na small Regrait maid be the Kingis awin Mouth, that he had so long despyissit thair Counsaill: *For*, said he, *now I plainlie sie your Wordis to be trow, the Nobilitie nether desyris my Honour nor Continuance; for thay wald not ryid a Myll for my Plesour to follow my Enemies. Will ye thairfor find me the Meanis, how that I may have Raid maid in Ingland without thair Knowledge and Consent, that may be known to be my awin Raid; and I sall bind me to your Counsaill for evir.* Thair concurrit together *Ahab* and his fals Propheitis, thair was Gratulatiounis and Clapping of Hands, thair was Promeis of Diligence, Closenes, of Fidelitie, finallie Conclusioun was takin, that the *West* Border of *Ingland*, quhilk wes maist emptie of Men and Garinsching, sould be invaidit; the Kingis awin Banner sould be thair. *Oliver* the grit Minioun sould be grit Lieutenant. Bot no Man sould be privie (except the Counsaill that was thair then present) of the Interpryis, till the verray Day and Executioun thair of. The Bischopis glaidlie tuke the Chairge of that Rade; Letters war sent to sick as thai wald charge, to meit the King, Day and Plaice apointed. The Cardinall, with the Earle of *Arrane* war directed to go to *Hadingtoun*, to mak a Schew against the *East* Border, quhen the uther war in Redines to invaid the *West*: And this nether lacked Counsaill, Practise, Closnes nor Diligence to set forward that Interpryis; and so amonges those Consulters thair was na doubt of a guide Succes, and sa was the Scrolle thankfullie receavit be the King himself, and put in his awin Pocket, quhair it remained to the Day of his Deyth, and than was fund; in it wes conteinit mo than ane hundreth landit Men, besyidis utheris of meaner Degre, amongis quhome was the Lord *Haumiltoun*, then secound Persoun of the Realme, delait-ed. It was bruited, that this Raid was devyissit be the Lord *Maxwell*, but the Certantie thair of we have not. The Nycht befor the Day apointed to the Enterpryis, the King was fund at *Lowmaban*: To him cumis Companyis from

from all Quarters, as thai war apointed; no Man knowing of ane uther (for no general Proclamatioun past, but privie Letters;) nether yit did the Multitud know anie Thing of the Purpois, till efter Midnycht, quhill that the Trumpettis blew, and comandit all Men to marche fordward, and to follow the King (who was constantlie suppoised to be in the Host;) Guydes war appointed to conduct thame toward *England*, as bothe saythfullie and cloisellie they did. Upoun the Point of Day, they aprochit to the Inemies Ground, and so passit the Watter without anie grit Resistance maid unto thame. The Forray gais furth, Fyre ryissis, Heirscheip thycht have bein sein one everie Syid: The unprovydit Pepill war altogether amased; for brycht Day appeiring, thay sawe ane Armie of ten thousand Men, thair Cornes and Houses one everie Syid send Flambes of Fyre unto the Hevins. To tham it was more than a Wonder that suche a Multitude could have bein assēblit and convoyed, no Knowledge thair of cuming to any of thair Wardanes: For Support thay luikit not, and sa at the first thay war utterlie dispaired. And yit began thay to assemble together, ten in one Company, twentie in ane uther; and so as the Fray proceedit, thair Troupis increffit; bot to no Number (for *Carleill* feiring to have bein assaultit, sufferit no Man to eschew out of thair Yettis) and sa the gritest Number, that evir apeirit or aprochit before the Discomfiture, past not thre or four hundreth Men; and yit thay maid hate Skirmisching, as in thair awin Ground, in sick Feates thay ar maist expert: About ten Hours, quhen Fyris war kendlit, and almaist flocknit one everie Syid, thoicht *Oliver* Tyme to schew his Glorie, and so incontinent was displayed the Kingis Baner, *Oliver* upoun Speiris lift up upoun Menis Shoulders, and thair, with Sound of Trumpet, was he proclamit Generall Lovetenent, and all Men comandit to obey him, as the Kingis awin Persoun under all heist Painis. Thair was present the Lord *Maxwell* Warden, to quhom the Regiment of Thingis in Absens of the King properlie aperteinit; he hard and saw all, bot thoicht mair nor he spaik. Thair was also present the Earles of *Glencairne* and *Cassilles*, with the Lord *Fleming*, and mony uther Lordis, Baronis and Gentilmen of *Louthiane*, *Fyfe*, *Angus* and *Mernis*. In this mein Tyme did the Skirmisching growe gritter than it was befoir; Schoutis were hard one everie Syid, sum *Scottisch* Men war strikin down, sum not knowing the Ground layrit, and tint thair Hors. Sum *Inglishche* Hors of Purpois was lattin lous, to provok gredie and improudent Men to proik at thame, as mony did, bot fand na Advantage. Quhill sick Disordour ryissit mair and mair in the Armie, Men cryit in everie Eare, *My Lord Lovetenement, quhat will ye do?* Chairge was gevin, that all Men sould lycht, and go to Array; for thay wald fecht it. Utheris cryit, *Againis quhome will ye fecht? yon Men will fecht no uther wayis than ye sie thame do, if ye will stand heir quhill the Morne.* New Purpois was tain, that the Futemen (thay had with thame certane Bandis of Futemen Souldeors) sould softlie reteir towardis *Scotland*, and the Horsmen sould tak thair Hors again, and sa follow in Ordour. Greit was the Noyis and Confusioun that was hard, quhill everie Man callit his awin Sloghorne: The Day was neir spent, and that was the Caus of the grittest Feir. The Lord *Maxwell* perceaving quhat wald be the End of sick Beginningis, stude upoun his Fute with his Freindis, quha being admonischit to tak his Hors, and provyd for himself; answerit, *Nay, I will rather abyde heir the Chance that it fall pleis God to send me, than to ga Hame, and than be bangit.* And sa he remainit upoun his Fute, and was tane, quhill the Multitud fled, and tuk the gritter

Schame. The Enemies perceving the Difordour, increffit in Curage: Befoir thay schoutit, bot than thay struke: They schot Speiris, and daggit Arrowis quhair the Cumpaneis war thickeft: Sum Rencounteris wer maid, bot nathing avallit: The Souldiours caist fra thame thaire Pickis, Culveringis, and uther Weaponis fenfibil; the Horsmen left thair Speiris; and sa without Jugement all Men fled: The Sey was filland, and sa the Watter maid grit Stope. Bot the Feir was sick, sa that happie was he mycht get a Taker. Sick as passit the Watter, and eschappit the Danger, not weill acquaintit with the Ground, fell into the *Sollen* Moss; the Entrie thair of was plesant aneuche, bot as they proceedit, all that tuk that Way outhert tint thair Hors, or ellis thame selfis and Hors bayth. To be schort, a gritter Feir and Discomfitour without Caus has seldome bein sein; for it is said, *That quhair the Men war not sufficient to tak the Hands of Prisoneris, some ran to Houses and randerit thame selfis to Women.* Stoute Oliver was tane without Straik, fleing full manfullie, and sa was his Glorie (stinking and foolische Proudnes we sould call it) suddenlie turnit to Confusioun and Schame. In that Discomfitour war tain the two Earles foir-faidis, the Lordis *Fleming, Somerwell*, and mony uther Barrones and Gentilmen, besyidis the grit Multitud of Servands. Warldlie Men say, That all this come bot be the Misfordour and Fourtoun, as thay terme it. Bot quhaesoever has the least Spounk of the Knowlege of God, may as evidentlie sie the Wark of his Hand in this Discomfitour, as evir was sein in ony of the Battellis left to us in Register be the Holy Gaist. For quhat mair evident Declaratioun have we that God faucht aganis *Benbadade* King of *Haram*, quhen he was discomfited at *Samaria*, than that we have that God faucht with his awin Arm against *Scotland*. In this former Discomfitour, thair did twa hundreth and threttie Personis in the Skirmische, with seven thousand following thame in that grit Battell, put to Flight the said *Benbadade* with threttie Kingis in his Cumpanye: Bot heir thair is, in this schamefull Discomfitour of *Scotland*, verrie few mae than thre hundreth Men, without any Knowlege of any Backe or Battell to follow, put to Flight ten thousand Men, without anie Resistance: Thair did everie Man rencounter his Marrow, till that the 230 flew sick as matchit thame; bot heir without Slauchter the Multitude fled. Thair had thay of *Samaria* the Propheit of God to comfort, to instruct, and to promeis Victorie unto thame; bot *England*, in that Persute, had nothing bot as God secreitlie wrocht be his Providence in these Men that knew nothing of his Working, nether yit of the Caus thair of, mair than the Wall that fell upon the rest of *Benbadadis* Armie knew what it did. And thairfor yet agane we say, that sick as in that suddane Dejection beholdis not the Hand of God fechting aganis Pryde, for Fredome of his awin lytill Flock injustlie persecutit, dois willinglie and maliciousslie obscure the Glorie of God. Bot the End thair of is yit mair notable. The certane Knowlege of the Discomfitour cuming to the Kingis Eiris (quha waittit upoun Newis at *Lockmabin*) he was struckin with ane suddane Feir and Astonishment, sa that scairlie could he speik, or hald Purpois with any Man; the Nycht constraynit him to remane quhair he was, and sa went to Bed; bot rais without Rest or quiet Sleip. His continuell Complaint was, *Och! fled Oliver? Is Oliver tane? Och! fled Oliver?* And thay Wordis in his Melancholie, and as it war caryit away in a Trance, repeatit he frome Tyme to Tyme to the Hour of his Deyth. Upoun the Morne, whiche was Sanct *Katherinis* Day, returnit he to *Edinburgh*, and sa did the Cardinell from *Haddintoun*. Bot the ane beand eschamit of the uther,

the

the Brute of their Communicatioun came not to publick Audience. The King maid Inventoris of his Pois, of all his Jewells and uther Substance: And thairefter eschamit to luik ony Man in the Fais, secreitlie departit to *Fyfe*, and cuming to the *Hallyards* was humainlie reffavit of the Ladie of *Grange*, ane antient and godlie Matrene (the Laird at his cuming was absent.) In his Cumpany was only with him *William Kirkaldie*, now Laird of *Grange*, and sum uther that waytit upoun his Chalmer. The Ladie at Supper, persaving him pensive, begane to comfort him, and willed him to tak the Wark of God in gud Parte. *My Portioun of this Warld*, said he, *is schorte, for I will not be with you 15 Days*. His Servand repaired unto him asking, Quhair he wald have Provision maid for his *Yuill*, quhilk than aprochit? He answerit, with a disdainfull Smyrk, *I cannot tell, chuse ye the Plaice; but this I can tell you, or Yulle-Day ye will be Maisterless, and the Realme without a King*. Becaus of his Displeur, no Man durst mak Contradictioun unto him. Sa efter he had visitit the Castell of *Carney*, pertaining to the Erle of *Graufurde*, quhair the said Erle's Dochter was, ane of his Huiris, he returnit to *Falkland*, and tuk Bed. And albeit thair apearit unto him na Signs of Deyth, yit he constantlie affirmit, *Befoir sick a Day I sal be deid*. In this mein Tyme was the Quein, upoun the Point of hir Deliverie in *Linlythgow*, quha was deliverit the aucht Day of *December*, in the Yeir of God 1542 Yeiris, of *Marie* that then wes borne, and now dois rigne for a Plague to this Realme, as the Progres of hir hailly Lyif had to this Day declars. The Certaintie that a Dochter was borne unto him, cuming to his Eris, he turnit frome sick as spak with him, and said, *The Devill ga with it, it will end as it begane; it come frome a Woman, and it will end in a Woman*. Efter that he spak not mony Wordis that war sensibill. Bot evir he harpit upoun this auld Sang. *Fy! fled Oliver? Is Oliver tane? All is lost*. In this mein Tyme, in his grittest Extremitie, cumis the Cardinall, ane apt Comforter for ane disperat Man. He cryis in his Eir, *Tak Ordour, Sir, with the Realme. Quho sall reulle, Sir, during the Minority of your Dochter? Ye have knowin my Service, quhat will ye have done? Sall thair not be four Regentis chosen? And sall not I be Principall of thame?*

Quhatsoever the King answerit, Documentis war tane, that sa could be as my Lord Cardinall thought expedient. As mony affirme, a deid Manis Hand was maid to subscriye ane Blank, that thay mycht wryte above it quhat pleisit thame best. This finisched, the Cardinell poistit to the Quein, laithlie deliverit, as sayd is; at the first Sycht of the Cardinell sche said, *Welcome, my Lord, is not the King deid?* Quhat muiffit hir to conjectour, divers Men ar of divers Jugments; mony quhisper that of auld his Parte wes in the Potte, and that the Suspicioun thairof causit him to be inhibit the Queinis Cumpanie: Howsoever it was befoir, it is plane, that efter the Kingis Deyth, and during the Cardinallis Lyif, quhosoever gydit the Court, he gat his secreit Bessiness sped of that gracious Ladie, outhir be Day or be Nycht. Howsoever the Tydingis lykit hir, sche mendit with als grit Expeditioun of that Dochter as evir sche did befoir of ony Sone that evir sche bair; the Tyme of hir Purificatioun was soner than the Leviticall Law apointis†. The Noyse of the Deyth of King *James* divulgat, quha departit this Lyif the 18. Day of *December*, the Yeir of God 1542 foirsaid, the Hairtis of all Men began to be discloisit. All Men lamentit that the Realme wes left

† But sche was na Jewess, and thairfoir in that offendit not.

without a Maill to succed: Yit sum rejoyfit that sick ane Enemie to Godis Treuth was tane away. He was callit of sum a gude pure Manis King; of utheris he was teirmit a Murtherer of the Nobilitie, and ane that had decreed thair haill Distructioun. Sum prayfit him for the repressing of Thift and Opressioun; utheris disprayfit him for the defoulling of Menis Wyfis and Virginis. And thus Men spak ein as Menis Effectiounis led thame, and yit nane spak altogether besydis the Treuthe; for a Pairt of all the foirsaidis war sa manifest, that as the Vertewis could not be denyit, sa could not the Vyces be ony Craft be cloickit. The Questioun of Government was thruche this Realm univerrallie movit. The Cardinall proclamit the Kingis last Will, and thairin was expressit four Protectors, or Regentis, of quhome himself was the First and Principall, and with him war joynit the Erilles of *Huntolie*, *Argyle* and *Murray*; this was done the *Mononday* at the Marcat Croice of *Edinburgh*: Bot the *Mononday* following tuk the haill Regentis Remissioun for thair Usurpatioun; for by the stout and wys Counsaill of the Laird of *Grainge*, did the Earle of *Arrane*, than secound Persoun to the Crown, caus assemblit the Nobilitie of the Realme, and requirit the Equitie of thair Jugementis in that his just Sute to the Governement of the Realme, during the Minority of hir to quhome he was to succed, failling of hir and of hir lauchfull Successors. His Freindis conveyit, the Nobilitie assemblit, the Day of Decisioun was apointit. The Cardinall and his Factioun oponit thame to the Governement of one Man, and especially to the Regiment of any callit *Haumiltoun*: For quha knowis not, said the Cardinall, that the *Haumiltounis* ar cruell Murtherers, Opressouris of Innocentis, proud, avaritious, doubill and fals; and finally, the Pestilence in this Comune-welth. Quhairunto the said Erle answerit, *Defraud me not of my Rycht, and call me quhat ye pleis. Quhatsoevir my Freindis has bein, yit unto this Day hes no Man Caus to complain upoun me, neyther yit am I mindit to flatter any of my Freindis in thair evill Doing, bot be God's Grace sal be als forward to correct thair Enormities, as any within the Realme can ressonablie require of me: And thairfore, yit again, my Lord, in God's Name I crave, that ye do me na Wrang, nor defraude me of my just Titill, befoir ye have Experience of my Government.* At thay Wordis were all that feirit God, and luisit Honestie, so muifit, that with ane Voce they cryit, *That Petitioun is maist just, and unles we do aguinft God, Justice and Equity, it can not be denyit.* And sa, in Dispyte of the Cardinall and his subornit Factioun, was he declairit Governour, and with publick Proclamatioun so denuncit to the Pepill; the Kingis Palice, Treasure, Jewells, Garmentis, Hors, and Plate war deliverit unto him by the Officers that had the former Charge, and he honourit, feirit, and obeyit mair heartilie, nor evir ony King was before him, sa lang as he abaid at God. The Caus of the grit Favour that was borne, was, That it was bruitit that he favourit God's Word. And becaus it was well knawin, that he was ane appointit to have bein persecutit, as the Scroll found in the Kingis Pockit efter his Deyth did witness, thir twa Thingis, togidder with ane Opinioun that Men had of his Simplicitie, bowit the Harts of mony unto him at the Beginning, quha efter, with Dolour of Harts, was compellit to chaing thair Opiniounis: But heirof will efter be spokin. The Varietie of Matteris that occurit we omit, sick as the Ordour tackin for keiping of the young Quein, of the Provifioun for the Mother, the hame calling of the *Douglasis*, and sick as apertein to ane universal Historie of the Tyme; for, as befoir we have said,

said, we mynd onlie to follow the Progreſs of the Religion, and of the Matteris that can not be diſſeverit from the ſame.

The Governour eſtabliſhit in Government, godlie Men repairit unto him, exhortit him to call to Mynd for quhat End God had exhaltit him, and of quhat Danger he had deliverit him, and quhat Expectatioun all Men of Honneſtie had of him. At thair inſtant ſuiting, mair than of his awin Motioun, was *Thomas Guillian*, a black Freir, callit to be Preicheour; the Man was of ſolide Jugement, raſſonabill Letteris as for that Age, and of a prompt and gud Utterance, his Doctrine was wholeſome without a grit Vehemencie againis Superſtitious: Preichit alſo ſumetymes *Johne Roucht*, quho eſter, for the Veritie of Chriſt Jeſus, ſufferit in *England*, albeit not ſo leirned, yit mair ſimple and mair vehement aganis all Impietie. The Doctrine of thay twa provokit aganis thame, and aganis the Governour alſo, the Hatret of all ſick as rather favourit Darknes than Lycht, and thair awin Bellies mair than God, the gray Freiris, and amongeſt the Reſt Freir *Scot*, quha befor had gevin himſelf forthe for the gritteſt Profeſſour of Chriſt Jeſus within *Scotland*, and under that Cullour had diſcloiſed, and ſo indangered many. Thir Slaves of *Sathan*, we ſay, roupit as they had bein Ravenis, yea, rather thay yellit and roarit as Devills in Hell, *Hereſie, Hereſie, Guillian and Roucht will cary the Governour unto the Devill*. The Toun of *Edinburgh*, for the maiſt Parte, wes drowned in Superſtitious; *Edward, Hope, young William Adamſon, Sibilla Lindeſay, Patrick Lindeſay, Francis Atkman*, and in the Canoungat *Johne McKaw*, and *Niniane Broun*, with few utheris had the Bruit of Knowledge in thai Days. Ane *Wilſon*, Servant to the Biſchope of *Dunkeld*, quha nether knew the New Teſtament nor the Auld, maid a diſpyitful railing Ballat againſt the Preicheours, and againſt the Governour, for the quhilk he narrowly eſchapiſt hanging. The Cardinall movit bayth Hevin and Hell to trouble the Governour, and to ſtay the Preicheing; but yit was the Battell ſtoutlie toucht in for a Seaſoun; for he was tane and put firſt in *Dalkeyth*, eter in *Seatoun*, but at lengthe be budis gevin to the ſaid Lord *Setoun*, and to the auld Laird of *Lethingtoun*, he was reſtoirit to Sanct *Androis*, frome whence he wroicht all Miſcheif, as we ſall eſter heir.

The Parliament approachit, quhilk was befor the *Pafche*; thair bygane Queſtioun of the abolifching of certane tyrrannicall Actis, maid befor at Devotioun of the Prelattis, for mainteining of the Kingdome of Darknes, to wit, *That under Pane of Hereſie no Man ſould reid ony Part of the Scriptures in the Ingliſche Tounge, nouthet yet ony Tractate or Expoſitioun of ony Plaice of Scripture*. Sick Articles began to cum in Queſtioun we ſay, and Men began to inquire, gif it was not lawfull to Men that underſtode no *Latin*, to uſe this Word of thair Salvatioun in the Tounge they underſtode, as it was for *Latin* Men to have it in *Latin*, *Grecianis* and *Hebrewis* to have it in thair Tounſis. It was answerit, That the Kirk firſt had forbidden all Kynd of Tounſis but thay thre. Bot Men demandit when that Inhibitioun wes gevin? And quhat Counſaill had ordainit that, conſidering, that in the Dayis of *Chryſoſtome* he complainit, that the Pepill uſit not the *Pſalmis* and uther holie Buikis in thair awin Tounſis? And gif ye will ſay theyes war *Greikis*, and underſtode the *Greik* Tounge, we answer, that Chriſt he hes commandit his Word to be preichit to all Natiounis: Now, gif it aucht to be preichit to all Natiounis, it mon be preichit in the Tounge thay underſtand. Now, if

it be lawfull to preiche it in all TounGIS, quhy fall it not be lawfull to reid it, and to heir it red in all Tungis? to the End that the Pepill may *try the Spiritis*, according to the Commandiment of the Apostle. Beatin with theiſs and uther Reafounis, they denyit not bot it may be red in the vulgar Tung, provyding that the Translatioun war trew. It was demandit quhat could be reprehendit in it? And quhen mekill ſeirching was maid, nothing could be found, but that *Luif*, ſay thay, was put in the Plaice of *Cberitie*. Quhen the Queſtioun was askit, Quhat Defference was betwix the ane and the uther? And git they underſtode the *Greik* Term *ὑπόκρισις*? They war dume. Reasonit for the Partie of the Secularis, the Lord *Ruthven*, Father to him that proudly gave Counſaill to tak juſt Punifchment upon that Knaif *Davie*, for that he had abuiffit King *Harie* in ma Caiſes than ane, a ſtout and diſcreit Man in the Caus of God, and Mr. *Henrie Balnavis*, an auld Profeſſour; for the Pairt of the Clergie, *Hay*, Dean of *Reſtalrig*, and certane auld Boſſes with him.

The Concluſioun was, The Comiſſioneris of Burghis, and a Pairt of the Nobilitie, requirit of the Parliament, that it mycht be inactit, *That it ſhould be leſoun to everie Man to uſe the Benefite of the Translatioun quibilk than they had of the Bybill and New Teſtament, togidder with the Benefite of uther Treatiſes containing hailſome Doctrine, unto ſick Tyme as the Prelattis and Kirkmen ſould give and ſet furth unto thame ane Translatioun mair correct.* The Clergie thairto lang repugnit. Bot in the End, convicted be Reasonis, and be Multitude of Votis in thair contrair, they alſo condiscendit; and ſo by Act of Parliament, it was maid free to all Men and Wemen to reid the Scriptures in thair awin TounG, or in the *Inglifche* TounG; and ſo was all Actis maid in the contrair abolifchit.

This was na ſmall Victorie of Chriſt Jeſus, fechting aganis the conjured Enemies of his Veritie; not ſmall Comfort to ſick as beſoir war haldin in ſick Bondage, that thay durſt not have red the Lordis Prayer, the Ten Comandementis, nor Artickles of thair Fayth in the *Inglifche* TounG, bot they ſould heif bein accuſit of Hereſie. Then mycht have bein ſein the Bybill lying almaiſt upoun everie Gentilmanis Tabill. The New Teſtament wes borne about in mony Menis Hands. We grant, that ſum, alas, prophainit that bliſſit Worde, for ſume, perchance, that nevir had red ten Sentences in it, had it maiſt comoun in thair Hands; they wald chope their Familiaris in the Cheik with it, and ſay, “This has lye hid under my Bed Feit thir ten Yeirs, others “ wald glorie, O! how oft have I bein in Danger for this Buike! How “ ſecreitlie have I ſtellen away fra my Wyif at Midnycht to reid upoun it.” And this was done we ſay of mony to mak Court thairby: For all Men eſteimit the Governour to be the maiſt fervent Proteſtant that was in *Europa*. Albeit we ſay that mony abuiffit that Libertie grantit of God miraculouſlie, yit thairby did the Knowledge of God wondrouſlie encreſs, and gave his Holie Spreit to ſemple Men in grit Aboundance: Then wer ſet furth Warkis in our awin TounG, beſydis thame that cum from *England*, that did diſclois the Pryid, the Craft, the Tyrannie, and the Abuiffis of the *Roman Antichryſt*.

The Fame of our Governour was ſpread in divers Cuntreys, and mony prayſit God for him. King *Harie* ſent unto him his Ambaſſadour Mr. *Saidler*, quha lay in *Edinburgh* a great Part of Somer; his Comiſſioun and Negotiatioun was to contract a perpetuall Amitie betwix *England* and *Scotland*. The Occaſioun quhairof God had ſo offerrit, that to mony Men it apeirit that from Hevin
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he had declaired his gude Plesure in that Behalf. For to King *Harie*, of *June Somer*, efter the Deith of Quein *Katharine*, and of all utheris that mycht have maid his Mariage suspected, wes gevin a Sone, *Edward* the Sext of bleffit Memorie, elder some Yeirs than our Maistres, and unto us left a Quein, as befor we have hard. This wonderfull Providence of God causit Men of grittest Judgment to enter into Disputatioun with thamefelfis, Whither that with gude Conscience any Man mycht repugne to the Desyris of the King of *Ingland*, considdering that thairby all Occasioun of Weir mycht be cut of, and grit Comoditie mycht insew to this Realme. The Offeris of King *Harie* wer so lairg, and his Demandis so ressonabill, that all that luist Quietnes wes content thairwith. Thair wes send frome the Parliament to King *Harie* in Comissioun, Sir *James Leirmonth*, and Mr. *Henry Balnaveis*, quha lang remaining in *Ingland*, so travellit that all Thingis concerning the Marriage betwixt *Edward* the Sext and *Marie* Quein of *Scottis* wes agreit upoun, except the Tyme of hir Deliverance to the Custodie of *Englischemen*. Upoun the finall Conclusioun of the quhilk Heid, wer addit to the former Comissionaris *William Erle* of *Glencarne* and Sir *George Douglas*, to quhome was gevin ample Comissioun and gud Instructiounis. In *Scotland* remainit Mr. *Saidler*. Adverteismentis past sa frequentlie betwix, yea the Handis of our Lordis war sa liberallie anoyntit, besydis uther Comodities promiseit, and of sum ressavit; for divers Prisoners tane at *Solane Moss* war send hame Ransoum fre, upoun Promeis of thair Fidelitie, quhilk, as it was keipit, the Ischew will witnes. Bot in the end so weill war all anis content (the Cardinal, the Quein and the Factioun of *France* evir exceptit) that solemnitlie in the Abbay of *Halyrudhous*, was the Contract of Marriage made betwix the Personis soirsaidis, togidder with all the Clauses and Condiounnis requisite, for the saythfull Observatioun thair of, red in publict Audience, subscrivit, seallit, approvit and allowit of the Governour for his Pairt, Nobilitie, and Lordis for thair Partis; and that nathing sould want that mycht fortifie the Matter, was Christis Bodie sacrat, as Papistis term it, brockin betwix the said Governour and Mr. *Saidlar* Ambassadour, and receavit of thame bayth, as a Signe and Taikin of the Unitie of thair Myndis, inviolablie to keip that Contract in all Pointis, as they luikit of Christ Jesus to be savit, and efter to be repute Men worthie of Credit befor the Warld. The Papistis rageit against the Governour and against the Lordis that consentit, and abaid suir at the Contract soirsaid: And they made a brage to depois the Governour, and to confound all, as efter followit. But upoun the returning of the saidis Ambassadouris frome *Ingland*, Pacificatioun was maid for that Tyme, for be the Jugementis of aught Personis for ather Partie, 'to juge quhidder ony Thing was done for the said Ambassadours, in the contracting of that Mariage, quhilk to do they had not sufficient Power fra the Counsaill and Parliament, it was found that all Thingis war done according to thair Comissioun, and that so they sould stand. And sa war the Seillis of *Ingland* and *Scotland* interchangit. Maister *James Fowlis*, then Clerk of Register, receivit the Greit Seill of *Ingland*: And Mr. *Saidlar* recavit the Grit Seall of *Scotland*. The Heidis of Contract we pas by. Thir Thingis newlie ratefeit, the Merchantis maik Frack to faill, and to thair Traffique, quhilk be the Trouble of Weirs had sum Yeirs bein hinderit. Frome *Edinburgh* wer frauchtit twelf Schipis richelie laidin, according to the Wairis of *Scotland*: From uther Tounis and Portis departit utheris, quhilk all arryvit upoun the Coast of *England* to-

wards the South, *to wit*, of *Yermouth*; and without ony grit Necessitie enterit not onlie within Roadis, but also within Poartis and Places of Comandement, and quhair that Schipis mycht be arreistit. And becaus of the lait Contract of Amitie, and gentill Interteinment that thay fand at the first, thay maid no grit Expeditioun: But being, as thai suppoisit, in Securitie, in Merineis they spendit the Tyme, abyding upoun the Wind. In this mein Tyme arryvit frome *France* to *Scotland* the Abbote of *Paislay*, callit Bastard Brother to the Governour, quhome yit money esteimit Sone to the auld Bischope of *Dunkelden*, callit *Greychtoun*, and with him Mr. *David Painter*, quha efter was maid Bischope of *Rofs*. The bruit of the Leirning of thay tway, and thair honest Lyif, and of thaire Fervencie and Uprychtnes in Religioun wes sick, that grit Esperance thair was that thair Presence sould have bein comfortable to the Kirk of God. For it was constantlie affirmit of sum, that without Delay, the ane or the uther wald occupie the Pulpit, and trewlie preiche Jesus Christ. Bot few Dayis discloised thair Hypocrisie. For quhat Terrouris, quhat Promeisses, or quhat inchanting Boxes they brocht frome *France*, the comoun Pepill knew not. Bot schort efter, it was sein that Freir *Guillame* was inhibit to preiche, and so departit to *England*: *Johnne Rought* to *Kylle*, a Recep-tacle of God's Servants of auld. The Men of Jugement, Counsaill and Godlines that had travellit to promot the Governour, and that gave him faythfull Consaill in all doutfull Maters, war outhar craftelie convoyit fra him, or ellis be Threatning to be hangit, war compellit to leif him. Of the ane Number was the Laird of *Grainge* foirsaid, Mr. *Henrie Balnaveis*, Mr. *Thomas Belenden*, and Sir *David Lindesay* of the *Monte*: Men, be quhais Labouris he was promotit to Honour, and be quhais Counsaill he so usit himself at the beginning, that the Obedience gevin unto him was nathing inferiour to that Obedience that ony King of *Scotland* of mony Yeirs had befor him; yea in this it did surmount the comoun Obedience, that it proceedit of Luif, of thay Vertues that was suppoised to have bein in him. Of the Number of thame that war threatnit, was Mr. *Michell Durhame*, Mr. *David Borthwick*, *David Forrests*, and *David Bothuell*; quha counsaillit him to have in his Companie, Men feiring God, and not to foster wickit Men in thair Iniquitie, albeit thay war callit his Freindis, and war of his Surname: This Counsaill understand be the foirsaid Abbote, and be the *Haumiltounis*, quha then repairit to the Court, as Ravenis to the Carioun. In playne Wordis it was said, *My Lord Governour nor his Freindis will never be at Eis nor Quietnes, till that a Duffoun of thir Knarves that abuse his Graice be hangit*. Thir Wordis war spoken in his awin Presence, and in the Presence of thame that had better deservit, than to have bein so intraitit: The Speikar was allowit for his bauld and playne speikin. And so the wickit Counsaill deprehendit, honest and godlie Men left the Court and him in the Handis of sick, as be thair wickit Counsaill, led him sa far fra God, that he falsifyit his Promeis, dipt his Hands in the Bluid of the Sanctis of God, and brocht this Comoun Welthe to the uter Point of Ruine; and thir war the first Fruitis of the Abbote of *Paislay* his Godlines and Leirning: Bot heirefter we will heir majr. All honest and godlie Men banischit from the Court, the Abbote and the Counsaill begynis to lay befor the inconstant Governour, the Dangeris that mycht insew the Alteratioun and Chainge of Religioun; the Power of the King of *France*, the Comoditie that mycht cum to his Hous and to him, be retaining the ancient League with *France*, and the grit Danger that he brocht upoun himself,

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gif in ony Jote he sufferit the Authoritie of the Paip to be violated, or callit in dout within this Realme: Considdering that thairupoun onlie stude the Securitie of his Right to the Successioun of the Crown of this Realme: For be God's Word wald not the Divorcement of his Father frome *Elizabeth Houme*, his first Wyif, be found laifull, and sa wald his secound Mariage be jugit null, and he declaired Bastard. *Cayphas* spak Prophecie, and yit wist not quhat he spak: For at that Tyme thair was no Man that trewlie feirit God that myndit ony sick Thing, bot with thair haill Force wald have fortifyit that Tyll that God had gevin unto him, and wald nevir have callit in Question Thingis done in Tyme of Darknes. Bot theis Heid we pas by till God declair his Word thairintill. Ane uther Practise was usit: For the Cardinall being set at Libertie, as befor we have hard, ceissit not to traffick with sik of the Multitude as he mycht draw to his Factioun, or corrupt be ony Meanis, to rais a Partie agais the said Governour, and againis sick as stude fast at the Contract of Mariage and Peice with *England*. And so assemblit at *Lynlythgow*, the said Cardinall, the Earlis *Argyll*, *Huntlye*, and *Bothwell*, the Bischopis and thair Bandis. And thairefter thay passit to *Stirling*, and tuk with thame bayth the Queinis Mother and the Dochter, and threatnit the Deposition of the said Governour, as *inobedient to thair kalie Mother the Kirk*, so teirme thay that Harlot of *Babilone, Rome*: the inconstant Man not throughe groundit upoun God, left in his awin Default, destitute of all gude Counsaill, and haifing the Wickit evir blawing in his Eir, *Quhat will ye do? Ye will destroy yourself and your Hous for evir*. The unhappie Man, we say, beatin with thir Tentatiounis, randerit himself to the Appetyitis of the Wickit; for he quietlie stall away frome the Lordis that war with him than in the Pallice of *Halvyrdhous*, past to *Stirling*, subjectit himself to the Cardinall and to his Counsaill, ressavit Absolutioun, renuncit the Professioun of Christ Jesus his holie Evangell, and violatit his Ayth that befor he had maid, for Observatioun of the Contract and League maid with *England*. At that Tyme was our Quein crounit, and new Promeis maid to *France*. The Certaintie heirof cuming to King *Harie*, our *Scottis* Schipis war stayit, the Saillis tane fra the Rayes, and the Merchands and Marineris war comandit to suir Custodie. New Comissioun was send to Maister *Saidlar*, quha than still remainit in *Scotland*, to demand the Caus of that suddane Alteratioun, and to travell be all Meanis possibill, that the Governour mycht be callit back to his former godlie Purpois, and that he wald not do so foolischelie and inhonestlie, yea, so cruellie and unmercifulle to the Realme of *Scotland*; that he wald not onlie lois the Comoditeis offerit, and that war partelie to be receavit, bot that also he wald expone it to the Hafsarde of Fyre and Sworde, and uther Inconveniencies that mycht infew the Weir that was to follow upoun the Violatioun of his Fayth. Bot nothing could availl. The Devill keipit fast the Grip that he gat, yea all the Dayis of his Government: For the Cardinall gat his eldest Sone in Pledge, quhome he keipit in the Castell of *St. Androis*, quhill the Day that God's Hand punischit his Pryd. King *Harie* perceaving that all Hope of the Governours Repentance was loist, callit back his Ambassadour, and that with feirfull Threatningis, as efter *Edinburghe* felt: Denuncit War, maid our Schipis Prysis, Merchantis and Marineris lawfull Prissoneris, quhilk to the Burghis of *Scotland* was na small Heirschip. Bot thairat did the Cardinell and Papistis lauche, and jestinglie said, *Quhen we sall conquere Ingland the Merchantis sall be recompensit*. The Somer and the Harvest past over without any notabill Thing:

Thing : For the Cardinall and the Abbote of *Paislay* pairtit the Pray among thame ; the abusit Governour bair the Name onelie. In the beginning of Winter came the Erle of *Lennox* to *Scotland*, fend fra *France* in hatrent of the Governour, quhome the King, be the Cardinallis Advyis, promeissit to pronounce Bastard, and so to mak the said Erle Governour ; the Cardinall farder did put the said Erle in vane Hoip, that the Quein *Dowager* sould marie him. He brocht with him sum Money, and mair he efter refavit at the Hands of *Labrothe*.

But at lenthe, perceaving himself frustrate of all Expectatioun that he had, outhere be *France*, or yit be the Promeiss of the Cardinall, he concludit to leive *France*, and to seik the Favours of *England* ; and sa begane to draw a Factioun againis the Governour ; and in Haitrent of the utheris Inconstancie, monie favourit him in the Beginning ; for thair Assemblit at the *Yuill*, in the Toun of *Air*, the Erles of *Angus*, *Glencairne*, *Cassiles*, the Lords *Maxwell*, the Laird of *Drumlangrig*, the Sherif of *Air*, with all the Force that thay, and the Lords that remainit constant at the Opinioun of *England*, mycht mak ; and efter the *Yuille* they come to *Leyth*. The Governour and Cardinall with thair Forces keipit *Edinburgh* ; for they war slaklie persewit. Men excuis the Erle of *Lennox* in that Behalf, and layd the Blame upoun sum that had na Will of *Stewartis* Regiment. Howsoever it was, sick an Appointment was maid, that the said Erle of *Lennox* was disapointit of his Purpois, and narrowlie escaipit ; and first gat him to *Glasgow*, and efter to *Dumbartane*. Sir *George Douglas* was deliverit to be keipit as Plege. The Erle his Brother was efter tane in the *Lenterne*, at the Siege of *Glasgow*. It was bruitit, that bayth the Brethren, and utheris with thame, had loist thair Heidis, if be the Providence of God the *Inglisthe* Armie had not arvyit the soner. Efter that the Cardinall had gottin the Governour haill addict to his Devotioun, and had obtainit his Intent above his Enemies, he began to practis how that sick as he feirit, and thairfoir deidlie haitit, sould be set be the Earis ane against another. For in that, thoicht the carnall Man, stude his grittest Securitie. The Lord *Ruthvene* he haited, be Reassoun of his Knowlege of Godis Word. The Lord *Gray* he feirit, because at that Tyme he usit the Cumpanie of sick as professit Godlines, and buir small Favour to the Cardinall. Now this ressonit the wardlie wys Man, *If I can put Inimitie betwix thir twa, I sal be rid of a grit Number of Unfreindis ; for the maist of the Cuntrey will outhere assit the ane or the uther ; and sa will they utherwayis be occupyit, than to watche for my Displefour*. He findis the Mein without lang Process : For he labourit with *Johnne Chatirkous*, a Man of stout Courage and mony Freindis, to accept the Provestrie of *St. Johnestoun*, quhilk he purchaissit unto him be Donatioun of the Governour, with Chairge to the said Toun to obey him, as their lawfull Proveist. Quhairat not onlie the said Lord *Ruthvene*, bot also the Toun, being offended, gave ane negative Answer, alleging, that sick Intruisling of Men in Office was hurtfull to thair Privilege and Fredome ; quhilk grantit unto thame frie Electioun of thair Provist fra Yeir to Yeir, at a certane Tyme apointit, quhilk they could not, or wald not prevent. Heirat the said *Johnne* offendit said, *That he wald occupye that Office be Force, gif that thay wald not grant it unto him, be Benevolence* : And so departit, and comunicated the Matter with the Lord *Gray*, with *Normand Leslie*, and utheris his Freindis, quhome easilie he perswadit in that Persure, becaus he apeirit to have the Governour's Rycht, and had not onelie a Chairge unto the Toun, as said is, but also he purchaissit Letteris to beseige it, and

and to tak it be strong Hand, if ony Resistance war maid unto him: Sick Letters, we say, maid mony to favour his Actioun. The uther maid Defence, and so tuik the Master of *Ruthven* (the Lord that efter departit in *England*) the Menteinance of the Toun, haifing in his Cumpanie the Laird of *Moncreif*, and uther Freindis adjacent. The said *Johne* maid frack for the persuit ; and upoun the *Magdalene* Day, in the Morning anno 1543. approchit with his Forcis. The Lord *Gray* tuke upoun him the principall Charge : It was appointit, that *Normound Leslie* with his Freindis sould have cum by Schip, with Munitioun and Ordinance, as thai war in Redines. Bot becaus the Tyid servit not sa sone as thay wald, the uther thinking himself of sufficient Force, for all that was in the Toun, enterit in be the Brig, quhair thay fand no Resistance, till that the foirmerst Parte was enterit a pretty Spaice fra the *Fische-Yet* ; and than the said Maister of *Ruthven* with his Cumpanie, stoutlie rencounterit thame, and so raidelie repulsit the formest, that sick as war behind gave back: The Place of the Retyre was so strait, that Men that durst not secht could not flie at thair Plesure ; for the maist Pairt of my Lord *Grayis* Freindis was upoun the Brig ; and so the Slauchter was grit ; for their fell in the Edge of the Sword threscore Men. The Cardinall had rather, that the Unhappe had fallin one the uther Pairt ; bot howsoevir it was, he thoicht, that sick Trubill was to his Comforte and Advantage. The Knowlege quhair-of came to the Eiris of the Pairtie that had receivit the Discomfitour, and was unto thame no small Greif ; for as mony enterit of thame in that Actioun for his Plesour, sa thoicht thay to have had his Fortificatioun and Assistance, quhairof fiading thamefelfis frustrate, thay begane to luik mair narrowlie to thamefelfis, and did not so mekill attend upoun the Cardinallis Devotioun, as thay had woint to do befoir ; and so was ane new Jelousie engendrit amongis thame: For quhosoevir wald not play to him the gude Vallet, wes reputed amongis his Enemies. The Cardinall drew the Governour to *Dundie* ; for he understude that the Earle of *Rothess* and Mr. *Henrie Balnaveis* war with the Lord *Gray* in the Castell of *Huntlie*. The Governour sent and comandit the saidis Erille and Lord, with the foirsaid Mr. *Henrie*, to cum unto him to *Dundie*, and apointit the nixt Day at ten Hours befoir None, quhilk Hour they decreit to keip ; and for that Purpois assemblit thair Folkis at *Balgawry*, or thairby. The Cardinall adverteisit of thair Number (thay war mo than thre hondreth Men) thoicht it not gude, that thay sould joyne with the Toun, for he feirit his awin Estait ; and so he perswaidit the Governour to pas furth of *Dundie* before nyne Hours, and to tak the straycht Way to St. *Johnestown* ; quhilk persavit be foirsaid Lordis, thay begane to feir that thay wald cum to persew thame, and sa put thamefelfis in Ordour and Array, and marchit forward of Purpois to have bidden the uttermost. But the craftie Fox foirseing, that in sechtng stode not his Securitie, ran to his last Refuge, that is, to manifest Treasone ; and so Consultatioun was tane, how that the Force of the utheris mycht be brokin: And at the fist was sent the Laird of *Grainge*, and the Proveist of St. *Androis*, knowing nathing of Treasone, to ask quhy they molestit my Lord Governour in his Journey ? Quhairto they answerit, *That they meint nathing less, for thay come at his Graicis Comandement, to have keipit the Hour in Dundie apointit be him, quhilk becaus they saw preventit, and knowing the Cardinall to be thair Unfreind, they could not bot suspect thair unprovoydit cuming furth of the Toun ; and thairfor thay put thame selfis in Ordour, not to invaid, bot to defend in cais thay war invaidit.* This Answer reported, was send to thame

the Bischope of St. *Androis*, the Abbote of *Pailay*; Mr. *David Painter*, the Lairds of *Bacleuche* and *Coldinknowis*, to desyre certane of the uther Cumpanie to talk with thame, quhilk they easilie obtenit, for they suspected no Treason. Efter lang Comunicatioun, it was demandit, gif that the Erle, and Lord, and Mr. *Henrie* foirsaid, wald not be content to talk with the Governour, provyding, that the Cardinall and his Cumpanie war of the Ground? They answerit, *That the Governour mycht comand thame in all Things lawfull; bot thai had no Will to be in the Cardinallis Mercie.* Fair Promeis anew war maid for their Securitie; than was the Cardinall and his Band comandit to departe; as that he did according to the Purpois tane. The Governour remainit, and a Certane with him; to quhome come without Cumpanie the said Erle, Lord and Mr. *Henrie*. After mony fair Wordis gevin unto thame all, to wit, *That he wald have thame agreit with the Cardinall; and that he wald have Mr. Henrie Balnaveis the Warker and Instrument thairof.* He drew fordwards with him towardis St. *Johnstoun*, quhairto the Cardinall was riddin. They began to suspect, albeit it was too laite; and thairfoir they desyrit to have returnit to thair Folkis, for putting Ordour to thame. Bot it was answerit, *Thay sould send back fra the Toun; bot they most neidis go forward with my Lord Governour.* And so, partlie by Flatterie, and partlie be Force, they war compellit to obey; and how sone that evir they war within the Toun they war apprehendit, and upoun the Morne sent all thrie to the *Blacknes*, quhair thay remainit so long as it pleisit the Cardinallis graceless Graice, and that was till that the *Band of Manerent and of Service* set sum of thame at Libertie. And thus the Cardinall with his Crafte prevaillit one everie Syid; sa that the *Scottis Proverb* was trew of him, *Sa lang runes the Fox as he Fute bes.*

Quhither it was at this his Jorney, or at ane uther, that that bludie Boucheour executit his Crueltie upoun the innocent Persones in Sanct *Johnestoun*, we cannot affirm: Nouthir yit studie we to be curious, bot rather we travell to expresse the Veritie, quhen so evir it was done, than scrupulousslie and exactlie to appoint the Tymes, quhilk yit we omitte not, quhen the Certaintie occuris. The Veritie of that cruell Fact is this. At Sanct *Paulis Day*, befor the first burning of *Edinburghe*, come to Sanct *Johnestoun* the Governour and Cardinall, and thair, upoun invyous Dilatioun, war a grit Number of honest Men and Wemen, callit befor the Cardinall, accuisit of Heresie; and albeit thai could be convict of nothing, but onlie of Suspicioun, that thay had eitten a Gus upoun *Fryday*, four Men war adjugit to be hangit, and a Woman to be drownit. Quhilk cruell and maist injust Sentence was without Mercie put in Executioun. The Housband was hangit, and the Wyf having a foucking Babe upoun hir Breist, was drounit. *O Lord, the Land is not yit purgit frome sick beistlie Crueltie, nouthir bes thy just Vengeance yit strickin all that war criminall of thair Bloode. Bot the Day approchis quhen that the Punishment of that Crueltie, and utheris, will evidentlie appeir.* The Names of the Men that war hangit, was, *James Hunter, Williame Lambe, Williame Andersoun, James Rannalt* Burgess of St. *Johnstoun*. At that Tyme were banischit Sir *Henrie Elder, Johne Elder, Walter Piper, Laurance Pullar*, with divers utheris, quhais Names come not to our Knowlege. That sworne Enemie of Christ Jesus, and unto all in quhome ony Spunk of Knowlege appeirit, had about that same Tyme in Prisoun divers; amongis quhome was *Johnne Roger*, a *Black Freir*, godlie, leirnit, and ane that fruitfullie preichit Christ Jesus, to the Comfort of mony in *Angus* and *Mearnis*, quhome that bloodie Man had caufit

causit murther in the Ground of the Sey Tour of St. *Andreis*, and than caus'd to cast him over the Craige, sparsing a fals Bruit, That the said *Johanne*, seeking to flie, had brokin his awin Craige. This ceis'd not Sathan be all Meinis to mantein his Kingdome of Darknes, and to suppress the Lycht of Christis Evangell. Bot potent is he aganis quhome they saucht; for quhan the Wickit war in grittest Securitie, than begane God to schaw his Anger. For the thrid Day of *May*, in the Yeir of God 1544 Yeirs, without Knowlledge of any Man in *Scotland*, we mein of sick as sould have had the Cair of the Realme, was sein a grit Navie of Schipis arraying towardis the *Firth*. The Poistis come to the Governour and Cardinall, quha bayth war in *Edinburghe*, quhat Multitude of Schippis war sein, and quhat Cours they tuik. This was upoun the *Saiturday* Befoir-none. Questiou was had, Quhat sould they mein? Sum said, It is na doute bot thay are *Inglisthe* Men, and we feir that thay sall land. The Cardinall skrippit, and said, It is bot the Ysland flote, they ar come to mak us a Schow, and to put us in feir. I sall ludge the mein of Weir in my Eye, that sall land in *Scotland*. Still sittis the Cardinall at his Denner, schawing as that thair had bein no Danger appeiring. Men convey to gase upoun the Schippis, some to the *Castelhill*, some to Craigis, and uther Plaices eminent. Bot thair was no Questiou with quhat Force sal we resist, gif that we be'invauidit. Some efter sex Houris at Nycht, war arrayvit, and had castin Anker in the Raid of *Leythe*, ma than twa Hundrethe Saillis. Schoirtlie thairefter, the Admirall schote a flote Bote, quhilk fra *Grantoun* Craigis, till by Eist *Leythe*, foundit the Deip, and sa returnit to hir Schip. Heirof wer divers Opiniounis; Men of Jugement soirsaw quhat it meint, bot na Credite was gevin to ony that wald say they mynd to land, and sa past all Men to his Rest, as if thay Schippis had bein a Gaird for thair Defence. Upoun the Point of Day, upoun *Sunday* the fourt Day of *May*, adressit thay for landing, and ordourit then thair Schippis, so that a Galay or twa layd thair Snoutis to the Craigis: The small Schipis, callit Pynachis, and heiche Horsmen, aprochit as neir as thay could. The grit Schipis dischairgit thair Souledeouris in the smaller Vessellis, and than by Botis set upoun dry Land befor ten Hours, Ten thousand Men, as war judgit, and mo. The Governour and Cardinall seeing than the Thing thay could not, or at least wald not belive afoir, efter that thay had maid a Brage to fecht, fled as fast as Horfe wald carie thame; sa that efter, thay approchit not within Twentie Mylls of the Danger. The Erle of *Angus*, and Sir *George Douglas* war that Nycht fred of Waird, (they war in *Blacknes*) the said Sir *George* in Merrines, said, *I thank King Harie and my gentill Maisters of Ingland.*

The *Inglisthe* Armie betwix twelf and ane Hour enterit in *Leyth*, and the Tabillis couverit, and the Dennaris preparit, sick abundance of Wyne and Viſtuellis, byfydis the uther Subſtaunce, that the lyik Ryches within the lyik Boundis war not to be found, nouthur in *Scotland* nor *Ingland*. Upoun the *Monday* the fyift of *May* come to thame frome *Berwick* and the Border, twa thousand Horsmen, quha being sumquhat repoist, the Armie upoun *Wednesday* marchit towardis the Toun of *Edinburgh*, spyllit and brunt the same, and sa did thay the Palice of *Halyrudhous*, the Horsmen tuik the Hous of *Craigmillar*, and gat grit Spuillie thairin; for it being the strangest Hous neir the Toun, uther than the Castell of *Edinburghe*, all Men sought to save thair Moveabillis thairin, bot the Stoutnes of the Laird gave it over without Schote of Hagbute, and for his Re-

waird was caufit to marche upon his Feit to *Londone*. He is now Captane of *Dunbar*, and Proveist of *Edinburghe*. The *Inglifchemen* feing na Resistance, hurlit be Force of Men Canonis up the Calfay to the Butter-trone, and above, and hafardit a Schote at the fore Entrie of the Castell; but that was to thair awin Paynis; for they lying without Trenche or Gabioun, war exponit to the Force of the haill Ordinance of the faid Castell, quhilk ſhot, and that not all in vaine, for the Quheill and Extrie of ane of the *Inglis* Canonis war brokin, and ſum of thair Men ſlayne, and ſa thay left with ſmall Honour that Interpryis, takin rather of Raſchenes than of ony advyiſit Counſaill. Quhen the maiſt Pairt of the Day they had ſpulyeit and brunt, towardis the Nycht thay returnit to *Leyth*, and upoun the Morne returnit to *Edinburghe*, and executit the reſt of God's Jugmentis for that Tyme; and ſa quhen they had conſumed bayth the Tounis, thay laidit the Schipis with the Spulye theirow, and thay be Land returnit to *Berwik*, uſand the Cuntrey for the maiſt Parte at thair awin Pleſur. This was an Pairt of the Punifchment quhilk God tuik upon the Realme for Infedelitie of the Governour, and for the Violatioun of his ſolempnit Ayth. But this was not the End; for the Realme was devydit into twa Factiounis, the ane favourit *France*, and the uther the League laitlie contractit with *England*; the ane did in na Thingis throughlie credite the uther; ſa that the Cuntrey was in extrem Calamitie: For to the *Inglifmen* war deliverit certain Strenthis, ſick as *Carlawverok*, *Lochmaben*, and *Longhame*. The maiſt Parte of the Bordereris war confederat with *England*. And albeit at firſt, at *Ancrum-muir* in *February* in the Yeir of God 1544, was Sir *Raff Ewars*, with mony uther *Engliſhmen* ſlayne, and the Yeir efter war ſum of the ſaids Strenthis recoverit; yit was it not without grit Loſſe and Detriment of the Common-welthe: For in the Monethe of *Junii*, in the Yeir of God 1545, *Monſieur de Lourg*, with Bandis of Men of War, come from *France* for a further Diſtruſtioun to *Scotland*; for upoun thair Brag was ane Armie raiſit. Forwardis go thay towardis *Wark*, evin in the mids of the Harveſt: The Cardinallis Baner was that Day diſplayit, and all his Fiallis war chargit to be under it. Mony befor had promeiſit, bot at the Point it was left ſa bair, that with Schame it was ſchotte up in the Pocke agane, and they efter a Schaw returnit with mair Schame to the Realme, nor Skayth to the Enemies. The blak Buik of *Haumiltoun* makis Mentioun of grit Vaſſalage done at that Tyme be the Governour, and the *Frenche* Captane; but ſick as with thair Eyne ſaw the haill Progreſs, knew that to be a Lie, and does repute it among the veniall Sinnes of that Race, quhilk is to ſpeik the beſt of thameſelfis thay can.

That Winter following ſa nurturit the *Frenche* Men, that they leirnit to eit, yea, to beg caikis, quhilk at their Entry they ſcornit. Without jeſting, thay war ſo miſerable intreatit, that Few returnit to *France* agane with thair Lyves. The Cardinall than had almaiſt fortifeit the Castell of *St. Androis*, quhilk he maid ſa ſtrong in his Opinioun, that he regardit nouter *England* nor *France*. The Earle of *Lennox*, as ſaid is, diſappointed of all Things in *Scotland*, paſt to *England*, quhair he was reſſavit of King *Harie* in Protectioun, quha gave him to Wyif Ladie *Margaret Douglas*, of quhome was borne *Harie*, umquhille Husband to our *Jeſabell* and Maiſtreſs.

Quhill the inconstant Governour was ſumtyme diſjecter, and ſumtyme rayſit up agane be the Abbot of *Paiſlay*, quha befor was callit *chaiſter* nor *ony Maiden*, begane to ſchaw himſelf: For efter he had tane be Craſt the Castell

of

of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbar*, he also tuk Possessioun of his Enemies Wyf, the Ladye *Stennous*. The Woman is and hes bein famous, and is callit Lady *Gilftoun*; hir Ladischip was haldin alwayis in Propertie. But how many Wyitis and Virginis hes he had sen, that in comoun the Warld knawis, albeit not all, and his Bastard Byrdis beirs sum Witnes. Sick is the Exempill of *Holines* that the Flock may receave of thai Papistlicall Bischopis.

In the middis of all the Calamities that came upoun this Realme, efter the Defectioun of the Governour from Christ Jesus, come in *Scotland* that blissit Martyre of God, Maister *George Wischard*, in Cumpanie of the Comissiouneris befor mentionet, in the Yeir of God 1544; a Man of sick Graices as before him war nevir hard in this Realme, yea, and rare to be found yit in ony Man, notwithstanding this grit Lycht of God that since his Days hes schynit unto us. He was not onlie singularelie leirnit, as well in godly Knowlege, as in all humane Science, but also he was so cleirly illuminated with the Spreit of the Prophecie, that he saw not onelie Thingis perteing to himself, but also sick Thingis as sum Tounis, and the haille Realme efterwards fand, quhilk he foirspak, not in Secreit, but in Audience of mony, as in thair awin Plaices sal be declairit. The Beginning of his Doctrine was into *Muntrois*, thairfra he departed to *Dundie*, quhair, with grit Admiratioun of all that hard him, he tacht the Epistle to the *Romaines*, till that be Procurment of the Cardinall, *Robert Mill* than ane of the principall Men in *Dundie*, and ane Man quhilk of auld had professit Knowlege, and for the same had sufferit Troubill, gave, in the Quein and Governour's Name, Inhibitoun to the said *George*, that he sould trubill thair Town na mair; for thay wald not suffer it. And this was said to him, being in the publict Plaice, quhilk hard, he muisit a littill Space, with his Eyne bent unto Hevin, and thairefter luikit sorrowfullie to the Speiker, and to the Pepill; he said, *God is Witnes that I nevir myndit your Trubill, but your Comfort, yea your Trubill is mair doilourus unto me than it is unto yourselfis: But I am assurit, that to refuis Godis Worde, and to chaifs fra you his Messinger, sall nocht preserve you fra Trubill, but it sall bring you into it; for God sall send unto you Messingeris quha will not be affrayit of Horning, nor yit for Banishment. I have offered unto you the Worde of Salvation, and with the Hazard of my Lyif I have remainit among you. Now ye your selfis refuis me, and thairfoir man I leive my Innocence to be declairit be my God; gif it lang prosperis with you, I am not led withe the Speirit of Treuthe; but and Trubill unluikit for apprehend you, acknowlege the Caus, and turn to God, for he is mercifull; but gif ye turn not at the first, he will visite you with Fire and Sworde.* This Wordis pronuncit, he cam doun frome the preiching Place. In the Kirk present was the Lord *Merchell*, and divers nobill Men, quha wald have had the said Mr. *George* to have remainit, or ellis to have gane with thame in the Cuntry, bot for no Requeist wald he outhertarie in the Toun, or one that Syid of *Tay* ony langer, bot with possibill Expeditioun past to the West Land, quhair he begane to offer Godis Worde, quhilk was of mony glaidlie receavit, till that the Bischope of *Glasgow*, *Dunbar*, be Instigiatioun of the Cardinall, come with his Gaderingis to the Town of *Air*, to make Resistance to the said Mr. *George*, and did first occupie the Kirk; the Erle of *Glencairne* being thairof adverteisit, repairit with his Freindis to the Toun with Diligence, and sa did divers Gentilmen of *Kyill*, (among quhome was the Laird of *Lochnoreis*, a Man far different fra him that now levit anno 1566, in Maners and Religion) of

quhome to this Day yit mony leive, and have declairit thamefelfis alwayis zealous and bald in the Caus of God, as efter will be harde. Quhen all war assemblit, Conclusioun was tane, that thay have the Kirk; quhairto the said Mr. George utterlie repugnit, saying, *Lat him alane, his Sermon will not meikill hurt; lat us go to the Mercate-Cross.* And so thay did, quhair he maid so notable a Sermone, that the verrie Enemies thamefelfis war confoundit. The Bischope preichit to his Jackmen, and to sum auld Boisses of the Toun; the Soum of all his Sermone was, *They sey we sould preiche, quby not? Better lait thryve, nor nevir thryve: Had us still for your Bischope, and we sall provyde better the nixt Tyme.* This was the Beginning and End of the Bischopis Sermone, quha with Haist depairtit the Toun, bot returnit not to fulfill his Promeis. The said Mr. George remainit with the Gentilmen in Kyll, till that he gat sure Knowlege of the Estait of Dundie. He preichit comounlie at the Kirk of Gaskoun, and usit muche in the Bar. He was requirit to cum to the Kirk of Mauchlene, as that he did; but the Sheref of Air causit man the Kirk, for the Preservatioun of a Tabernacle that was verie beutiful to the Eye. The Personis that held the Kirk war George Campbell of Mingarswode, that yet levit anno 1566, Mungo Campbell of Brounsfyd, George Reid in Dawdilling, the Laird of Tempilland. Sum zealous of the Parochin, amongis quhome was Hew Campbell of Kingzean-cleuche, offendit thay sould be debarrit thair Parochie Kirk, concludit be Force to enter. Bot the said Mr. George withdrew the said Hew, and said unto him, *Brother, Christ Jesus is als potent upoun the Feildis as in the Kirk; and I finde that himself ofter preichit in the Desert, at the Seyfyd, and uther Places jugit prophane, than that he did in the Temple of Jerusalem. It is the Worde of Peice, quhilk God sendis be me: The Bluid of no Man sall be sched this Day for the Preiching of it.* And sa withdrawing the haill Pepill, he came to a Dyik in a Muir edge, upoun the Southwest Syid of Mauchlein, upoun the quhilk he ascendit: The haill Multitude stude and sat about him, God gave the Day plesante and hette, he continewit in preiching mair nor thre Hours: In that Sermond God wrocht so wonderfullie with him, that ane of the maist wickit Men that was in that Cuntrey, namit Laurence Ranken Laird of Scheill, was convertit. The Teiris rane fra his Eyne in sick Abundance, that all Men wonderit; his Conversioun was without Hypocrisie, for his Lyif and Conversatioun witnessit it in all Tymes to cum. Quhill this faythfull Servant of God was this occupyit in Kyll, Word rais, that the Plague of Pestilence rais in Dundie, quhilk began four Dayis efter the said Mr. George was inhibit Preiching, and was sa vehement, that it passit almaist Credibilirie, to heir quhat Number departit everie four and twentie Hours. The Certaintie understaud, the said Mr. George tuk his Leive of Kyll, and that with the Regrait of mony. But no Requeiste could mak him to remane; his Reasone was, *They war now in Trubill, and they neid Comfort: Perchance this Hand of God will mak thame now to magnifie and reverence that Word, quhilk besoir, for the feir of Men, they sett at lycht Parte.* Cuming unto Dundie, the Joy of the faythfull was exceiding greit. He delayit no Tyme, bot evin upoun the Morne gave Significatioun that he wald Preiche. And becaus the maist Parte war outhere seik, or ellis war in Cumpanie with thame that war seik, he choisit the Head of the Eist Porte of the Toun for his Preiching Place, and sa the haill stude or satt within, the seik and suspectit without the Porte. The Text upoun the quhilk his first Sermone was maid, he tuik fra the Hundrethe and sevin Psalme;

Pſalme ; the Sentence thair of, *He ſend his Worde and healed thame* ; and thair-with joynit thir Wordis, *It's nouthir Herbe nor Plaifter, O Lord, bot thy Worde kaillis all*. In the quhilk Sermone he maift comfortablie did intreat the Dignitie and Utilitie of God's Word, the Punifchment that cumis for the Contempt of the ſame ; the Promptitude of God's Mercy to ſick as trewlie turne unto him ; yea, the grit Happinis of thame quhome God takis frome this Miſerie, evin in his awin gentill Viſitation, quhilk the Malice of Men can n uther eik nor pair. Be the quhilk Sermone he rayſit up the Hairtis of all that hard him, that thay regairdit not Deyth, bot jugit thame mair happie that ſould departe, than ſick as ſould remane behind. Conſiddering that thay knew not gif thay ſould have ſick a Comforter with thame at all Timis. He ſpairit not to viſitte thame that laye in the verie Extremitie. He comfortit thame as that he mycht in ſick a Multitude ; he cauſit miniſter all Thingis neceſſarie to thame that nicht uſe Meit and Drink, and in that Point was the Toun wondrous beneficiall, for the Puir was na mair neglectit than was the Riche. Quhill he was ſpanding his Lyif to comfort the afflicted, the Devill ceisit not to ſteir up his awin Sone the Cardinall again, quha corruptit, be Money, a diſperat Preiſt, namit Sir *Johnne Wichtoun*, to ſlay the ſaid Mr. George, quha luikit not in all Thingis ſa circumſpectlie as warldlie Men wald have wiſchit. And upoun a Day the Sermone endit, and the Pepill departing, no Man ſuſpecting Danger, and thairfore not heiding the ſaid Mr. George, the Preiſt that was corruptit ſtude waitting at the Fut of the Stepes, his Gown lous, and his Quhinger drawin into his Hand under his Gowne, the ſaid Mr. George, as that he was maift ſchairp of Eye and Jugement, markit him, and as he come neir, he ſaid, *My Friend quhat wald ye do?* And thairwith he clappit his Hand upoun the Preiſtis Hand, quhairin the Quhinger was, quhich he tuk fra him. The Preiſte abaiffit fell down at his Feit, and opinlie confeſſit the Veritie as it was. The Noyis ryſing, and cuming to the Eires of the Seik, thay cryit, *Deliver the Tratour to us, or ellis we will tak him be Force* ; and ſa thay thrift in at the Yet : Bot Mr. George tuk him in his Armes, and ſaid, *Quhoſoevir trublis him ſall trouble me, for he has hurt me in nothing, bot he kes done grit Comforte bayth to yow and me, to wit, he kes lattin us to underſtand, quhat we may ſeir, in Times to cum we will watcke better* : And ſa he appeaſit bayth the ae Pairt and the uther, and ſavit the Lyit of him that ſocht his.

Quhan the Plague was ſa ceisit, that almaiſt thair was nane ſeick, he tuk his Leive of thame, and ſaid, *That God had almaiſt put End to that Battel* ; he fand himſelf callit to ane uther ; The Gentilmen of the *Weſt* had writtin unto him, *That he ſoulde meit thame at Edinburghe ; for they wald require Diſputation of the Biſchopis, and that he ſould be publiſlie hard* : Quhairto he willingly agreit. Bot firſt he paſſit to *Montrois*, to ſalute the Kirk thair, quhair he remainit occupyit ſum Tymes in preiching, bot maift Pairt in ſecreit Meditation, in the quhilk he was ſa erniſt, that Nycht and Day he wald continue in it. Quhill he was ſa occupyit with his God, the Cardinall drew a ſecreit Draucht for his Slauchter ; he cauſit wryt unto him ane Letter, as it had bein frome his maift familiar Freind the Laird of *Kinnyre*, *Deſyring him with all poſſibill Diligence to cum unto him, for he was ſtrucken with a ſuddane Seiknes*. In the mein Tyme, had the Tratour provydit threſcoir Men, with Jackis and Speiris, to ly in Wait within a Mylle and a Half to the Toun of *Montrois*, for his Diſpatche. The Letter cuming to his Hand, he maid Haiſt at the

first, for the Boy had brocht a Hors; and sa with sum honest Men he passit furth of the Toun. Bot suddenelie he stayit, and musing a Space, returnit back; quhairat thay wondering, he said, *I will not go, I am forbiddin of God; I am assurit thair is Treason. Let sum of you, said he, go to yone Plaice, and tell me quhat thay find.* Diligence maid, thay fand the Treason as it was; quhilk being schawin, with Expedition to Mr. George, he answerit, *I know that I sall end my Lyfe in that bluid-thristie Manis Handis; bot it will not be of this Maner.* The Tyme approching that he had apointit to meit the Gentilmen at *Edinburghe*, he tuk his Leif at *Montrois*, and sair againis the Jugement of the Laird of *Dunne* he enterit on his Journey, and sa returnit to *Dundie*. Bot remainit not, bot passit to the Hous of a faythefull Brother, namit *James Watfoun*, quha dwelt in *Innergowrie*, distant from the said Toun two Myillis; and that Nycht, as Information was gevin us by *Williame Spadone* and *Jobne Watfoun*, bayth Men of gude Credite, befor Day he passit furthe into a Yaird; the said *Williame* and *Jobne* followit privilie, and tuk Heid quhat he did. Quhen he had gane upe and down into ane Alley a ressonabill Space, with money Siches and deip Grones, he plat down upoun his Kneis, and sitting thairon his Grones encreffit, and frome his Kneis he fell upoun his Faice; and than the Personis foirnamit, hard Weiping, and as it war ane indigest Sound, as it war of Prayaris, in the quhilk he continewit neir ane Hour, and efter begane to be quyet, and sa rais and come to his Bed. Thay that awaittit, preventit him, as thay had bein ignorant, till that he came in; and then begane they to demand quhair he had bein? Bot that Nycht he wald answer nathing. Upoun the Morne they urgit him agane; and quhill that he dissimulit, they said, *Mr. George, be playne with us, for we hard your Grones; yea, we hard your Mourning, and saw you bayth upoun your Kneis, and upoun your Faice.* With dejectit Visage, he said, *I had rather ye had bein in your Beds, and it had bein mair profitable for you; for I was skarce weill occupyit.* Quhen they instentlie urgit him to lat thame knw sum Comforte; He said, *I will tell you that I ame assurit, that my Travel is neir ane End; and thairfoir call to God with me, that now I sbreink not, quhen the Battell waxis maist bet.* And quhill that thay weipit, and said, *That was small Comforte unto thame.* He answerit, *God sull sende you Comfort efter me. This Realme sall be illuminated with the Lycht of Christis Evangell, als cleirlye as evir was ony Realme, sen the Dayis of the Apostles; the Hous of God sal be buildit into it, yea it sall not want (quhatsoevir the Enemie imagine in the contrair) the verie Keape-Stane, mening, that it sould be broucht to full Perfection.* Nouthir, said he, *sall this be lang to; thair sall not mony suffer efter me, till that the Glorie of God sall evidentlie appeir, and sall anis trimphe in Despyte of Sathan. But allace! gif the Pepill sall be efter unthankfull, thane feirfull and terribill sall the Plagues be that efter sall follow.* And with thir Wordis he marchit fordwardis in his Journey towardis *St. Johnestoun*; and so to *Fyfe*, and than to *Leyth*, quhair arryvit, and heiring na Word of thame that apointit to meit him, to wit, the Erle of *Cassillis*, and the Gentilmen of *Kyll* and *Cunynghame*, keipit himself secreit a Day or tway. Bot beginning to waxe sorrowfull in Spreit, and being demandit of the Caus, of sick as was not in his Companie befor, he said, *Quhat differ I from a deid Man, except that I eit and drink? To this Tyme God hes usit my Labours to the Instruccion of utheris, and to the discloisng of Darknes; and now I lurk, as a Man that war eschaimit, and durst not schaw himself befor Men. Be they and lyik Wordis, thay that hard him understude that his Desire was to preiche;*

preiche; and thairfoir said, *Maist comfortable it war for us to heir you, bot becaus we know the Danger, quhairin ye stand, we dar not desyre you. Bot dar ye and utheris heir*, said he, *and than let my God provyde for me, as best pleisis him.* Fynnallie, it was concludit, That the nixt Sunday he sould preiche in *Leyth*, as that he did, and tuk the Text, *The Parabill of the Surwer that went out to saw Seid*, Matth. xiii. and this the fyftein Day betoir Yuill. The Sermone endir, the Gentilmen of *Lanckiane*, quha than war eirnest Professouris of Christ Jesus, thocht not expedient that he sould abyde in *Leyth*, becaus that the Governour and Cardinall war schortlie to cum to *Edinburghe*; and thairfoir thay tuik him with thame, and keipit him sumtymis in *Brounston*, sumtymis in *Langnithrie*, and sumtymis in *Ormistoun*; for they thre diligentlie waytir one him. The Sunday following, he preichit in the Kirk of *Immeresk* besydis *Musfillburghe*, bayth befor and at Efternone, quhair thair was a grit Confluence of Pepill, amongis quhome was Sir *George Douglas*, quho, efter the Sermone, said publicklye, *I know that my Lord Governour, and my Lord Cardinall sall heir that I have bein at this Preiching* (for thay war than in *Edinburghe*.) *Say unto thame, that I will avow it, and will not onelie mantein the Doctrin that I have hard, but also the Person of the Teichar to the uttermoist of my Power.* Quhilk Wordis gritlie rejoyssit the Pepill and Gentilmen than present.

Ane Thing notable in that Sermone we can not pass by; amongis utheris come thair tway Gray Freiris, and standing in the Entrie of the Kirk dure, they maid sum quhispering to sick as come in, quhilk perceived, the Preicheour said to the Pepill that stud neir thame, *I hairtillie pray you to mak Roun to they twa Men, it may be that thay be come to leirne*; and unto thame he said, *Cum neir*, (for they stud in the verrie Entrie of the Dure) *for I assure you ye sall heir the Word of Veritie, quhilk sall outhir seill unto you this same Day your Salvatioun or Condemnatioun*; and sa proceedit he in Doctrin, suppoising that they wald have bein quiet: But quhen he perceavit thame still to truble the People that stud neir thame, (for vehement was he against the fals worshipping of God) he tournit unto thame the second Tyme, and, with ane awful Countenance, said, *O Serjeantis of Satan, and Deceivers of the Saullis of Men, will ye nouthir heir Godis Treuthe, nor suffer utheris to heir it? Depart, and tak this for your Portioun, God sall schortlie confound and disclois your Hypocrisie within this Realme; ye sall be abominabill unto Men, and your Places and Habitationis sall be desolate.* This Sentence he pronuncit with grit Vehemencie in the middis of the Sermone. And turning to the Pepill, he said, *Yone wickit Men have provoikit the Spreit of God to Anger*; and so he returnit to his Matter, and proceedit to the End. That Dayis Travell endir, he come to *Langnuthrie*, and the twa nixt Sundayis preichit in *Tranent* with the lik Grace, and lik Confluence of Pepill. In all his Sermonis, efter his Departure from *Angus*, he foirspak the Shortness of the Tyme that he had to travell, and of his Deyth, the Day whereof, he said, aprochit neirer than ony wald beleve.

In the hinder End of thai Dayis that ar callit *the Haliedayis of Yuill*, past he (by the Consent of the Gentilmen) to *Hadingtoun*, quhair it was supposit the gritest Confluence of Pepill should be, bayth be Resoun of the Town and of the Cuntry adjacent. The first Day Befor-none the Audience war ressonabill, and yit nothing in Comparisoun of that quhilk usit to be in that Kirke: But the Efternone, and the nixt Day following Befor-none, the Auditours were so slender that mony wonderit. The Caus was jugit to have

bein, that the Erle *Bothell* (quha in thay Boundis usit to have grit Credite and Obedience) by Procurment of the Cardinall, had given Inhibitioun, asweill to the Toun as to the Cuntrey, that thay sould not heir him under the Pane of his Displeasour. The first Nycht he lay within the Toun with *David Forss*, now callit *Generall*, ane Man that lang hes professit the Treuth, and upoun quhome mony in that Tyme dependit. The secound Nycht he lay in *Letbington*, the Laird quhair of was evir civil, albeit not perswadit in Religioun. The Day following befor the said Mr. *George* past to the Sermone, thair come to him ane Boy with ane Letter from the West Land, quhilk received and red, he callit for *Johnne Knox*, quha had awaitit upoun him cairfullie frome the Tyme he came to *Lawthiane*; with quhome he begane to enter in Purpois, That he wearyit of the Warld. The Caus of his Complaint was, the Gentilmen of the West had writtin unto him, that they could not keip Dyette at *Edinburghe*. The said *Johnne Knox* wonderit that he desyrit to keip ony Purpois befor Sermone, for that was nevir his accustomeit Use befor, said, *Sir, the Tyme of Sermone aprochis, I will leive you for the present to your Meditatioun, and sa tuk he the Bill conteining the Purpois foirsaid, and left him.* The said Mr. *George* spacit up and down behind the hie Alter mair than half an Hour, his verie Countenance and Visage declarit the Grief and Alteratioun of his Mind. At last he passit to the Pulpette, but the Auditour was small. He sould have begune to have enterit the secound Tabill of the Law, bot thair of in that Sermone he spak verie little. He begune one this Manner; *O Lord, how lung sall it be, that thy halie Word sall be despyrit, and Men sall not regaird thair awin Salvatioun? I have hard of thee, Hadingtoun, that in the wald have bein at ane vane Clerk Play twa or thre thousand Pepill, and now to heir the Messinger of the Eternell God, of all the Toun or Parische cannot be numberit ane hundreth Personis: Sair and feirful sall the Plagues be that sall ensue this thy Contempt, with Fire and Sword sall thou be plaguit, yea, thou Hadingtoun in speciall, Strangeris sall possess thee, and ye the present Inhabitants sall outther in Bondage serve the Enemies, or ellis ye sall be chaissit fra your Habitatiouns; and that because ye have not knowin, nor will not know the Time of Godis mercyfull Visitatioun.* In sick Vehemency and Threatning continewit that Servant of God neir an Hour and ane half, in the quhilk he declarit all the Plagues that ensueit, as planelie as efter our Eyne saw thame performit. In the End he said, *I have foryet myself, and the Matter that I sould have intreitit of; but lat thir my last Wordis, as concerning publick Preiching, remane in your Myndis, till that God send you now Comfort.* Thairefter he made a schort Paraphrase upon the secound Tabill, with an Exhortatioun to Patience, to the Feir of God, and to the Warkis of Mercie: And so put an End, as it war, making his last Testament, as the Ischew declarit, that the Spreit of Treuthe and trew Jugement war bayth in his Hairt and Mouthe; for that same Nycht was he apprehendit befor Midnycht, in the Hous of *Ormistoun*, by the Earl of *Bothell*, maid for Money Boucheour to the Cardinall.

The Maner of his taiking was this: Departing frome the Toun of *Hadingtoun*, he tuik his Gudnycht, as it war, for evir of all his Acquaintance, especially from *Hew Douglas* of *Langnudrie*. *Johnne Knox* preasing to have gane with the said Mr. *George*, he said, *Nay, returne to your Bairnes, and God blis you, ane is sufficient for a Sacrifice.* And he caused a twa handit Sword, quhilk comonlie was caryit with the said Mr. *George*, be tane fra the said

Knox,

Knox, quha (albeit unwillinglie) obeyit, and returnit with *Hew Douglas* of *Langmuirie*; *Maister George*, having to accompanie him the *Laird of Ormiston*, *Johne Sandielands* of *Calder* younger, the *Laird of Brounston*, and utheris with thair Servands, past upoun thair Fute (for it was a vehement Frost) to *Ormiston*. Efter Supper he held a comfortabill Purpois of the Deith of Godis chosin Children, and mirrelie said, *Me think that I desyre eirneslie to sleip*; and thairwith he said, *We'll sing ane Psalm*, and sa he apointit the fyiftie ane Psalm, quhilk was put in *Scottis Meitter*, and began thus, *Have Mercie one me now guide Lord, efter thy greit Mercy*. Quhilk being endit, he past to *Chalmer*, and soner nor his comoun Dyit was past to Bed, with thir Wordis, *God grant quiet Rest*. Befoir Midnycht the Place was beset about, that nane could escaip to mak Adverteisment. The Erle *Bothwell* come and cryit for the *Laird*, and declairit the Purpois, and said, *It was but vane to mak him to bald his Hous*; for the Governour and the Cardinall, with all thair Power, war cumand; and indeid the Cardinall was at *Elphinstoun* not a Myill distant from *Ormiston*: But and gif he wald deliver the Man unto him, he wald promeis upoun his Honour, that he sould be saif, and that it sould pas the Power of the Cardinal to do him any Harme or Skayth. Allurit with these Wordis, and taking Counsaill with the said Mr. George (quha at the first Word said, *Oppin the Yettis; the blissit Will of my God be done*) they ressavit in the said Erle *Bothwell* himself, with sum Gentillmen with him, to quhome Mr. George said, *I prais my God, that sa honourabill a Man as ye, my Lord, receavis me this Nycht in the Presens of thir Nobill Men: For now I am assuirit, that for your Honouris Saik, ye will suffer Nothing to be done unto me besydis the Ordour of Law: I ame not ignorant that their Law is Nothing bot Corruptioun, and a Cloick to sched the Bluid of the Sancts. Bot yet I lefs feir to die oppinlie, than secreitlie to be murtherit. The said Erle Bothwell answerit, I sall not onelie preserve your Bodie from all Violence, that sall be purposed againis you without Ordour of Law, bot also I promeis, heir in the Presence of thir Gentilmen, that nouthir sall the Governour nor Cardinall have their Will over you; bot I sall retain you in my awin Handis, and in my awin Plaice, till that outhir I sall mak you frie, or ellis restore you in the same Plaice quhair I ressave you. The Lairds foirsaid said. My Lord, gif ye will do as ye have spokin, and as we think your Lordschip will do, than do we heir promeis unto your Lordschip, that not only we ourselvis sall serve you all the Dayis of our Lyf, bot also we sall procure the baill Professouris within *Lauthiane* to do the same. And upoun outhir the Perswasion † of this our Brother, or upoun his Deliverie unto our Handis agane, we being ressonable adverteisit to ressave him, that we, in the Name and Behalf of our Freindis, sall deliver to your Lordschip, or ony sufficient Man, that sall deliver agane to us this Servand of God, our Band of Manrent, in Maner foirsaid. And this Promeis maid in the Presens of God, and Handis straikit upoun bayth the Parties for Observatioun of the Promeis; the said Mr. George was deliverit to the Handis of the said Erle *Bothwell*, quha immediatlie departing with him, came to *Elphinstoun* quhair the Cardinal was, quha knowing that *Calder* younger, and *Brounston* war with the *Laird of Ormiston*, send back with Expeditioun to apprehend thame also. The Noys of Horsmen being hard, the Servantis gave Adverteisment, that ma than was departit, or that was thair befor was returnit: And quhill that thay dispuir, quhat sould be the Motive the Cardinalls Garisoun had seasit bayth the out-*

ward and inward Clois ; thay callit for the Laird, and for the Laird of *Calder*, quho presenting thamefelfis, demandit quhat thair Commissioun was. *To bring you twa, and the Laird of Brounstoun to my Lord Governour*, say they. They war nathing content, as thay had no Caus ; yit thay maid fair Countenance, and *entreatit the Gentilmen to tak a Drink, and to bayt thair Hors, till that thay micht put thamefelfis in Rednes to ryd with thame*. In this mein Tyme, *Brunstoun* convoyit himself first secreitlie, and than be Speid of Fute to *Ormistoun* Wode, and from that to *Drundallane*, and so eschaipit that Danger. The uther two war put in the Castell of *Edinburghe*, quhair the ane, to wit *Calder* younger, remainit quhill his Band of Manrent to the Cardinall was the Meinis of his Deliverance ; and the uther, to wit *Ormistoun*, tred himself, by leiping the Castell Wall betwix ten Hours and ellevin befor None ; and so breaking Waird, he eschaipit Prisoun, quhilk he injustlie sufferit.

The Servant of God Mr. *George Wischeart* was caryit first to *Edinburghe*, thairefter brocht back, for the Fassiounis Saik, to the House of *Haillis* agane, quhilk was the principall Plaice that thane the Erle of *Bothwell* had in *Lautbiane*. Bot as Gold and Wemen have corruptit all wardlie and fleschelic Men frome the Beginning, so did thay him. For the Cardinall gave Gold and that lairgiie ; and the Quein, with quhome the said Erle was than in the Glonders, promeisit Favours in all his lawfull Suitis to Wemen, gif he wald deliver the said Mr. *George* to be keipit in the Castell of *Edinburghe*. He maid sum Resistance at the first, be Resfoun of his Promeis : Bot ane effeminate Man cannot lang withstand the Assaultis of a gracious Quein ; and sa was the Servant of God transportit to *Edinburghe* Castell, quhair he remainit not manye Dayis ; for that bloodie Wolfe the Cardinall, evir thirsting the Blude of the Servant of God, so travellit with the abuisit Governour, that he was content that God's Servant sould be deliverit to the Power of that Tirrane. And so small Inversfoun being maid, *Pylat* obeyit the Petitioun of *Cayaphas*, and of his Fellows, and adjugit Christ to be crucifyit. The Servant of God deliverit to the Hand of that proud and merciles Tiranne, Triumphe was maid be the Preistis. The Godlie lamentit, and accuisit the Fulischeas of the Governour : For be the retaininge of the said Mr. *George*, he mycht have causit Protestants and Papistis (rather proud *Romanistis*) to have servite ; the ane to the End that the Lyif of thair Preicheour mycht have bein savit ; the uther for Feir that he sould have set him at Libertie agane, to the Confusioun of the Bischopis. Bot quhair God is left (as he had renuncit him plainlie befor) quhat can Counsaill or Jugement avail ? How the Servant of God was entreitit, and quhat he did frome the Day that he enterit within the Sea-tour of St. *Androis*, quhilk was in the End of *Januarie* in the Yeir of God 1546: unto the first of *Merche* the same Yeir, quhen he sufferit, we cannot tell, except we understand he wrait sumquhat being in Presoun ; bot that was suppressit be the Enemies. The Cardinall delayit na Tyme, bot causit all Bischopis, yea all the Clergie that had ony Preeminence, to be convocatit to St. *Androis* agane the penult of *Februarie*, that Consultatioun mycht be had in that Questioun, quhilk in his Mynd wes na les resolvit, than Christis Deyth was in the Mynd of *Cayaphas* : Bot that the rest sould beir the lyik Burdein with him, he wald that thay sould befor the World subscrivye quhatsoever he did. In that Day wes wrocht na les a Wonder, than was at the Accusatioun and Deyth of Christ, quhan that *Pylate* and *Herode*, quha befor war Enemies war maid Freindis, be consenting of thame bayth to Christis Condemnatioun, differis nathing, except

cept that *Pylate* and *Herode* war Brethren, under thair Father the Devill, in the Estait callit temporall, and thir twa, of quhome we ar to gang to speik wer Brethren (Sones to the same Father the Devill) in the Estait Ecclesiasticall. Gif we interlace Merrines with earnest Matters, pardone us gude Reidare, for the Fact is sa notable that it deservis lang Memorie.

The Cardinall wes knawin proude; and *Dunbar* Archbischope of *Glasgow* wes knawin a gloriou Full: And yit becaus sumtymes he was callit the Kingis Maister, he was Chancellour of *Scotland*. The Cardinall cumis even the same Yeir, in the End of Harvest befor to *Glasgow*, upoun quhat Purpois we omitt. Bot quhill they remainit togither, the ane in the Toun, the uther in the Castell; Questiou ryis for beiring of thair Crose. The Cardinall allegit, be Resoun of his Cardinallship, and that he was *Legatus natus*, and Primate within *Scotland*, in the Kingdome of Antichrist, that he sould have the Preeminence, and that his Crose sould not onelie go befor, bot that also it sould onelie be borne, quhairsoever he was. Gud *Gakston Glaikston* the foirsaid Archbischope lacked na Resounis, as he thocht, for Manteinance of his Glorie. He was ane Archbischope in his awin Dioce, and in his awin Cathedrall Sait and Kirk; and thairfore aucht to gif Place to no Man: The Power of the Cardinall was bot beggit fra Rome, and aperteinit bot to his awin Persone, and not to his Bischoprick; for it mycht be that his Successour sould not be Cardinall; bot his Dignitie was annexed with his Office, and aperteinit to all that evir sould be Bischopis of *Glasgow*. Howsoever thir Doubtis war resolvit be the Doctouris of Divinitie of bayth the Prelatis; yet the Decisioun was as ye fall heir. Cumming furth or ganging in (all is ane) at the Queir Dure of *Glasgow* Kirk, begane stryving for Stait betwix the twa Croce Beiraris; sa that fra glouming thay come to schouldring, from schouldring they went to Buffetis, and fra dry Blawis be Neiffis and Nevelling; and than for Cherities saik, thay cryit, *Dispersit, dedit pauperibus*, and aslayit quhilk of the Croces war fynest Mettell, quhilk Staf was strongest, and quhilk Bearar could best defend his Maisteris Preeminence; and that thair sould be na Superioritie in that behalf, to the Ground gangis bayth the Croces. And than begane na littill Fray; bot yit a mirrie Game, for Rocketis war rent, Tippetis war torne, Crounnis war knypfit, and syd Gounis mycht have bein sein wantonellie wag fra the ae Wall to the uther: Mony of thame lackit Beirds, and that was the mair Pietie; and thairfoir could not buckill uther be the Byrfs, as sum bauld Men wald have done. Bot fy on the Jack-men, they did not thair Dewtie; for had the ane Parte of thame rencounterit the uther, then had all gone rycht. Bot the Sanctuarie we suppois favit the Lyves of mony. How mirrilie that evir this be writtin, it was bitter Bourding to the Cardinall and his Court. It was more than Irregularitie, yea, it mycht weil have bein judgit *Leismajestie* to the Sone of Perditioun, the Paipes awin Persoun; and yit the uther in his Follie, als proud as ane Peacock, wald lat the Cardinall know that he was ane Bischope, quhen the uther was but *Beatoun*, befor he gat *Abirtothe*. This Inamitie was jugit mortall, and without all Hope of Reconciliatioun. But the Bluide of the innocent Servand of God buryit in Oblivioun all that Braging and Boast. For the Archbischope of *Glasgow* was the first unto quhome the Cardinall wrait, signifying unto him quhat was done, and eirnestlie craiffing of him, that he wald assist with his Presens and Counsaill, how that such ane Enemie unto thair Estait mycht be suppressit. And thairto was not the uther slaw, bot keipit Tyme apointit, sat nixt to the Cardinall, voitit and subscrivit first in

the Rank, and lay over the Eist Blockhous with the said Cardinall, till the Martyr of God was consumit with Fyir. For this we man note, That as all they Beistis consentit in Haire to the Slauchter of that Innocent, so did they approve it with thair Presens, having the haill Ordinance of the Castell of St. *Androis* bent towards the Plaice of Executioun (whiche was neir to the said Castell) reddie to have schote, gif ony wald have maid Defence, or Reskew to Godis Servand. The Maner of his Accusatioun, Procefs and Answeris following, as we have receavit the same from the Buik of the Martyris, whiche Word be Word we have heir insertit, and that becaus the said Buik, for the grit Price thair of, is rare to be had.

Upon the last of *Februaire* was send to the Presoun, quhair the Servand of God lay, the Dein of the Toun, be the Comandement of the Cardinall, and his wickit Counsaill, and thair sumondit the said Mr. *George*, that he fould upoun the Morn following appeir befor the Juge, then and thair to gif ane Account of his seditious and hereticall Doctrine. To quhome the said Mr. *George* answerit, *Quhat neidit, said he, my Lord Cardinall to sumond me, to answer for my Doctrine oppinlie befor him, under qubais Power and Dominoun I ame thus straitlie bound in Yronis? May not my Lord compell me to answer to his extorted Power? Or, belevit he, that I am unprovydit to render ane Accompt of my Doctrine? To manifest yourselfis quhat Men ye ar, it is weill done, that ye keip your auld Ceremonies and Constitutioun maid be Men.* Upoun the nixt Morne, my Lord Cardinall causit his Servantis to addres thame selfis in thair maist warrelyck Array, with Jack, Knapfall, Splent, Speir and Axe, more seiming to the Warre than for the Preiching of the trew Word of God. And quhen thes armit Champiounis, marching in warlyck Ordour, had convoyit the Bischopis into the Abbay Church; incontinentlie they send for Mr. *George*, who was convoyit unto the said Church, by the Captain of the Castell, and the Number of ane hundreth Men, adressit in Maner foirsaid, lyk a Lambe led thay him to Sacrafice. As he enterit in the Abbey Church Dure, thair was a puir Man lying vexit with grit Infirmities, asking of his Almous, to quhome he slang his Purs; and quhan he came befor the Cardinall, by and by the Suppryour of the Abbey, callit Dein *Johnne Windrame*, stood up in the Pulpet, and maid an Sermon to all the Congregatioun thair than assemblit, taking his Matter out of the xiii. Chapter of *Matth.* quhois Sermon was devydit in four principall Parts. In the *first* was a schort and breif Declaratioun of the Evangelist. The *second* of the Interpretatioun of the gude Seid; and becaus he callit the Worde of God the *guid Seid*, and *Heresie* the evill Seid, he declaired quhat Heresie was, and how it fould be known; he desyend it on this Maner, *Heresie is ane fals Opinioun defendit with Pertinacitie, cleirlye repugning to the Word of God.* The *third* Parte of his Sermon was the Caus of Heresie within that Realme, and all uther Realmes. The Caus of Heresie, quod he, is the Ignorance of thame whiche have the Cuiris of Mens Saullis, to quhome it belangethe necessarilie to have the trew Understanding of the Word of God, that thay may be abill to winne agane the fals Doctouris of Heresies, *with the Sworde of the Spirit, whiche is the Word of God:* And not onelie to winne agane, but also to overcum, as sayis the Apostle *Paull*, *A Bischope most be faultles, as it becumethe the Minister of God, not stulburne, not angrie, no Drunkard, no Fechtar, not gevin to selthie Lucre, but barberous, one that loveth Gudnes, sober myndit, rychteous, holie, temperat, and suche as cleaveth unto the true Worde of Doctrine, that he may be abill to exhort with wholsom Learning,*

ing, and to improve that whiche they say against him. The fourth Parte of his Sermon was, how Heresie shuld be knowin. "Heresie, quoth he, may be knowin on this Maner, as the Gold-smith knoweth the fyne Gold from the imperfyit, by the Tuiche-stane; so lykwys may we know Heresie by the undoutit Tuiche-stane, that is, the trew, sincer and undefylled Word of God." At the last he addit, "That Heretyckis shuld be put down in this present Lyif;" to the whiche Proposition the Gospell apeireth to repugne, quhilk he entreitit of, *Let thame bothe grow unto the Harvest.* The Harvest is the End of the World, nevertheles he affirmit, that thay shuld be put down by the civil Magistrat, and Law." And quhan he endit his Sermon, incontinent thay causit Mr. George to ascend in the Pulpit, thair to heir his Accusatioun and Artickles, for richt against him stude up one of the fed Flock, a Monster, *Johnne Lauder*, ladin full of Cursingis, Threatningis, Maledictiounis, and Wordis of devillische Spyit and Malice, saying to the innocent Mr. George, so many cruell and abhominabill Words, and hitt him sa spyitfullie with the Paipis Thunder, that the ignorant Pepill dreidit least the Earthe thane wald have swallowit him upe quick. Notwithstanding he stud still with grit Patience, heiring thair Sayingis, not once moving nor changing his Countenance. When that this fed Sow had red throuche all his lying Meanacingis, his Face rying down with Sweit, and froithing at the Mouthe lyk a Bair, he spat at Mr. George's Face, saying, *Quhat answeris thou to thes Sayingis, throw Rennigate, Tratour and Theif, whiche we have dewlie provit by sufficient Witness aganis the.* Mr. George heiring this, sat down upoun his Kneis in the Pulpit, making his Prayeris unto God. Quhan he had endit his Prayer, sweetlie and christianlie he answerit unto thame all in this Maner.

Mr. Georgis ORATION.

MAny and horribill Sayingis unto me a Christian Man, many Wordis abhominabill for to heir, ye have spokin heir this Day, which not onlie to teiche, bot also to think, I thoicht it ewir grit Abominatioun. Quhairfor I pray your Discretiounis quietlie to heir me, that ye may know quhat war my Sayingis, and the Maner of my Doctrine. This my Petitioun, my Lordis, I desyre to be hard for thre Causes. The first is, throw preiching of the Word of God, his Glorie is maid manifest; it is ressonabill thairfor, for the advancing of the Glorie of God, that ye heir me trewlie teiching the pure and sincere Word of God, without any Dissimulatioun. The second Ressoun is, Becaus that your Helthe springis of the Worde of God, for he worketh all Thingis by his Word: It war thairfor ane unrychteous Thing, if ye shuld stopp your Eiris frome me teiching trewlie the Word of God. The thrid Reassone is, Becaus your Doctrine speiketh furth many pestilentious, blasphemous, and abhominabill Words, not cuning by the Inspiratioun of God, bot of the Devill, one no les Perrill than my Lyif. It is just thairfor and ressonabill for your Discretiounis to know quhat my Words and Doctrine are, and quhat I have ewir taucht in my Tyme in this Realme, that I perische not injustlie, to the grit Perell of your Saullis: Quairfor bayth for the Honour and Glorie of God, your awin Helthe, and Saifgaird of my Lyif, I besek your Discretiounis to heir me; and in the mein Tyme, I sall recite my Doctrine without ony Cullour.

First, and cheiflie, Sen the Tyme that I came in this Realme, I taucht Nothing bot the Ten Comandimentis of God, the Twelf Artickles of the Fayth, and the

Prayer of the Lord in the Mother Tong. Moreover in Dundie, I taucht the *Epistle of St. Paull to the Romanis*; and I sall schaw your *Discretiounis* faythfullie, quhat *Fassoun and Maner* I usit, quhen I taucht without any humane Dreid, so that your *Discretiounis* gif me your *Earis, Benevolence and Attentioun*. Suddanelie then, with a heich Voce, cryit the Accusar, the fed Sow, *Thow Heretyk, Rennigate, Tratour and Theif*, it was not lauffull for the to preiche, thow hes takin the Power at thyne awin Hand, without ony *Authoritie* from the Churche: *We foirthink that thow hes bein ane Preicheour so lang*. Then said the whole Congregatioun of the Prelatis, with thair Complices, thes Wordis; *Gif we give him Licence to preiche, he is so craftie, and in holie Scriptures so exerceisit, that he will perswaid the Pepill to his awin Oppinioun, and rais thame aganis us*. Maister George seing thair malicious and wickit Intent, appellit to ane indifferent and equall Juge. To quhome the Accusar *Johne Laudar* foirfaidis, with hoggische Voce, answerit, *Is not my Lord Cardinall, the second Persoun within this Realme, Chancellor of Scotland, Archbischepe of St. Androis, Bischope of Meripois, Comendatour of Abirbrothe, legatus natus, legatus a latere; And so recyting alsmony Titills of his unworthy Honours, as wald have laiddin a Schip, muche soner ane Als; is not he, quoth Johne Lauder, ane equall Juge apereandlie to the? Quhome uther desyris thow to be thy Juge? To quhome this humane Man answerit, saying, I refuis not my Lord Cardinall, bot I desyre the Worde of God to be my Judge, and the temporall Estait, with sum of your Lordschapis myne Auditour; becaus I am heir my Lord Governours Prisoner*. Heirupoun the prydfull and scornfull Pepill that stud by, mocked him, saying, *Suche Man, suche Juge*, speaking seditious and reprochefull Wordis aganis the Governour, and uthers the Nobillis, meining thame also to be Heretykes. And incontinent, without all Delay, they wald have gevin Sentence upoun Mr. George, and that without farder Proces, had not certane Men thair, consaillit my Lord Cardinall to reid agane the Artickles, and to heir his Answers thairupoun, that the Pepill mycht not complaine of his wrangfull Condemnatioun. And schortly for to declair, these war the Artickles following, with his Answer, als far as they wald gif him Leif to speik: For quhen he intendit to mitigat thair Lesingis, and schawe the Maner of his Doctrine, by and by they stoppit his Mouthe with ane uther Artickle.

The First Artickle.

Thou fals Heretyk, Rennigat, Tratour and Theif, Deceaver of the Pepill, despyis the holie Churches, and in lyik Caice contemnis my Lord Governours Authority. And this we know of suirtie, That quhen thow preichest in Dundie, and war charged be my Lord Governouris Authority to desist, nevirtheles thow waldest not obey, bot perceverest in the same: And thairfoir the Bischope of Brichen cursit the, and deliverit the into the Handis of the Devill, and gave the in Comandement, that thow souldest preiche no moir; yit notwithstanding thow didest continew obstinatlie.

The Answer.

My Lordis I have red in the *Acts of the Apostles*, that it is not lawfull, for the Threatningis and Meanacingis of Men, to desist from the Preiching of the Evangell: Thairfoir it is writtin, *We sall rather obey God nor Man*. I have also red the Propheit *Malachie*, *I sall curs your Blessingis, and bless your Cursingis,*

Cursingis, says the Lord: Beleving firmlie, that he wald turne your Cursingis into Blissingis.

The secound Artickle.

Thow fals Heretyik did say, That a Preist standing at the Alter saying Mess,
was lyk a Fox wagging his Taill in Julie.

The Answer.

My Lordis, I said not so. These war my Sayingis; the moving of the Body outward, without the inward moving of the Hairs, is nocht ells, bot the playing of ane Ape, and not the trew serving of God; for God is a secreit Seirchar of Menis Hairs: Thairfoir, quha will trewlie adorne and honour God, he muist in Spreit and Treuthe honour him. Then the Accusar stoppit his Mouthe with ane uther Artickle.

The third Artickle.

Thow fals Heretyik preichest against the Sacraments, saying, That thair are not seven Sacramentis.

The Answer.

My Lordis, it is be your Plesouris, I taucht nevir of the Number of the Sacramentis, quhither thay war seven or ane eleven: So many as ar instituted be Christ, and ar schawin to us be the Evangell, I profes openlie: Except it be the Worde of God, I dar affirme Nothing.

The fourt Artickle.

Thow fals Heretyik bes opinlie taucht, That auricular Confessioun is not a bliffit Sacrament; and thow says we sould onlie confes us to God, and to no Preist.

The Answer.

My Lordis, I say, That auricular Confessioun, seing that it had no Promeis of the Evangell, thairfoir it cannot be ane Sacrament. Of the Confessioun to be maid to God, thair are mony Testimonies in the Scripture, as quhen *David* sayethe, *I thocht that I wald acknowledge my Iniquitie againis myself unto the Lord, and he forgave the Trespas of my Sinis.* Heir Confessioun signifeith the secreit Knowlege of our Synis befoir God; quhen I exhorted the Pepill one this Maner, I repruifit no Maner of Confessioun. And further, Sanct *James* sayethe *Knowlege your Synis ane to another, and so lat you have Peace amongis yourselfis.* Here the Apostle meinis nothing of auricular Confessioun, bot that we sould acknowledg and confes ourselfis to be Syneris befoir our Brethren, and befoir the Warld, and not to esteim ourselfis as the Gray Freiris dois, thirking thamefelvis alreddie purgit. Quhen that he had said theis Wordis, the hornit Bischopis and thair Complices cryit, and gyrnit with their Teithe, saying, *Se ye not quhat Cullouris he had in his Speiche, that he mycht begyill us, and seduce us to his Opinioun.*

The fyift Artickle.

Thow Heretyik didest say openly, That it was necessarie for everie Man to know and understand his Baptisme, and that it was contrarie to Generall Counsaillis, and the Estait of the holie Church.

The Answer.

My Lordis, I beleve thair be none so unwyis heir, that will make Merchandice with ane *Frenche* Man, or ony uther unknowin Stranger, except he know and understand the Condition, or Promis maid be the *Frenche* Man or Stranger: So lyikwyis I wald that we understude what Thing we promise in the Name of the Infent unto God in Baptisme: For this Caus, I beleve, ye have Confirmation. Than said Mr. *Blester* Chaplane, *That he had the Divill within him, and the Spreit of Errour.* Than answerit him a Child, saying, *The Devill cannot speik suche Wordis, as yonder Man dois speik.*

The sixth Artickle.

Thow fals Heretyik, Tratour and Theif, thow saidest, That the Sacrament of the Alter wes bot a Peice of Bread, baikin upoun the Asbes, and no uther Thing ells; and all that is thair done is bot a superstitius Ryte, against the Comandement of God.

The Answer.

Oh Lord God! so manifest Leis and Blasphemies the Scripture doithe not so teiche you. As concerning the Sacrament of the Alter, my Lordis, I never taucht ony Thing against the Scripture, the whiche I fall be Godis Graice mak manifest this Day, I being thairfor reddie to suffer Deith. The lawfull Use of the Sacrament is maist exceptabill unto God; bot the grit Abuse of it is verie detestabill unto him. Bot quhat Occasioun they have to say suche Wordis of me, I fall schortlie schaw your Lordschipis. I once chancit to meit with a *Jew*, quhen I was sailland upoun the Watter of *Rhene*; I did inquire of him, quhat was the Caus of his Pertinacie, that he did not beleve, that the trew Messias was come, considdering that thay had sein all the Prophecies whiche war spokin of him to be fulfillit: Moreover the Prophecies takin away, and the Scepture of *Judah*. By monie uther Testimonies of the Scripture, I vanqust him, and approvit that the Messias was cum, the whiche they callit *Jesus of Nazareth*. The *Jew* answerit agane unto me, "Quhen the Messias cumethe, he fall restoir all Thingis, and he fall not abrogate the Law, whiche was gevin unto our Fatheris, as ye do; for why? We sie the Puir almoist perische throw Hunger among yow, yit yow ar not movit with Pitie towards thame; bot amongist us *Jews*, thoch we be puir, thair are no Beggars found. *Secundarilie*, It is forbidden by the Law, to sayne any Kynd of Imagerie of Thingis in Hevin above, or in the Eirthe benethe, or in the Sie under the Eirthe; bot one God onelie to honour: Bot your Sanctuaries and Churches ar full of Idolles. *Thridlie*, A Peice of Breid baikin upoun the Asbes, ye addore and worschip, and say, that is your God." I have reherfit heir bot the Sayingis of the *Jew*, whiche I never affirmit to be trew.

Than

Than the Bischopis schuik thair Heidis, and spilit unto the Eirthe, and quhat he meint in this Matter further, thay wald not heir.

The seventh Artickle.

Thow fals Heretyik did say, That extrem Unctioun was no Sacrament.

The Answer.

My Lordis, I nevir taucht of extrem Unctioun in my Doctrine, quhither it war a Sacrament or no.

The aucht Artickle.

Thow fals Heretyik sayest, That holie Watter was not so gude as Wasche, and suche lyk: Thow contempnis Conjuring, and sayis, that holie, Churches Cursing availeth not.

The Answer.

My Lordis, as for holie Watter, quhat Strenth it is of, I thaucht nevir in my Doctrine. Conjuringis and Exorcismes, gif they war conformabill to the Word of God, I wald comend thame: But in sa far as they ar not conformabill to the Comandement and Word of God, I repruif thame.

The ninth Artickle.

Thow fals Heretyik and Rennigate has said, That every Layman is a Preist; and suche lyk, thow sayest, That the Paip hathe no more Power thane ane uther Man.

The Answer.

My Lordis, I taucht nothing bot the Word of God. I remember, that I have red in sum Places of Sanct Johne and St. Peter, of the whiche one sayethe, *He had maid us Kingis and Preistis*, the uther sayethe, *He had maid us the kingle Preistheid*: Quhairfor I have affirmit, ony Man, being cunning and perfyte in the Worde of God, and the trew Fayth of Jesus Christ, to have his Power gevin him of God, and not be the Power or Violence of Men, bot by the Vertew of the Worde of God, the whiche Word is callit, *the Power of God*, as Witnes Sanct Paull evidentlie aneuche. And agane I say, Anie unleirnit Man, and not exerceisit in the Word of God, nor yit constant in his Fayth, quhatsoever Estait or Ordour he be of; I say, he had no Power to bind nor to lous, seing he wantis the Instrument, be the whiche he bindethe or lousethe, that is to say, the Word of God. Efter that he had said these Wordis, all the Bischopis lauched, and mocked him. Quhen that he beheld their Lauchter, Lauche ye, *said he*, my Lordis? Thoch that these my Sayngis appeir scornfull, and worthie of Derisioun to your Lordschipis, nevirtheles they ar verie wechtie unto me, and of a greit Value; becaus thay stand not onlie upoun my Lyif, bot also the Honour and Glorie of God. In the meintyme mony godlie Men behalding the Wodnes and grit Crueltie of the Bischopis, and the invincibill Patience of the said Mr. George, did gritlie murne and lament.

The tenth Article.

Thow fals Heretyik saidest, That a Man had no frie Will, bot is lyk to the Stoikes, whiche say, " That it is not in Manis Will to do ony Thing, bot that " all Concupiscence and Desyre comethe of God, of quhatsoever Kynd it be of."

The Answer.

My Lordis, I said not so trewlie. I say, That als mony as beleve in Christ firmly, unto thame is gevin Libertie, conformable to the Saying of St. Jobne, *If the Sone mak yow free, than shall ye verely be free.* Of the contrarie, als monie as beleve not in Christ Jesus, they are bound Servandis of Synne: *He that synnethe is bound to Synne.*

The eleventh Article.

Thow fals Heretyik sayest, It is als lawfull to eit Flesche upoun Fryday, as one Sondag.

The Answer.

Pleisit your Lordschipis, I have red in the Epistles of St. Paull, That *quho is clein, unto thame all Thingis is clein*: Of the contrarie, *to the filthie Men, all Thingis ar uncleane.* A faythfull Man, clein and holie, sanctified be the Word, the Creatour of God, bot the Creature makethe no Man acceptable unto God: So that a Creatour may not sanctify anie impure and unfaythfull Man. Bot to the faythfull Man all Thingis ar sanctified, by the Prayer of the Word of God. Efter these Sayingis of Mr. George, than said all the Bischopis with their Complices, Quhat neidit us anie Witnes againis him, hath he not heir openlie spoken Blaspheemie?

The twelfth Article.

Thow fals Heretyik didest say, That we sould not pray to Sanctis, bot to God onlie; Say quhither ihow he said this or no, say schortlie.

The Answer.

For the Weiknes and Infirmite of the Heirares, *he said*, without Doubt plainlie, That Sanctis sould not be honourit nor incallit upoun. My Lordis, *said he*, thair are two Thingis worthie of Note; the one is certane, the uther uncertane. It is found planelie and certane in Scriptures, That we sould worshippe and honour one God, according to the Saying of the first Comendement, *Thow shall worship and honour the Lord thy God with all thyne Hairt.* Bot as to praying to, and honouring of Sanctis, thair is grit Doubt among mony, quhither they heir or no Invocatioun maid unto thame: Thairfor I exhortit all Men equallie in my Doctrine, That thay sould leif the unfure Way, and follow the Way, whiche was taucht us be our Maister Christ. " He is onelie our Mediatour, and makethe Intercessioun for us to " God his Father. He the Dure by the whiche we must enter in: He that " enterie

“ enteris not in by this Dure, bot climethe ane uther Way, is a Theif and ane Murtherar. He is the Veritie and Lyife.” He that goethe out of this Way, thair is no Dout bot he fall fall into the Myre, yea, verilie he is fallen in it alreddie. This is the Falschioun of my Doctrine, the whiche I have evir followit. Verilie that whiche I have hard and red in the Word of God, I taucht opinlie and in no Corneris, and now ye fall witnes the same, gif your Lordschipis will heir me: Except it stand by the Word of God, I dar not be so bauld as to affirme ony Thing. These Sayingis he reherst divers Tymes.

The threteenth Artickle.

Thow fals Heretvik bes preichit plainlie, saying, That thair is no Purgatorie, and that it is a fayned Thing, for anie Man efter this Lyf to be punished in Purgatorie.

The Answer.

My Lordis, as I have oftentimes said heirtofore, without expresse Witnes and Testimonie of Scripture I dar affirme Nothing. I have oft and divers Tymes red over the Bybill, and yit suche a Terme fand I never, nor ony Place of Scriptour applicable thairto: Thairfore I was aschaimit evir to teiche of that Thing, whiche I could not find in Scripture. Then said he to Maister Johne Lauder his Accuser, Gif you have ony Testimonie of the Scripture, by the whiche ye may prove ony suche Plaice, schaw it now, befor this Auditour. But that Dolt had not a Word to say for himself, bot was als dum as a Bittle in that Matter.

The fourteenth Artickle.

Thow fals Heretvik bes taucht planelie againis the Vowis of Monkis, Freiris, Nunis and Preistis, saying, That quhosoever was bound to sick lyck Vowis, they vowit thameselfis to Estait of Damnatioun. Moreover, that it was lawfull for Preistis to marie Wyfis, and not to leif solitar.

The Answer.

Of suche, my Lordis, I have red in the Evangell, That thair ar thrie Kynd of chait Men, sum ar geldit from thair Mothers Wombe, sum ar geldit be Men, and sum have geldit thameselfis for the Kindome of Hevins Saik; verilie, I say, these Men ar blissit by the Scriptur of God: Bot als monie as have not the Gift of Chastitie, nor yit for the Evangell have overcum the Concupiscence of Flesche, and have vowit Chastitie, ye have Appeirance, althocht I sould hald my Tounge, to quhat Inconveniencis thay have vowit thameselfis. Quhen he had said thes Wordis they war all dum, thinking it better to have ten Concubinis nor one Wyf.

The fifteenth Artickle.

Thow fals Rennigate and Heretvik sayest, That thow wilt not obey our General or Provinciall Counsaills.

The Answer.

My Lordis, Quhat your general Counsaills ar, I know not ; I was nevyr exerceisit in thame ; but to the pur Word of God, I gave my Labouris. Reid heir your generall Counsaillis, or ellis give me a Buick, quhairin they ar continit, that I may reid thame, gif that they aggrie with the Worde of God, I will not disagrie. Than the ravening Woulfis turnit unto Madnes, and said, " Quhairunto lat we him speik ony farther ? Reid furth the rest of the Artickles, and stay not upoun thame." Amongis theis cruell Tyggeris thair was ane fals Hypocreit, a Seducer of the Pepill, callit *Jobne Scot*, standing behind *Jobne Lauderis* Back, haisting him to reid the rest of the Artickles, and not to tarie upoun his wittie and godlie Answeris ; " For we may not abyde thame, quoth he, no moir nor the Devill may abyde the Signe of the Croce, quhen it is named."

The sixteint Artickle.

Thow Heretyik sayest, That it is vane to build to the Honour of God coistlie Churches, seing that God remanethe not in Churches maid be Menis Handis, nor yit can God be in so litill Spaice, as betwix the Preistis Hands.

The Answer.

My Lordis, *Salamone* sayis, *Gif that the Hevin of Hevinis cannot comprehend the, how muche les this Hous whiche I have buildit.* And *Job* consentethe to the same Sentence, saying, *Seing that he is higher than the Hevinis, thairfoir quhat can thow build unto him ? He is deper than the Hell, than how fall thow know him ? He is longer than the Eirthe, and broader than the Sey ; so that God cannot be comprehendit in one Plaice, becaus that he is infinit.* These Sayingis notwithstanding, I said nevyr, That Churches sould be distroyit : But of the contrarie, I affirmit evir, That Churches sould be mantened and uphaldin, that the Pepill sould be congregat in thame to heir the Word of God preichit. Mairoevir quhairfoevir is the trew preiching of the Word of God, and the lawfull Use of the Sacramentis, undoutedlie thair is God himself : So that both these Sayingis ar trew together ; God cannot be comprehendit into anie ane Plaice ; And quhairfoevir ar two or thrie gatherit in his Name, thair is he present in the middis of thame. Than said he to his Accusar, Gif thow thinkest ony utherwayis, than I say, schaw furth thy Reffonis befor this Auditour. Than he without all Reassone was dum, and culd not answer ane Word.

The sevinteint Artickle.

Thow fals Heretyik contemnest Fasting, and sayethe, Thow souldest not fast.

The Answer.

My Lordis, I find that Fasting is comendit in the Scriptur ; thairfoir I war a Slanderar of the Gospell, gif I contemn it Fasting. And not so onlie, bot I have leirnit by Experience, that Fasting is gude for the Helthe and Conser-
vatioun of the Body : Bot God knowethe onelie quha fastethe the trew Fast.

The

The auchteint Artickle.

Thow fals Heretyik bes preichit opinlie, saying, That the Saullis of Men fall sleip to the latter Day of Jugment, and fall not obtēin Lyif imortall untill that Day.

The Answer.

God full of Mercie and Gudnes forgive thame that sayis suche Thingis of me. I wotte and knawis suirly by the Word of God, that he whiche had begunne to have the Fayth of Jesus Christ, and beleverthe firmelie in him; I knaw suirly, that the Souill of that Man fall nevir sleip, bot evir fall leif ane immortall Lyif, the whiche Lyif, from Day to Day, is renewit in Graice and agmentit, nor yit fall evir perische, or have ane End, bot fall evir leve immortall with Christ thair Heid, to the whiche Lyif all that beleve in him, fall cum, and rest in eternall Glorie. *Amen.*

QUhan that the Bischopis with thair Complices had accusit this innocent Man, in Maner and Forme afoirsaid, incontinentlie thay condemned him to be brunt as ane Heretyik, not having Respect unto his godlie Answeris and trew Reassonis whiche he allegit, nor yit thair awin Consciēces, thinking verelie, that thay sould do to God gude Sacrifice, conformabill to the Sayingis of Jesus Christ in the Gospell of Sanct *John*, the xvi. Chapter; *Thay fall excommunicate yow, yea, and the Tyme fall cum, that he that killethe yow fall think that he bes done to God gud Service.*

The Prayer of Mr. George.

O Immortall God, how lang fall thow suffer the Wodnes and greit Crudelitie of the Ungodlie to exeries thair Fury upoun thy Servands, whiche do furder thy Word in this Warld, seing they desyre to do the contrarie, that is, to chock and destroy thy trew Doctrine and Veritie, by the whiche thow has schawin the unto the Warld, which was all drowned in Blindnes and Misknowledge of thy Name. O Lord, we know suirly, That thy trew Servands moiste neidis suffer Persecutioun for thy Names saik, Afflictoun and Trubillis in this present Lyif, whiche is bot a Schadow, as thow bes schawin unto us, by thy Prophetis and Apostles. Bot yit we desyre the, mercifull Father, That thow conserve, defend and help thy Congregatioun, whiche thow bes choisin befor the Beginning of the Warlde, and gif thame thy Graice to heir thy Word, and to be thy trewe Servands in this present Lyif.

Than by and by, they caufit the comoun Pepill to remove, quhois Desire was alwayis to have hard that innocent Man speik. And the Sones of Darknes pronuncit thair Sentence definitive, not having Respect to the Jugementis of God. Quhan all this was done and said, my Lord Cardinal cauffit his Tormentours to pas agane withe the meik Lambe unto the Castell, untill suche Tyme as the Fyre was maid reddie. Quhen he was cum unto the Castell, then thair came unto him two Gray Feindis, Freiris Scot and his Mate, saying, Sir, ye muist mak your Confessioun unto us. He answerit and said, *I will mak no Confessioun unto yow. Go fette me yonder Man that preichit this Day, and I will mak my Confessioun unto him.* Then they sent for the Suppyor

of the Abbey, quho came to him with all Diligence; bot quhat he said in this Confessioun, I cannot schaw. Quhen the Fyre wes maid reddie, and the Gallous at the west Pairt of the Castell, neir to the Priorie, My Lord Cardinall dreiding, that Mr. George sould have bein takin away by his Freindis, thairfoir he comandit to bend all the Ordinance of the Castell rycht aganis the Plaice of Executioun, and comandit all his Gunnaris to be reddie, and stand besyid thair Gunis, unto suche Tyme as he war brunt. All this being done, thy bound Mr. Georges's Hands behind his Back, and led him furth with thair Souleours, frome the Castell to the Plaice of thair cruell and wickit Executioun. As he came furthe of the Castell Yet, thair met him certane Beggars asking of his Almous for God's Saik. To quhome he answerit, *I want my Hands, quhairwith I had wonit to gif yow Almous, bot the mercifull Lord, of his Benignitie and abundant Graice, that seideth all Men, vouchaif to gif yow Necessaries both unto your Bodies and Saullis.* Than efterwards met him two fals Feindis, I sould say, Freirs, saying, Mr. George, pray to our Lady, that she may be a Mediatrix for yow to her Sone. To quhome he answerit meiklie, *Ceis, tempt me not my Brethren.*

Efter this he was led to the Fyir, with a Raip about his Neck, and a Chain of Iron about his meddle. Quhan that he cam to the Fyre he sat down upoun his Kneis, and rois up agane; and thrifs he said these Words, *O thou Saviour of the World, have Mercie upoun me: Father of Hevin, I commend my Spreit into thy halie Hands.* Quhen he had maid this Prayer, he turnit him to the Pepill, and said these Wordis, 'I beseik yow Christiane Brethren and Sisters, that ye be not offendit at the Word of God, for the Affliction and Tormentis whiche yow sie alredie prepairit for me. Bot I exhort yow, that yow love the Word of God, your Salvatioun, and suffer patientlie, and with a comfortable Hairt, for the Word's Saik, whiche is your indoubtit Salvatioun, and everlasting Comfort. Mairovir, I pray yow, schaw my Brethren and Sisteris, whiche have hard me ofte befoir, that thais ceis not, nor leif of to lerne the Word of God whiche I taucht unto thame, efter the Graice gevin unto me, for no Persecutiounis nor Trubillis in this World whiche lasteth not: And schaw unto thame that my Doctrine was no Wyfis Fabill, efter the Constitutiounis maid be Men; and gif I had taucht Mennis Doctrane, I had gottin gritter Thankis be Men. Bot for the Words Saik and trew Evangell, whiche was gevin unto me be the Graice of God, I suffer this Day by Men, not sorrowfullie, bot with a glaid Hairt and Mynd. For this Caus I was sent, That I sould suffer this Fyre for Christis Saik. Consider and behald my Visage, ye fall not sie me change my Cullour; this gryme Fyre I feir not, and sa I pray you for to do, gif that anie Persecutioun cum unto yow for the Wordis Saik; and not to feir thame that slay the Bodie, and efterwards have no Power to slay the Saull. Sum have said of me, That I taucht the Saull of Man fall sleip untill the last Day: Bot I know surelie, and my Fayth is suche, that my Saule fall soupe this Nycht with my Saviour, (or it be sex Houris) for quhome I suffer this.' Then he prayed for thame which accuisit him, saying, *I beseik the Father of Hevin to forgive thame that have of ony Ignorance, or ellis of ony evill Mynd forgit Lies upoun me; I forgive thame with all my Hairt: I beseik Christ to forgive thame that have condemnit me to Deythe this Day ignorantlie.* And last of all, he said to the Pepill on this Maner; 'I beseik yow Brethren and Sisteris to exhort your Prelatis to the Leirning of the Word of God, that thay at the leif may be

‘ ashamit to do Evill, and leirne to do gude ; and gif thay will not convert
 ‘ thamefelfis frome thair wickit Errours, thair fall haistlie cum upoun thame
 ‘ the Wrayth of God, which thay fall not eschew.’ Mony saythtull Words
 said he in the mein Tyme, taking no Heid or Cair of the cruell Tormentis
 which war than prepared for him. Than last of all the Hangman that
 was his Tormentar, sat down upoun his Kneis, and said, *Sir, I pray yow for-*
give me, for I am not guiltie of your Deyth. To quhome he answerit, Cume
 hither to me: ‘ Quhen he was com to him, he kissit his Cheik, and said,
 ‘ Lo heir is a Takin that I forgive the ; my Hairt, do thy Office ;’ and than by
 and by, he was put upoun the Gibbit, and hangit, and thair brunt to Poul-
 der. Quhen that the Pepill beheld the grit tormenting of that Innocent, thay
 mycht not withhald frome piteous mourning, and complayning of that inno-
 cente Lambes Slauchter. Efter the Deyth of this blissit Martyr of God, be-
 gane the Pepill in plain speiking to dampne and detest the Crueltie that was
 ussit ; yea, Men of grit Birth, Estimatioun, and Honour, at oppin Tabillis a-
 vowed, That the Bluid of the said Mr. George sould be revengit, or ellis
 they sould loise Lyif for Lyif. Amongest quhome *John Leslie* Brother to the
 Erle of *Rothois* was the Cheif, for he in all Companies spared not to say, That
 same Quhinger, schawing furth his Dagger, and that same Hand sould be Prei-
 stis to the Cardinall. Thes Bruitis cam to the Cardinalls Earis : Bot he
 thought himself stout aneuch for all *Scotland* : For in *Babilon*, that is, in his
 new *Block hous*, he was suir, as he thocht, and upoun the Feildis he was
 abill to matche all his Enemies : And to wryit the Treuthe, the maist Pairt
 of the Nobilitie of *Scotland* had eyther gevin unto him thair Bandis of
Manrent, or ellis war in Confederacie, and promiseit Amitie with him. He
 only feirit thame in quhois Handis God deliverit him, and for thame he had
 llyed his Nettris so secretlie, as that he maid a full compte, that thair Feit
 could not eschape, as we fall eter heir. And sumthing of his former Practeis
 we man recompt. Efter the *Puske* he came to *Edinburghe*, to hald the Seinye,
 as the Papistis tearme thair unhappie Assemblie of *Baalis* schaven Sort. It
 was bruitit that sumthing was purposit against him at that Tyme by the Erle
 of *Angus* and his Freindis, quhome he mortallie haitit, and quhois Destrueti-
 coun he socht ; bot it failled, and so returnit he to his Strenthe ; yea, to his
 God and onlie Comfort, alsweill in Haven as in Earthe ; and thair he remain-
 nit without all feir of Deyth, promiseing unto himself no les Plesur nor did
 the riche Man of quhome mentioun is maid by our Maister in the Evangell ;
 for he did not onlie rejoyce and say, *Eat and be glaid, my Saull, for thou*
hes grit Ryches layd up in Stoir for manie Dayis ; but also he said, *Tusche, a Feg*
for the Feid, and a Buttoun for the braging of all the Heretykes and thair Assistance in
Scotland : *Is not my Lord Governour myne ? Witnes his eldest Sone thair Pledge*
at my Table. Have I not the Quein at my arwin Devotioun ? He meinit of the
 Mother of *Marye* that now meschevouslie regnes ? *Is not France my Freind, and*
I Freind to France ? Quhat Danger sould I feir ? And thus in Vanitie the
 Cardinall delytit himself a litill befoir his Deathe. Bot yit he had devysit to
 have cut of suche as he thoicht mycht cummer him : For he had appointit
 the haill Gentilmen of *Fyffe* to have met him at *Falkland* the Mononday efter,
 that he was slayne upoun the *Setterday*. His treassonabill Purpois was noch
 understode, bot by his secret Counsaill, and it was this ; That *Normond Leslie*,
 Shireff of *Fyif*, and appearand Air to his Father the Erle of *Rothois* ; the said
Jonne Leslie, Fayther Brother to *Normound* ; the *Lairdis of Grange*, elder and
 younger ;

younger; Sir *James Learmonth* of *Darfie* and *Provoist* of *St. Androis*; and the faythfull *Laird* of *Raythe*, sould ether have bein slayne, or ellis tane, and efter to have bein usit at his *Plesour*. This *Interpryis* was discloisit efter his *Slauchter*, partelie be *Letteris* and *Memoriallis* found in his *Chalmer*, bot planelie affirmit by such as war of the *Counsaill*. Mony *Purpoises* war devyisit, how that wickit *Man* mycht have bein taikin away; bot all faillit, till *Fryday* the 28th of *Maii*, anno 1546, quhen the foirsaid *Normond* came at *Nycht* to *St. Androis*, *William Kirkcaldie* of *Grainge* youngar was in the *Toun* befoir, awaytting upoun the *Purpois*. Last came *Johne Leslie* foirsaid, who was moift suspected: Quhat *Conclusioun* they tuik that *Nicht* it was not knawin, bot by the *Ischew* that followed. Bot airlie upoun the *Settorday* in the *Morning*, the 29th of *Maii*, war thay in fundrie *Cumpanies* in the *Abbay Kirk-yaird*, not far distant frome the *Castell*: *First*, The *Yettis* being oppin, and the *Draw-brig* lattin down for receaving of *Lyme* and *Stanis*, and uther *Things* necessarie for *Building*, for *Babilon* was almost finished. *First*, we say, assayit *William Kirkcaldie* of *Grange* younger, and with him sex *Personis*, and getting *Entres*, held *Purpois* with the *Porter*, gif my *Lord Cardinall* was wakin? Who answered, No: And so it was indeid, for he had bein buffie at his *Accomptis* with *Mestres Marioun Ogilby* that *Nicht*, who was espyit to departe frome him by the privie *Posterne* that *Morning*; and thairfoir *Quietnes*, efter the *Reullis* of *Phyick*, and a *Morne Sleip* was requisite for my *Lord*. Quhille the said *William* and the *Porter* talked, and his *Servandis* maid thame to luik the *Wark* and the *Warkmen*, aproched *Normond Leslie* with his *Cumpanie*; and becaus thay war no grit *Number*, thay easilie gat *Entres*. Thay addres thame to the middis of the *Clois*, and immediatlie came *Johne Leslie* sumquhat rudelie, and foure *Personis* with him: The *Porter* fearing, wald have drawn the *Brig*, bot the said *Johne* being enterit thairone, stayit, and lap in: And quhill the *Porter* maid him for *Defence*, his *Heid* was brockin, the *Keyis* was taikin frome him, and he castin in the *Fowse*, and so the *Plaice* was seissit. The *Warkmen*, to the *Number* of mo than ane *Hundreth*, ran of the *Wallis*, and war without *Hourt* put furthe at the *Wickit Yet*. The first *Thing* that evir was done, *William Kirkcaldie* tuk the *Gaird* of the privie *Posterne*, fearing that the *Fox* sould have eschaipit. Than go the rest to the *Gentilmenis Chalmeris*, and without *Violence* done to ony *Man*, thay put mo than fyftie *Personis* to the *Yet*: The *Number* that *interprysit* and did this, war but sextein *Personis*. The *Cardinall* wacknit with the *Schoutis*, askit frome his *Window*, Quhat mein it that *Noyis*? It was answerit, That *Normond Leslie* had taikin his *Castell*: Whiche understaude, he ran to the *Posterne*; bot perceiving the *Passage* to be keipit without, he returnit quicklie to his *Chalmer*, and tuk his two handit *Sword*, and garth *Chalmerchyild* cast *Kiftis* and uther *Impediments* to the *Dure*. In this mein *Tyme* came *Johne Leslie* unto it, and biddis oppin. The *Cardinall* asking, Who callis? He answerit, My Name is *Leslie*. He redemands, Is that *Normond*? The uther sayis, Nay, My Name is *Johne*. I will have *Normond*, sayis the *Cardinall*, for he is my *Freind*. Content your self with suche as ar heir, for uther fall ye get nane. Thair war with the said *Johne*, *James Melvell*, a *Man* familiarlie acquainted with the said *Mr. George Wischeart*, and *Petir Carmichell*, a stout *Gentilman*. In this mein *Tyme*, whyll they force at the *Dure*, the *Cardinall* hyddis a *Box* of *Gold* under *Coills* that war layd in a secrete *Corner*. At lenth he asketh, Will ye save my *Lyif*? The said *Johne* answerit,

It may be that we will. Nay, sayis the Cardinall, *Swear unto me by Godis Woundis, and I fall oppin unto yow.* Than answerit the said *John*, *It that was said, is unsaid*; and so he cryit, *Fire, Fire*, for the Dure was verie stark, and so was brocht ane Chimlay full of burning Coallis, quhilk perceavit, the Cardinall or his Chalmer-chylde (it is uncertain) oppinit the Dure, and the Cardinall sat down in a Chayre, and cryit, *I ame a Preist, I ame a Preist, ye will not slay me.* The said *Johnne Leslie*, according to his former Vowis, straik him anis or twyis, and so did the said *Petir*. Bot *James Melvill*, a Man of Nature moist gentill and moist modest, perceaving thame bayth in Cholere, withdrew thame, and said, *This Wark and Jugement of God, althocht it be secret, yit aucht to be done with grutter Gravitie.* And presenting unto him the Point of the Sword, said, *Repent the of thyne former wickit Lyf, but especiallie of the schedding of the Bluid of that notable Instrument of God, Mr. George Wiseheart, whicke albeit the Flame of Fyre consumit befor Men, yit cryis it, a Vengeance upoun the, and we from God ar sent to revenge it.* For heir befor my God, I protest, *That nether the Hatrent of thy Person, the Love of thy Ryches, nor the Feir of anie Trouble thou could have done to me in particular, misfit, or movelke me to straik the; bot onlie becaus thou bes bein, and remainis ane obblinate Enemie to Chryst Jesus and his holie Evangell.* And so he straik him twyis or thryis throw with a Stöge Sword: And so he fell, nevir Word hard out of his Mouthe, bot *I ame a Preist, I ame a Preist, fy, fy, all is gone.*

Whill they war thus occupied with the Cardinal, the Fray ryissis in the Toun; the Proveist assembles the Commonaltie, and cumis to the Fouseis Syde, crying, *Quhat have ye done with my Lord Cardinall? Where is my Lord Cardinall? Have ye slaine my Lord Cardinall? Let us sie my Lord Cardinall.* Thay that war within answerit gentillye, *The best it war to yow to retorne to your awin Houses; for the Man you call the Cardinall bes receaved his Reward, and in his awin Person will trouble the Warld na mair.* Bot then mor inragitlie they cryit, *We fall nevir departe till that we sie him.* And so was he brocht to the East Blokhousse Heid, and schawin deid over the Wall to the saythles Multitude, whicke wald not beleve befor that it saw. And so they departit, without *requiem eternam*, & *requiescat in pace*, sung for his Saull. Now becaus the Wedder was hotte, for it was in *Maie*, as ye have hard, and his Funerallis culd not suddantlie be prepared, it was thocht best (to keip him frome stinking) to give him grit Salt yneuche, a Cope of Leid, and a Nuck in the Bottome of the Sey-tour, a Plaice quhair mony of God's Children had bein imprisonit befor, to await quhat Exequies his Brethren the Bischopis wald prepar for him. These Thingis we wrytte merrille, bot we would that the Reidar sould observe God's just Judgmentis, and how that he can deprehend the warldie Wyis in thair awin Wisdome, mak thair Tabill to be a Snair to trappe thair awin Feit, and thair awin presuppoisit Strenth to be thair awin Destruction. These ar the Warkis of our God, wherby he wald admonisch the Tirrantis of this Earthe, that in the End he will be revengit of thair Crueltie, quhat Strenth so evir they mak in the contrair. Bot suche is the Blindes of Man, as *David* speikes, *That the Persievitie dois evir follow the Futessteppis of thair wickit Fathers, and principallie in thair Impiety*: For how litill differis the Crueltie of that Bastard, that yit is callit Bischope of Sanct Androis, frome the Crueltie of the former, we will efter heir.

The Deith of this foirsaid Tirrant was dolorous to the Preistis, dolorous to the Governour, and moist dolorous to the Quein Dowagar: For in him

perished Faythfulnes to *France*, and the Comfort to all Gentilwemen, and especially to wantoun Wedowis: His Deith muist be revengit.

To the Court agane repaires the Erle of *Angus*, and his Brother Sir *George*. Labor is maid for the Abbacie of *Abbirbrothe*, and a Grant was anis maid of the samyn, in Memorie quhair of *George Douglas*, Bastard Sone to the said Erle, is yit callit *Postulate*. Bot it was mair proper (think the *Haumiltounis*) for the Governour's Kitcheing, nor for Rewaird to the *Douglasses*; and yit in Esperance thair of the said Erle and *George* his Brother wer the first that votit, that the Castell of Sanct *Androis* sould be beseiged. The Bischope, to declair the Zeall that he had to revenge the Deithe of him that was his Predecessour, (and yit for his Wische he wald not have had him leving agane) still blew the Coalles. And first, he causit summond, then denunce accursit, then last, Rebels, not onlie the first Interprysaris, bot all sushie also as efter did accompanie thame: And last of all, Siege was concluit, whiche begane in the End of *August*. For the 23. Day thair of departit the Souldeours frome *Edinburgh*, and continewed neir to the End of *Januar*: At quhat Tyme, becaus they had na uther Hoip of winning it bot by Hunger, and thair of also they war dispared, for thai within had brockin throuche the eist Wall, and maid ane plaine Passage by ane Iron Yet to the Sey, whiche gritlie relevit the Beseiged, and abasit the Beseigers; for than thay saw that they could not stope thame of Victuells, unless that thay sould be Maisters of the Sey, and that thay cleirly understude thay could not be; for the *Inglicsche* Schippis had once bein thair, and had brocht *William Kirkaldie* frome *London*, and with muche Difficultie (becaus the said Yet was not thane prepared) and sum Los of Men had renderit him to the Castle agane, and haid taikin with thame to the Court of *England*, *Jobne Leslie* and Mr. *Henrie Balnaveis*, for perfyting of all Contracts betwix thame and King *Harie*, quho promeisit to taik thame in his Protectioun, upoun Condioun onlie, that thay sould keip the Governour's Sone, my Lord of *Arrane*, and stand Freindis to the Contract of Marriage, quhair of before we have maid Mention. These Thingis cleirly understude, we say, be the Governour and his Counsaill, the Preistis and schaven Sorte, thay conclud to mak ane Appointment, to the End that under Treuthe they might ether get the Castell betray'd, or ellis some principall Men of the Cumpanie taikin at unawaires. In the whiche Heid was the Abbot of *Dumefermeling* Principall, and for that Purpois had the Laird *Monquhairy*, whiche was maist familiar with thame of the Castell, labourit at Fute and Hand, and pocciddit so in his Traffick, that frome Entris upoun Day-light at his Plesur, he gat Licence to cum in upoun the Nicht quhensoever it pleasit him. Bot God had not apointed so mony to be betrayed, albeit that he would that thay sould be punished, and that justlie, as heirefter we will heir.

The Heidis of the coloured Appointment war.

I. That thay sould keip the Castell of Sanct *Androis*, ay and quhill that the Governour and Authoritie of Scotland sould get unto thame ane sufficient Absolutioun from the Paip, Antichrist, of Rome, for the Slauchter of the Cardinall foirsaid.

II. That thay sould deliver Pledges for Deliverie of that Hous, how sone the Absolutioun foirsaid was delivered unto thame.

III. That thair Freindis, Familiares and Servands, and utheris to thame pertaining, sould nevir be persewed in the Law, nor by the Law be the Authoritie, for the Slauchter

Slauchter foirsaid. Bot that thay sould bruik Comoditeis spirituall ar temporall, quhatsoever they possessed befor the said Slauchter, evin as gif it never had bein comitted.

IV. *That thay of the Castell sould keip the Erle of Arrane, so lang as thair Pledges war kept.*

And suche lyk Artickles liberal aneuche, for thay never myndit to keip Word of thame, as the Ischew did declair.

The Appointment maid, all the Godlie war glad; for sum Esperance thay had, that thairby God's Word sould sumquhat budde, as indeed so it did. For *Johne Rough* (who sone efter the Cardinalis Slauchter entered within the Castell, and had continewed with thame the wholle Siege) began to preiche in *St. Androis*; and albeit he was not the moift leirned, yit was his Doctrine without Corruptioun; and thairfore weill lyked of the Pepill. At the Pasche efter, anno 1547. come to the Castell of *St. Androis* *Johne Knox*, quho wearied of removing from Plaice to Plaice, be Resfone of the Persecutioun that came upoun him by this Bischope of *St. Androis*, wes determined to have left *Scotland*, and to have visited the Schooles of *Germanie* (of *England* than he had no Plefoure, be Resfone that the Popis Name being surpressed, his Laws and Corruptiounis remainit in full Vigor) bot becaus he had the Cair of sum Gentilmenis Children, whome certane Yeirs he had nurisched in Godlines, thair Fathers solicited him to go to *St. Androis*, that hiself might have the Benefit of the Castell, and thair Children the Benefite of his Doctrine; and so, we say, come he the Tyme foirsaid to the said Plaice, and having in his Cumpanie *Francis Douglas* of *Langnudrie*, *George* his Brother, and *Alexander Cockburne*, then eldest Sone to the Laird of *Ormistoun*, began to exercis thame efter his accustomed Maner. Befyidis thair *Gramar*, and uther humane Authoris, he red unto thame ane Catechisme, Accompt quhairof he caussit thame gif publicklye in the Paroche Kirk of *St. Androis*. He red mairover unto thame the Evangell of *Johne*, proceeding quhair he left at his departing frome *Langnudrie*, quhair befor his Residence was; and that Lecture he red in the Chapell within the Castell, at a certane Hour. They of the Plaice, bot especiallie *Mr. Henry Balnaveis* and *Johne Rounge* Preicheour, perceaving the Maner of his Doctrine, began earnestly to travell with him, that he wald tak the preiching Place upoun him. Bot he utterlye refusit, alledging, *That he wald not rin quhair God had not callit him*; meaning that he wald do nothing without a lawfull Vocation. Whereupoun they privelye amonges thameseltes advising, having with thame in Cumpany *Sir David Lindeisay* of the Mount, they concludit, that thay wald give a Charge to the said *Johne*, and that publicklye be the Mouthe of thair Preicheour. And so upoun a certane Day, a Sermone had of the Elecioun of Ministeris, 'what Power the Congregatioun, 'how small that evir it was, passing the Number of two or three, had above 'ony Man, in quhome thay suppoised and espyed the Giftis of God to be, and 'how dangerous it was to refus, and not to heir the Voice of suche as de- 'fyir to be instructed.' These and uther Heidis, we say, declaired; the said *Johne Rounge* Preicheour directed his Words to the said *Johne Knox*, saying, *Brother, ye sall not be offendit, albeit that I speik unto you, that whiche I have in Charge, evin from all theis that ar heir present, whiche is this. In the Name of God, and of his Sone Jesus Christ, and in the Name of theis that presentlie callis yow by my Mouthe, I charge yow, that ye refus not this kolie Vocation, bot*

as ye tender the Glorie of God, the Incresce of Christis Kingdome, the Edificatioun of your Brethren, and the Comfort of me, quhome ye understand weill aneuch to be oppressed by the Multitude of Labours; that ye tak upoun yow the publick Office and Charge of Preaching, evin as ye luik to avoyd Godis bevie Displeisur, and desyre that he sall multiplie his Graices with yow. And in the End he said to theis that war present, *Was not this your Chairge unto me? And do ye not approve this Vocation?* They answerit, *It was, and we approve it.* Quhairat the said Jobne abashed, brust furthe in maist abundant Tearis, and withdrewd himself to his Chalmer; his Countenance and Behaviour from that Day, till the Day that he was compelled to present himself to the publick Plaice of Preiching, did sufficientlie declair the Greif and Trobill of his Hæirt; for no Man saw ony Signe of Mirthe of him, nether yit had he Pleisour to accompany ony Man, monye Dayis togither.

The Necessitie that causit him to enter in the publick Plaice, besydis the Vocation foirsaid, was Deane Jobne Anan, a rottin Papiſt, had lang trublit Jobne Rouche in his Preiching: The said Jobne Knox had fortified the Doctrine of the Preicheour by his Pen, and had beattin the said Deane Jobne from all Defences, that he was compellit to flie to his last Refuge, that is, to the Authority of the Church, *Whiche Authority*, said he, *damnethe all Lutheranes and Heretikes; and thairfor he neidit no farder Disputatioun.* Jobne Knox answerit, *Befoir that we hald ourselves, or that ye can prove us sufficientlie convict, we must desyne the Church, by the rycht Nottes gevin to us in God's Scriptures of the trew Church.* *We must decern the immaculate Spous of Jesus Christ, frome the Mother of Confusioun, spirituall Babilone, leist that imprudentlie we embrace a Harlate insteid of the chaste Spous.* *Yea, to speik it in playne Words; least that we submitte ourselves to Sathan, thinking that we submitte ourselis to Jesus Christ: For, as for your Romane Kirk, as it is now corrupted, and the Authority thairof, quhairon standis the Hope of your Victorie, I no more dout, bot that it is the Synagoge of Sathane, and the Heid thairof, callit the Paip, to be that Man of Syn, of quhome the Apostill speikis, than that I doutte, that Jesus Christ sufferit by the Procurement of the visible Church of Jerusalem.* *Yea, I offer myself by Word or Writte, to prove the Romane Church this Day, farder degenerate frome the Puritie, whiche was in the Dayis of the Apostles, then war the Church of the Jewis from the Ordinance gevin be Moyses, quhen they consentit to the innocent Deithe of Jesus Christ.* Theis Wordis war spokin in oppin Audience in the Pariche Church of St. Androis, efter that the said Deane John Anan had spokin quhat it pleisit him, and had refusit to dispute. The Pepill heiring the Offer, cryit with ane Consent, *We cannot all reid your Wryttingis, bot we may all heir your Preachingis: Thairfor we requir you in the Name of God, that ye will lat us heir the Probatioun of that whiche ye have affirmit: For if it be trew, we have bein miserablie deceavit.* And so the nixt Sunday was apointit to the said Jobne to expres his Mynd in the publick preicheing Plaice, whiche Day aprocheing, the said Johnne tuk the Text writtin in Daniell the vii. Chapter, beginning thus. *And ane uther King sall rys efter thame, and sall be unlyik to the first, and he sall subdew thrie Kingis, and sall speik Wordis against the moist Heich, and sall consume the Sanctis of the moist Heich, and think that he may change Tymes and Laws, and thay sall be gevin unto his Handis, untill a Tyme, and Tymes, and dividing of Tymes.* In the Beginning of the Sermone, he schew the grit Love of God towards his Church, quhome it pleisit to foirwarne of Dangers to come sa mony Yeirs befoir thay came to

pas. He brevelie intreattit the *Eſſay* of the *Iſralitis*, quho then war in Bondage in *Babilon*, for the moift Part; and maid a ſchoit Dacours of the four Impyres, the *Babiloniane*, the *Perſiane*, that of the *Greekis*, and the fourt of the *Romanes*, in the Deſtruſtioun quhairof rais up that laſt Beift, whiche he affirmit to be the *Romane* Church; for to none uther Power that evn hes yit bein, do all the Notes that God hes ſchawin to the Propheet apertein, except to it allone, and unto it thay do ſo properlie apertein, that ſuche as ar not more than blind, may cleirly ſie thame. Bot beſoir he began to oppin up the Corruptioun of the Papiſtrie, he deſyned the trew Kirk, ſchew the trew Notes of it, wherupoun it was buildit, quhy it was the Pillar of Veritie, and quhy it could not erre, to wit, *Becauss it hard the Voice of the awin Paſtor Jeſus Chriſt, wald not heir a Stranger, nether yit wald be caryed about with everie Kynd of Doctrine.*

Everie ane of thes Heids ſufficientlie declaired, he enterit upoun the contrair, and upoun the Nottes gevin in his Text, he ſchew that the Spirit of God in the New Teſtament gave to this King uther Names, to wit, *The Man of Sin*, the *Antichriſt*, the *Whore of Babilon*. He ſchewit, That this *Man of Sin*, or *Antichriſt*, was not to be reſtrayned to the Perſone of ony ane Man onlie, no more than be the fourt Beift was to be underſtude the Perſone of ony ane Emperour. Bot be ſick Names the Spirit of God wald foirwarne his choiſin of a Body and a Multitude, having an wicked Heid, quha ſould not onelie be ſinfull his ſelf, bot that alſo ſould be Occaſioun of Sinne to all that ſould be ſubject unto him (as Chriſt Jeſus is the Cauſ of Juſtice to all the Members of his Bodie) and is callit the *Antichriſt*, that is to ſay, ane contrair to Chriſt, becaus that he is contrair unto him in *Lyif, Doctrine, Lawes, and Subjeſtis*. And thair begane he to diſciphir the *Lyifis* of divers *Paipes*, and the *Lyifes* of the *Schavelingis* for the moſt Parte: Thair Doctrine and Lawis he planelie provit to repugne directlie to the Lawis and Doctrine of God the Father, and of Chriſt Jeſus his Sone. This he provit by conſerring the Doctrine of Juſtifiſtioun expreſſit in the Scriptures, whiche teiche that *Man is juſtified be Fayth onlie*; *That the Bluid of Jeſus Chriſt purgis us from all our Sinis*: And the Doctrine of the Papiſts, whiche attributed Juſtifiſtioun to the Warkis of the Law, yea, to the Warkis of Menis Inventioun, as Pilgrimages, Pardonis, and uther ſick Baggage. That the Papiſticall Lawes repugnit to the Lawes of the Evangell, he provit by the Lawes maid of Obſervatioun of Dayis, abſteining frome Meatis, and from Mariage, whiche Jeſus Chriſt maid frie; and the forbidding quhairof, Sanct *Paul* callis the *Doctrine of Devills*. In handling the Nottes of that Beift gevin in the Text, he willit Men to conſider giff thes Nottes (*Thair ſall ane aris, inlyik unto the uther, having a Mouthe ſpeiking grit Thingis and blaſphemous*) could be applyed to ony uther, bot to the Paip, and his Kingdome: For giff theſe, ſaid he, be not grit Words and blaſphemous, *the Succeſſour of Petir, the Vicar of Chriſt, The Heid of the Kirk, moſt bolie, moſt bliſſit, that cannot erre; that may mak rycht a wrang, and wrang of rycht; that of nothing may mak ſumquhat; and that had all Veritie in the Schryne of his Breiſt; yea, that hes Power of all, and none Power of him.* Nay, nocht to ſay, *That he dois wrang, althoch he draw Ten thouſand Millioun of Saullis with himſelf to Hell.* Gif thes, ſaid he, and many uther abill to be ſchawin in his awin Cannoun-Law, be not grit and blaſphemous Words, and ſick as nevir mortall Men ſpak beſoir, let the World juge. And yit, ſaid he, is thair ane maiſt evident of all, to wit, *Johne* in

his Revelatioun sayis, That the Merchandice of that *Babiloniane* Harlote, amongs uther Thingis, sall be the Bodeis and Saullis of Men. Now lat verie Papistis thameiselves juge, Gif evir ony befor thame, tuk upoun thame Power to relax the Paynes of thame that war in Purgatorie, as they affirme to the Pepill that daylie they do, by the Merittis of thair Mes, and of thair uther Triffellis. In the end, he said, Gif ony heir (and thair war present Mr. *Johne Mair*, the Universitie, the Sup-prior, and mony Channones, with sum Freiris of baith the Ordours) that will say, That I have aleagit Scriptures, Doctor, or Historie, utherwayes thane it is writtin, lat thame cum unto me with sufficient Witness, and be Confeirence I sall lat thame sie, not only the Originall quhair my Testimonies ar writtin, bot I sall prove, That the Wryttars men't as I have spokin. Off this Sermone, whiche was the first that evir *Johne Knox* maid in publict, was thair divers Bruittis: Sum said, utheris hued the Branches of Papistrie, bot he straike the at the Rute, to destroy the wholle. Utheris said, Gif the Doctors, and *Magistri nostri*, defend not now the Pape and his Awthoritie, whiche in thair awin Presence is so manifestlie impugnit, *The Devill have my Parte of him, and his Lawis bothe*. Utheris said, Mr. *George Wischeart* spak nevir so planelie, and yit he was brunt, evin so will he be. In the End utheris said, The Tirranie of the Cardinall maid not his Caus the better, nether yit the Suffering of Godis Servand maid his Caus the wors. And thairfor we wald counsaill yow and thame to provyde better Defences than Fyre and Sword; for it may be that ellis ye sall be disapointed; Men now have uther Eyis than thay had than. This Answer gave the Laird of *Nydre*, a Man fervent and uprycht in Religioun. The Bastard Bischope, quho was not yit execrated, consecrated they call it, wrait to the Sup-prior of St. *Androis*, quho (*sede vacante*) was Vicar General, That he wonderit that he sufferit sick Hereticall and Schismaticall Doctrin to be taucht, and not to oppone himself to the same. Upoun this rebuik, was a Conventioun of *Gray Freiris* and *Black Feindis* appointed, with the said Sup-prior Deane *Johne Windrame* in St. *Leonards* Yairds, quhairunto was first callit *Johne Roughe*, and certane Artickles red unto him. And thairefter was *Johne Knox* callit for. The Caus of thair Conventioun, and quhy that thay war callit, is exponit. And the Artickles war red, whiche war these.

I. No mortall Man can be the Head of the Church.

II. The Paipe is ane Antichryst, and so is no Member of Christis mysticall Bodie.

III. Man may nether mak nor devys a Religioun that is acceptabill to God, bot Man is bound to observe and keip the Religioun that fra God is reffarvit, without chopping or changing thair of.

IV. The Sacramentis of the New Testament, aucht to be ministrat as they war instituted by Christ Jesus, and practist be his Apostles, nothing aucht to be addit unto thame, nothing aucht to be diminishid frome thame.

V. The Mes is abhominabill Idolatrie, blasphemous to the Deyth of Christ, and a Prophanatioun of the Lordis Supper.

VI. Thair is no Purgatorie, in the whiche the Saullis of Men can nether be pyned or purged efter this Lyf. Bot Hevin restis to the saythfull, and Hell to the reprobate and unsaythfull.

VII. Praying for the deid is vane, and to the deid is Idolatrie.

VIII. Thair

VIII. *Thair is no Bischopis, except they preiche evin by thameselvois, without any Substitute.*

IX. *The Teindis by Godis Law do not apertein of Necessitie to the Kirkmen.*

The Strangenes, said the Sup-pryor, of these Artickles whiche ar gatherit furth of your Doctrine have movit us to call for yow, to heir your awin Answers. *Johne Knox* said, I for my Parte prais my God, that I sie so honorabill, and apearandlie so môdest and quiet ane Auditour: Bot becaus it is lang since that I have hard, that ye ar one that is not ignorant of the Treuthe, I man crave of yow in the Name of God, yea, and I appeill your Conscience befor that suppreame Juge, that gif ye think ony Artickle thair expressit, contrarious unto the Treuthe of God, That ye oppone your self plainlie unto it, and suffer not the Pepill thairwith to be disflavit. Bot, and if in your Conscience ye know the Doctrine to be trew, than will I crave your Patrocinie thairto; that by your Authoritie the Pepill may be movit the rather to beleve the Treuthe, quhairof mony doubtis, be resson of our Yeuthe. The Sup-pryour answerit, I cam not heir as a Juge, but onelie familiarlie to talk, and thairfoir I will nether allowe nor yit condemne. Bot gif ye list, I will resson.

The Sup-pryour.

Quhy may not the Kirk, said he, for gude Cauises devyis Ceremonies to decoir the Sacramentis, and utther Gods Service.

Johne Knox.

Becaus the Kirk aucht to do nothing, bot in Fayth, and aucht not to go befoir, bot is bound to follow the Voice of the trew Pastour.

The Sup-pryour.

It is in Fayth that the Ceremonies ar comandit, and they have proper Significatioun to help our Fayth, as the Hardis in Baptisme signifie the Roughnes of the Law, and the Oyle the Softnes of Gods Mercie; and lykewyis everie ane of the Ceremonies hes a godlie Significatioun; and, thairfoir they bothe proceed frome Fayth, and ar done into Fayth.

Johne Knox.

It is nocht ynoughe that a Man invent a Ceremonie, and then gif a Significatioun according to his Plesour. For so micht the Ceremonies of the Gentilles, and this Day the Ceremonies of *Mahomet* be mantained. Bot if ony Thing proceed frome Fayth, it moift have the Worde of God for the Assurance. For ye ar not ignorant, *That Fayth comes by hearing, and heaving by the Word of God.* Now gif ye will prove that your Ceremonies proceed frome Fayth, and do pleis God, ye muift prove that God in exprefs Wordis has comandit thame. Or ellis fall ye nevir prove that thay proceed frome Fayth, nor yet that thay pleis God; bot that thay ar Sin, and so displeis him, according to the Words of the Apostle, *Quhatsoever is not of Fayth is Sin.*

The Sup-prior.

Will ye bind us so straye, that we may do nothing without the expres Word of God. Qubath and I ask a Drink? Think ye that I Sin? And yit have I not God's Worde for me. This Answer gave he, as micht appeir, to schift over the Argument upoun the Frear, as that he did.

Johne Knox.

I wald we fould not jett in so grave a Matter, nether wald I that ye fould begin to illude the Treuthe with Sophistrie; and if ye do, I will defend me the best that I can. And first to your drinking, I say, that gif ye ether eat or drink without Assurance of Goddis Word, that in so doing ye displeis God, and ye sinne into your verie eattin and drinking. For sayis not the Apostle, speaking evin of Meit and Drink, *That the Creatures ar sanctifeid unto Man, evin be the Word and be Prayer.* The Word is this, *All Thingis ar cleane to the cleane.* Now lat me heir this muich of your Ceremonies, and I fall give yow the Argument; bot I wonder that ye compair Thingis prophane and holie Thingis so indefcreitlie togidder. The Questiou was not, nor is not of Meat or Drink, quhairinto the Kingdome of Hevin consistis not. But the Questiou is of God's trew worschipping, without the quhilk we can have no Societie with God. And heir it is douttit, if we may tak the same Freedom in the using of Christs Sacramentis, that we may do in eattin and drinking. One Meat I may eat, ane uther I may refuis, and that without Scruple of Conscience. I may change ane with ane uther, evin als oft as I pleis. Quhither may we do the same in Matteris of Religioun? May we cast away quhat we pleis, and reteane quhat we pleas? If I be weill remem-berit, *Moyse*, in the Name of God, sayis to the Pepill of *Jsrael*; *All that the Lord thy God comandis the to do, that do thou to the Lord thy God, adde nothing to it, diminische nothing from it.* Be this Reulle, think I, that the Kirk of Christ will mesure Godis Religioun, and not be that whiche seamethe gud in thair awin Evis.

The Sup-priour.

Forgeve me, I spak it bot in Mowes, and I was dry. And now Father, said he, to the Freir, follow the Argument, ye have hard what I said, and qubath is answerit to me agane.

Arbugkill Gray-Freir.

I fall prove playnelie that Ceremonies ar ordaynit by God.

Johne Knox.

Suche as God hes ordeynit we allow, and with Reverence we use thame. Bot the Questiou is of those that God hes not ordeyned, suche as in Baptisme, ar Spittill, Salt, Candell, Cuid, (except it be to keip the Bairne frome cauld) Hardis, Oyle, and the rest of the Papistcail Inventionis.

Arbug-

Arbugkill.

I will evin prove theis that ye damn to be ordeyned of God.

John Knox.

The Pruif thairof I wald glaidlie heir.

Arbugkill.

Sayis not Sanct Paull, that ane uther Fundatioun then Jesus Christ, may no Man lay. But upoun this Fundatioun, sum build Gold, Silver, and precious Stanis, some Hay, Stubble, and Wode. The Gold, Silver, and precious Stanis ar the Ceremonies of the Church, whiche do abyde the Fyre, and consumes not away, &c. This Place of Scripture is moit playne, sayis the foolische Feinde.

John Knox.

I prays my God, throughe Jesus Christ, for I find his Promeis sure, trew and stabill Christ Jesus biddis us, *not feir quhen we sal be callit befoir Men, to gif Confessioun of his Treuthe*; for he promeises, *That it sal be gevin unto us in that Hour, what we sal speak*. Gif I had socht the haill Scriptures, I could not have produced a Plaice moir proper for my Purpois, nor moir potent to confound yow. Now to your Argument; the Ceremonies of the Kirk, say ye, *ar Gold, Silver and precious Stanis*, becaus thay ar abill to abyid the Fyir: Bot I wald leirne of yow, quhat Fyre it is which your Ceremonies dois abyid? And in the mein Tyme, till that ye be advyisit to answer, I will schaw my Mynd, and mak an Argument against your's upoun the same Text. And *first*, I say, That I have hard this Text adduced for a Prove of Purgatorie; bot for Defence of Ceremonies I never hard, nor yit red it. But omitting quhidder ye understand the Mynd of the Apostle or not, I mak my Argument, and say, That which may abyid the Fyre, may abyid the Word of God; bot your Ceremonies may not abyid the Word of God: *Ergo*, They may not abyid the Fyre; and if they may not abyid the Fyre, then ar they not Gold, Silver nor precious Stones. Now if ye find any Ambiguitie in this *Tearme, Fyre*, quhilk I interpret to be the Word, find ye me ane uther Fyre, by the which Things buildit upoun Christ Jesus sould be tryed then God and his Wurde, whiche bothe in the Scriptures ar callit Fyre, and I sall correct my Argument.

Arbugkill.

I stand not thairupoun; bot I deny your Minor, to wit, that our Ceremonies may not abyid the Tryall of God's Worde.

John Knox.

I prove. That abyidis not the Tryell of God's Word, whiche God's Word condemne the; bot God's Word condemnis your Ceremonies: Thairfeir, they do not abyid the Tryell thairof. But as a Theif abyidethe the Tryell of the

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Inqueist, and thairby is condemned to be hangit; evin so may your Ceremonies abyid the Tryell of Godis Word, bot not ellis. And now in few Wordis to mak plain that quhairin ye may seim to dout, to wit, that Godis Word damnethe your Ceremonies it is evident, for the plain and strait Comandement of God is, *Not that Thing which appeireth gude in thy Eyes, fall thou do to the Lord thy God, bot quhat the Lord thy God hes comanded the, that do yow; adde nothing to it, diminische nothing from it.* Now unless ye be abill to prove, that God hes comanded your Ceremonies, this his former Comandement will damne bothe yow and thame.

The Freir sumquhat abashed quhat first to answer, quhill he wanders about in the Mist, he fallis in a foull Myrre; for alleging, that we may not be so bound to the Word, he affirmed, *That the Apostles had not ressavit the Holie Ghost, quhen they did writte thair Epistles; bot efter thay ressurvit him, and than they did ordane the Ceremonies.* Few wald have thoicht, that so leirned a Man wald have gevin so foolische ane Answer; and yit it is evin as trew, as he buir a gray Coulle. *John Knox* hearing the Answer, start and said, *Gif that be trew, I have long bein in ane Errour, and I think I fall die thairintill.* The Supprior said to him, *Father, quhat say ye! God forbid that ye affirme that, for then fairweill the Ground of our Fayth.* The Frier astonied, maid the best Schiff that he could to correct his Fault, bot it wald not be. *John Knox* brocht him of it agane to the Ground of the Argument: Bot he wald nevir answer directlie, bot evir fled to the Authoritie of the Church. Quhair to the said *John* answerit, efter thane once, *That the Spous of Christ had neither Power nor Authoritie aganis the Word of God.* Then said the Freir, *Gif so be ye will leive us no Kirk. Indeed, said the uther, in David I reid, That thair is a Churche of the Malignantis, for he sayis, Odi ecclesiam malignantium; that Churche ye may have without the Word, and doing mony Thingis directlie fechtig against the Word of God; of that Churche if ye will be, I can not impede yow. But as for me, I will be of none uther Churche, except of that which hathe Christ Jesus to be thair Pastour, whiche heirs his Voice, and will not heir a Stranger.*

In this Disputatioun mony uther Thingis war merilie skoft over: For the Freir efter his Fall could speik nothing to a Purpois. For Purgatorie he had no better Pruif, but the Authoritie of *Virgil*, in the sext of his *Æneides*, and the Paynes thair of to him was ane evil Wyif. How *John Knox* answerit that and mony uther Thingis, himself did witnes, in a Treatise that he did wryit in the Galayes, conteing the Soum of his Doctrine, and the Confessioun of his Fayth, and send it to his Familiares in *Scotland*, with his Exhortatioun, that thay sould continew in the Treuthe, whiche they had professit, notwithstanding ony warldlie Adversitie that micht ensue thair of. This muche of that Disputatioun have we inserted heir, to the Intent, that Men may sie how that Sathan evir travellis to obscur the Licht; and yit how that God, be his Power working in his weak Veschellis, confounds his Craft, and discloises his Darknes.

Efter this the Papistis nor Freiris had not grit Hairt of farder Disputatioun or Ressoning, bot inventit ane uther Schiff, which apeired to proceed frome Godlines; and it was this. Everie leirned Man in the Abbay, and in the Universitie sould preiche in the Paroche Kirk his *Sunday* about. The Supprior began, followit the Officiall, callit *Spittell* (Sermones penned) to offend no Man, followed all the rest in thair Rankis: And so *John Knox* smelled out the Craft, and in his Sermones, whiche he maid upoun the Weak Dayis, he
prayed

prayed to God, That thay sould be als busie in preiching, quhair thair sould be mair Mister of it then thair was thair then. *Alwayis*, said he, *I prayis God, that Christ Jesus is preacked, and nothing is said publickly against the Doctrine that ye have hard; if in my Absens they sall speak any Thing, which in my Presence thay do not, I protest, that ye suspend your Judgment, till that it pleis God ye heir me againe.*

God so assisted his weak Souleour, and so bleffit his Labouris, that not onlie all thois of the Castell, bot also a grit Number of the Toun openlie professit, by Participatioun of the Lord's Table, in the same Puritie that now it is ministrat in the Kirks of *Scotland*, with that same Doctrine that he had taucht unto thame. Amongis quhome was he that now ether reullis or ells misrewllis *Scotland*, to wit, Sir *James Balsor*, sometimes callit *Maister James*, the cheif and principall Protestant, that than was to be found in this Realme. This we wryte, becaus that we have hard, that the same Mr. *James* alleges, that he was nevir of this our Religioun; bot that he was brocht upe in *Martyn's* Opinioun of the Sacrament, and thairfor he cannot communicate with us. Bot his awin Conscience, and two hundreth Witnesles besyidis know, that he lies, and that he was ane of the cheif (if he had not bein efter Cuppis) that wald have gevin his Lyif, gif Men nicht credite his Wordis, for Defence of the Doctrine, that the said *Johne Knox* taucht. Bot albeit *that thos that nevir war of us*, (as none of *Monequhaim's* Sons have schewed thamefelfis to be) *departe frome us*, it is no grit Wonder: For it is proper and naturall, that the Children followe the Father; and lat the Godlie beware of that Race and Progenie; for if in thame be eyther Feir of God, or Love of Vertew, farder than the present Comoditie perswadis thame, Men of Judgment ar deceaved. But to returne to our Historie.

The Preistis and Bischopis intraged at all these Proceedingis that war in Sanct *Androis*, ran now upoun the Governour, now upoun the Quein, now upoun the wholle Counsaill; and thair mychte have bein hard Complayntis and Cryis, *What ar we doing? Sall we suffer this baill Realme to be infected with pernicious Doctrine? Fy upoun yow, and fy upoun us.* The Quein and Maister *d'Osell*, quho then was a *secretis mulierum* in the Court, comforted thame, and willit thame to be quiet; for they sould sie Remedie ere it war long. And so was provin indeid; for upoun the penult of *Junii* apeirit in the sicht of the Castell of *St. Androis* twentie ane *Frenche* Gallayis, with a grit Armie, the lyik quhair of was nevir sein in that Firthe befor. This treasonabill Meane had the Governour, the Bischope, the Quein, and Monsieur *d'Osell*, under the Appointment drawin. Bot to excuse thair Treffone, eight Dayis befor, they hed presented unto thame ane Absolutioun, as sent from *Rome*, conteining, efter the Aggravatioun of the Cryme, this Claus, *Remittimus irremissibile*, that is, We remit the Cryme that cannot be remitted; whiche considerit be the maist of the Company that was in the Castell, Answer was gevin, *That the Governour and Counsaill of the Realme, had promiseit unto thame ane sufficient and assured Absolution, which that appeired not to be; and thairfor culd they not deliver the Hous, nouthir thought they that ony ressonabill Man wald require thame so to do, considering that Promeis was not keipit unto thame.* The next Day efter that the Galayis arryved, they summoned the Hous, whiche being denyed, becaus they knew thame no Magistratis in *Scotland*; they prepared for Siege. And first, They began to asault by Sey, and schot two Dayis: Bot thair of they nether gat Advantage nor Honour; for they dang down the Sklaittis of Houles,

bot nether flew Man, nor did Harme to ony Wall; bot the Castell handlit thame so, that *Sancta Barbara* (the Gunneris Goddesse) helpit thame no-thing; for they lost mony of their Rowers, Men chayned in the Galayis, and sum Souldiouris bayth be Sey and Land; and farder ane Galay that aproched neirar nor the rest, so was doung with Cannoun, and uther Ordinance, that sche was stopped under Water, and so almoist drowned, and so had bein, war not that the rest gave hir Sucours in Time, and drew hir first to the west Sands, without the Schotte of the Castell, and thairefter to *Dundie*, quhair they remained, till that the Governour, who was then at the Siege of *Lange-boipe*, came unto thame, with the rest of the *Frenche* Factioun. The Siege by Land was confirmed about the Castell of *St. Androis*, the 28. Day of *Julie*. The Trenches war cast, Ordinance was planted upoun the Abbay Kirk, and upoun Sanct *Saluator's* College, and yit was the Stiple thair of burnt, which so noyed the Castell, that nether could they keip their Block-hous, the Sey-tour Heid, nor the west Wall; for in all these Places Men war slayne by grit Ordinance; yea, they mountit the Ordinance so heiche upoun the Abbay Kirk, that they micht discover the Ground of the Clois in divers Places. Mairover within the Castell wes the Pest, and divers thairin dyed, whiche mair affrayit sum that was thairin, then did the externell Force without. Bot *Johne Knox* was of ane uther Jugment: For he evir sayd, *That thair corrupte Lyif could not escaip Punishment of God*: And that wes his continuell Advertisment, fra the Tyme that he was callit to preiche. Quhen thay triumphed of thair Victorie, the first twentie Dayis they had mony prosperous Chances, he lamented, and evir said, *They saw nochte quhat he saw*. When they braggit of the Force and Thicknes of thair Wallis, he said, *They sould be but Ege-schellis*. When they vanted, *England* will reskew us, he said, *Ye sall not see thame; bot ye jall be deliverit in your Enemies Handis, and sall be caryed unto ane strange Cuntrey*.

Upon the penult of *Julie* at *Nicht*, was the Ordinance planted for the Batterie fourtein Cannonis, quhair of four war Cannonis Royall, callit doubill Cannonis, besydis uther Peices. The Batterie began at four Houres in the Morning, and befor ten Houres of the Day the haill South Quarter, betwix the Fore-Tour and the Eist Blokhous, was made saltabill. The lower Trench was condemned, divers slain into it, and the Eist Blokhous was schotte off fra the rest of the Plaice betwixt ten Hours and allevin. There fell a Schour of Rayne that continewed neir ane Hour, the lyik quhair of had seldome bein sein; it was so vahement that no Man mycht abyd without a Hous; the Cannones war left allone. Some within the Castell war of Jugment, that Men sould have isched, and put all in the Handes of God; but becaus that *William Kirkcaldie* was comoning with the Pryour of *Cappua*, who had the Comissioun of that Jorney frome the King of *France*, nothing was interpryfit, and so was Appointment maid, and the Castell randerit upoun *Setterday* the last of *Julie*. The Heids of the Appointment war, *That the Lyves of all within the Castell sould be saved, alsweill Inglishche as Scottische; that thay sould be savlie transported to France; and in caice, that upoun Conditounis, that by the King of France sould be offered unto thame, they could not be content to remane in Service and Fredome thair, they sould, upon the King of France his Expens, be savelie convoyit to quhat Cuntrey they wald require, other then Scotland*. With the Governour they wald have nathing ado, nether yit with anie *Scottische* Man; for thay had all trayterouslie betrayit thame, *Whiche*, said the Laird of *Grange* elder (a Man simple, and of most stout Courage)

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I am assured God will revenge, or it be lange. The Galayis, weil furnished with the Spoyll of the Castell foirsaid, efter certane Dayis returnit to *France*. And eschaiping a grit Danger, (for upoun the Back of the Sands they all chopped) they arryved first at *Felcam*, and thairefter past up the Water of *Sequan*, and lay betoir *Rowane*; quhair the principal Gentilmen, quho luckit for Fredome, were disperfed, and put in sundrie Prisonis; the rest war left in the Gallayis, and there miserablie entreatit, amongest quhom the foirsaid Mr. *James Balfour* was, with his two Brethren *David* and *Gilbert*, Men without God; which we write, becaus we heir that the said Mr. *James*, principall Misgyider now of *Scotland*, denyis that he had aniy Thing to do with the Castell of *St. Androis*, or yet that evir he was in the Gallayis. Then was the Joy of the *Papists*, bothe in *Scotland* and *France*, even in full Perfection for this was thair Sang of Triumphe.

*Preistis content yow now, Priestis content yow now;
For Normond and his Cumpanie hes fillit the Gallayis fow.*

The Paip wrait his Letteris to the King of *France*, and so did he to the Governour of *Scotland*, thanking thame haitlie for talking Paines to revenge the Deithe of his kynd Creature the Cardinall of *Scotland*, desyrand them to continew in thair begun Severitie, that such Things after sould not be attempted: And so war all those that war deprehendit in the Castell, damned to perpetuell Prison. And so jugit the Ungodly that efter that in *Scotland* sould Christ Jesus nevir have triumphed. One Thing we can not pass by; From *Scotland* was sent ane famous Clerk, (lauche not Reader) Mr. *Johne Hamiltone* of *Milburne*, with Credite to the King of *France*, and unto the Cardinall of *Lorane*, and yet had nether *Frenche* nor *Latin*, and sum say his *Scotische* Toung was not verie gude. The Soum of all his Negotiatioun was, that thois of the Castell sould be scharplie handlit; in whiche Sute he was heard with Favours, and was dispatched fra the Court of *France* with Letteris, and grit Credite, whiche that famous Clerk forget by the Way; for he passing up to the Craig of *Dumbartane*, befoir his Letteris were deliverit, he brack his Neck; and so God tuk away a proude ignorant Enemie. But now to our Historie. These Thingis against Promeis (bot Princes have no Fidilite farder than for thair awin Advantage) done at *Rowane*, the Galayis departed to *Nances* in *Bartanzie*, quhair upoun the Water of *Lore* they lay the haill Winter.

In *Scotland* that Summer was nothing bot Myrthe; for all gade with the Preistis at thair awin Plesure. The Castell of *St. Androis* was rased to the Ground, the Blokhous thairof cast down, and the Wallis round about demolished. Quhidder this was to fulfill thair Law, whiche comandis Places quhair Cardinallis ar slain so to be used; or ellis for Feir that *Ingland* sould have takin it, as efter they did *Brochtie Craig*, we remitt it to the Juge-ment of sick as was of Counsaill.

The sam Yeir in the Begining of *September* enterit into *Scotland* ane Armie of Ten thousand Men frome *Ingland* by Land, and sum Schippis with Ordinance came by Sey. The Governour and the Bischope heirop advertesit, gatherit together the Forces of *Scotland*, and assemblit at *Edinburgh*. The Protectour of *Ingland*, with the Erle of *Warwick*, and thair Armie, remained at *Prestoun*, and about *Prestounpantis*; for they had certane Offeris to be proponit

unto the Nobilitie of *Scotland*, concerning the *Prömeis* befor maid by thame, unto the whiche King *Harie* befor his Deithe gentillie required thame to stand fast; and if they so wald do, of him nor of his Realme thay sould have no Trubill, bot the Helpe and the Comforte that he could mak thame in all Things lawfull. And heirupoun was there a Letter direct unto the Governour and Counsaill, which cuming to the Handis of the Bischope of *St. Andrews*, he thought it could not be for his Advantage, that it sould be divulgate; and thairfor by his Craft it was suppressed.

Upoun the *Friday* the Sevinth of *September*, the *Inglische* Armie marched towards *Leyth*, and the *Scottis* Armie marched from *Edinburgh* to *Inereske*. The haill *Scottis* Armie was not assemblit, and yet the skirmishing begane, for nothing was concludit but Victory without Straik. The Protectour, the Erle of *Warwick*, the Lord *Gray*, and all the *Inglische* Captanes, war playand at *Dyce*: No Men war stouter nor the Preistis and Chanones, with thair shavin Crounis and black Jackes. The Erle of *Warwick* and the Lord *Gray*, quha had the cheif Chairge of the Horsmen, perceaving the Host to be molested with the *Scottis* Pricheris, and knowing that the Multitude war neither under Order nor Obedience, (for they war divided fra the great Army) sent furth certane Troupes of Horsmen, and some of thare Borderaris, eyther to fetcht thame, or ellis to put thame out of thare Syght, so that they mycht not annoy the Host. The Skarmische grewe hot, and at lenth the *Scottishmen* gave back, and fled without gane Turne. The Cheafe continewed far, bayth towards the East and towards the Weast; in the whiche mony war slayne, and he that now is Lord *Home* was tane, whiche was the Occasion that the Castell of *Home* was after randered to the *Inglischemen*. The Lose of these Men neyther moved the Governour nor yit the Bischope his Bastard Brother, they sould revenge the Mater weall anewch upoun the Morne; for they war Hands anew, (no Word of God) the *Englische* Heretykis they had no Faces, they wald not abyde.

Upon the *Setterday* the Armyis of both Sydis past to array. The *Englische* Army taiks the mydle Parte of *Fawfsyde* Hill, having thare Ordinance planted befor thame, and having thare Schippes and two Galayis brought as neir the Land as Watter wald serve. The *Scottische* Army stood first in ane ressonable Strenth and good Ordour, having betwix thame and the *Englische* Army the Watter of *Esk* (otherwyse called *Mussilburgh* Watter.) But at lenth a Charge was gevin in the Governour's Behalf, with Sound of Trumpett, that all Men sould marche forwarde, and go over the Watter. Some say, that this was procured by the Abbote of *Dumfermelinge*, and Mr. *Hew Rig*, for Preservatioun of *Carbarry*. Men of Jugment lyiked not the Journey; for they thought it no Wisdome to leave thair Strenth. But Comandment upoun Comandment, and Charge upoun Charge was gevin, whiche urged thame so, that unwillingly they obeyed. The Erle of *Angus* being in the Vangard, had in his Company the Gentilmen of *Fyfe*, *Angus*, *Mernis*, and the West Land, with mony utheris that of Luif reforted unto him, and especiallie those that war Professours of the Evangell; for they suppoisit that *England* wald not have maid grit Pursuit of him. He past first throuche the Watter, and arrayed his Host direct befor the Enemies. Followed the Erle of *Huntlie*, with his Northland Men. Last come the Duik, haifing in his Company the Erle of *Argyll*, with his awin Freindis, and the Body of the Realme. The *Inglischemen* perceaving the Danger, and how that the *Scottischemen* intendit to have tane the Toppe of the Hill,

Hill, maid Haist to prevent the Perrell. The Lord *Gray* was comandit to gif the Charge with his Men of Armes, which he did, albeit the Armie was verie unlyklye; for the Erle of *Angus* Host stood even as a Wall, and receaved the first Assaulters upoun the Pointis of thair Speiris (whiche war longer than those of the *Inglschemen*) so rudelie, that tyistie Hors and Men of the first Rank lay deid at ones, without ony Hurt done to the *Scottische* Army, except that the Speiris of the former two Ranks war brokin; which Discomfiture receaved, the rest of the Horsmen sleade, yea, sum past beyond *Fasfyd* Hill. The Lord *Gray* himself was hurt in the Mouthe, and planely denyed to chaarge agane; for he said, *It is alyik to rune agains ane Wall*. The *Galayis* and the Schipis (and so did the Ordinance planted upoun the mydle Hill) schotte terrible; bot the Ordinance of the *Galayis* schuitting longis the *Scottis* Army frayed thame grettumlie. And quhill that everie Man laubouris to draw from the Northe, from quhence the Danger appeired, they begin to reill, and with that war the *Inglsche* Futemen merching fordward, albiet sum of thair Horsmen war upoun the Flycht. The Erle of *Angus* Armie stood still, luiking that ether the Erle of *Huntlie*, or the Duke, sould have recoutered the nixt Battell; but they had decreed, that the Favouers of *England*, and the Heretykis (as the Preistis called thame) and the *Inglschemen* sould parte it betwix thame for that Day.

The Fear ryfis, and at ane Instant thay whiche befoir war Victours, and war not yit assaulted with ony Force, except with Ordinance, as said is, cast from thame thair Speirs and fled; so that Godis Power was so evidentlie sene, that in ane Moment, yea, at ane instant Tyme, bothe the Armeis war fleing. The Schoute came frome the Hill, from these that hoped no Victorie upoun the *Inglsche* Parte; the Schoute ryfis, we say, *They flie, they flie*: But at the first it could not be beleved, till at the last it was clearlie sene, that all had gevin Backis, and then began the cruell Slauchter, whiche was gritter by Resone of the late Displeasour of the Men of Armes. The Chase and Slauchter lasted till neir *Edinburgh* upoun the ane Parte, and be-west *Dalkeyke* upoun the uther.

The Number of the Slayne upoun the *Scottes* Syid, war nye Ten thousand Men judged. The Erle of *Huntlie* was taikin and caryit to *London*: Bot he relevit himself, being Surtie for mony Ransomes, Honestlie or Unhonestlie, we know not, bot as the Bruit was, he used Policie with *England*. In that same Battel was slayne the Maister of *Erskin*, deirlye belovit of the Quein: For quhome sche maid grit Lamentatioun, and bure his Deythe mony Dayis in Mynd. When the Certaintie of the Discomfitour came, sche was in *Edinburgh*, abydding upoun Tyddingis. Bot with Expedition sche poistit that same Nycht to *Strivling*, with *Monsieur D'Osell*, who was als sleid as ane Fox guken his Hoill is smoiked. And thus did God tak the secound Revenge upoun the perjured Governour, withe suche as assistit him to defend ane unjust Quarrell; Albeit mony Innocents fell amongis the middes of the Wicked. The *Inglsche* Armie came to *Leyth*, and thair takin Ordour with thair Presoners and Spoyle, they returned with this Victorie, whiche thay luikit not for, to *England*. That Winter following war grit Hearschippis maid upoun all the Bords of Scotland, *Brocktie Craig* was tane be the *Inglschemen*, beseagit be the Governour, bot still keipit: And at it was slayne *Gawane*, the best of the *Haumiltonnis*, and the Ordinance left. Quhairupoun the *Inglschemen* incuraged, began to fortifie upoun the Hill above *Brocktie* Hous, whiche was callit, *The Fort of Brochtie*, and was very noysfoum to *Dundie*, whiche it brunt and

layd waste; and so did it the maist Parte of *Angus* that was not assured, and under Freindschip with thame.

That *Lanetrane* following was *Haddingtoun* fortifyed by the *Inglishmen*: The most Parte of *Louthiane*, from *Edinburgh* Eist, was ether assured or laid waist. Thus did God plague in every Quarter. Bot Men war Blind, and wald not, nor could not consider the Caus. The *Lairds Ormishoun* and *Brounstoun* war banished, and efter forsatt, and so war all thois of the Castell of *St. Andrews*. The sure Knowledge of the *Trubillis of Scotland* cuming to *France*, thair was prepared ane Navye and Armie. The Navy was such as nevir was sein to cum fra *France* for the Supporte of *Scotlande*; for besydis the *Gallayis*, being than Twentie twa in Number, they had Thrie scoir grit Schipis, besydis Vittalleris. How sone so evir they tuke the plaine Seyis, the Read *Lyon* of *Scotland* was displayed, and thay haldin as Rebellis unto *France*, (*suche Policie is no Falshood in Princes*) for gude Peice stude betwix *France* and *England*. And the King of *France* approved nothing that they did. The cheif Men to quhome the conducting of that Armie was comitted, war *Monsieur Dandelote*, *Monsieur de Termes*, and *Peir de Strois*. In thair Jorney they maid sum Heirscheip upoun the Coist of *England*, bot it was not greit. They arryved in *Scotland* in *May* anno 1549. The *Galayis* did visite the Forte of *Brochtie*, bot did no moir at that Time. Preparatiounis war maid for the Seige of *Haddingtoun*, bot it was another Thing that thay meint, as the *Ischew* declaired. The whole Bodie of the Realme assemblit, the Form of a Parliament was sett to be haldin thair, to wit, in the Abbay of *Haddingtoun*. The principall Heid was, the Mariage of the Princess (by thame befor contracted to King *Edward*) to the King of *France*, and of hir present Deliverie, be resson of the Danger that sche stude into, by the Invasioun of our auld Enemies of *England*. Sum war corrupted with Buddis, sum decevit by flattering Promeises, and sum for feir war compellit to consent; for the *Frenche* Souldearis war the Officiaris of Armes in that Parliament. The *Laird of Balcleuch*, a bludie Man, with mony Goddis Woundis, swore, *They that wald not consent sould do war*. The Governour gat the Ducherie of *Chattellarault*, with the Ordour of the Cokle, with a full Discharge of all Intromissiounis with King *James* the Fyift his Treasure and Substance quharsoevir, with Possessioun of the Castell of *Dumbartane*, till that *Ischew* sould be sein of the Queinis Body. With thos and uther Condiounis stude he content to sell his Soverane furth of his awin Handis, whiche in the End will be his Destruction; God thairby punisching his former Wickitnes, gif spedie Repentance prevent not Godis Jugmentis, whiche we hairtly wische. *Huntelie*, *Argyll*, and *Angus* war lyk-wys maid Knychtis of the Cockle; and for that and uther gude Deidis ressavit, thay sauld also thair Parte. Schortelie, none was found to resist that unjust Demand. And so was sche sauld to go to *France*, to the End, that in hir Youth, sche sould drink of that Likur that sould remain with hir all hir Lyfe tyme for a Plague to this Realme, and for her finall Destruction. And thairfoir, albeit that now a Fyre cumis out from hir, that consumis mony, lat no Man wonder, sche is Godis Hand, in his Displefour, punisching our former Ingratitude. Lat Men patientlie abyid, and turne unto thair God, and then fall he eyther destroy that Hure in hir Whuredome, or ellis he fall put it in the Hairtis of a Multitude to tak the same Vengeance upoun hir that hes bein tane of *Jesabell* and *Athalia*, yea and of utheris of quhome prophane Histories mak mentioun, for gritter Abhominatioun was nevir in the Nature of ony Wo-

man than is in hir, quhairof we have but sein onlie the Buds; but we will efter taist of the ryip Frute of hir Impitie, if God cutte not hir Dayis schort. But to returne to our Historie.

This Conclusioun takin, That our Quein, bot farder Delay, sould be deliverit to *France*, the Seige continewis, grit schuitting, bot no assaunting, and yit they had fair Occasioun offered unto thame; For the *Inglisimen* approcheing to the Toun, for the comforting of the beseigite, with Pouder, Vittuallis, and Men, lossit an Armie of sex thousand Men. Sir *Robert Brouis* was tane, and the maist Parte of the Borderers was eyther takin or slain. And so mycht the Toun justly have despairit of ony farder Succouris to have bein luikit for. Bot yit it held gude; for the stout Courage and prudent Government of Sir *James Wolfurde* Generall, quho so encouraged the haill Captanes and Souldiers, that thay determined to die upoun the Walls. Bot frome the Tyme that the *Frenche-men* had gottin the *Bone*, for the whiche the *Dogge barked*, the Pursuite of the Toun was slaw. The Seige was raysit, and sche was convoyed by the West Seyis to *France*, with four Galayis and sum Schipis. And so the Cardinal of *Lorane* gat hir in his keiping; a Morfell, I assure yow, meit for his awin Mouth.

We omit mony Thingis that occurrit in this Tyme, as the sitting down of the Schipe, callit, The Cardinall, the fairest Schippe in *France*, betwix Sr. *Colmes Inche* and *Graumond*, without ony Occasioun, except Negligence, for the Day was fair, and the Wedder calme, bot God wald schaw that the Countrey of *Scotland* can beir na Cardinalls. In this Tyme also was thair ane Combatte betwix the Galayis and the *Inglis* Schippis. They schotte franklie a quhille Ane *Ingliske* Schippe tuk Fyre, or ellis the Galayis had cumit schort Home, and, as it was, they fled without Mercie till that they war above St. *Colmes Inche*, the Captanis left the Galayis, and tuk a Forte maid upoun the Inche for thair Defence; bot the *Ingliske* Schippis maid no Persute, except that thay brunt the Cardinall, quhair that sche lay, and so the Galayis and the Galaymen did bothe eschaip.

Ordour was takin, that nixt *September*, sum Galayis sould remain in *Scotland*, and that the rest sould retourne to *France*, as that thay did all, except one, that was takin by ane *Ingliske* Schip, (by ane *Engliske* Schip onlie, we say) as that thay war passing betwix *Dover* and *Calyce*.

That Winter remainit Monsieur *de Termes* in *Scotland*, with the Bandis of *Frenche* Men; they fortified *Innerness*, to stay that the *Ingliske* Men sould not invaid *Edinburghe* and *Leythe*. Sum Skirmishes ther war betwix the one and the uther, bot no notable Thing done, excepte that the *Frenche* Men had almoist taikin *Haddingtoun*; the Occasioun quhairof was this.

The *Frenche* Men thinking thamselvis more then Maisters in all Partis of *Scotland*, and in *Edinburghe* principallie, thought they could do no Wrang to no *Scotiske* Man; for a certane *Frenche* Man deliverit ane Culverang to *George Tod Scottis* Man, to be stockit, quho bringing it throw the Streit, ane uther *Frenche* Man claimed it, and wald have rest it fra the said *George*; bot he resisted, alleging, that the *Frenche* Man did Wrang: And sa began Parties to assemble, alsweill to the *Scottiske* Man as to the *Frenche*; so that two of the *Frenche* Men war struckin down, and the rest chaiffed, from the Croce to the *Nudryes Wynd Heid*. The Proveist being upoun the Streit, apprehendit two of the *Frenche* Men, and was carying thame to the Tolbuyth: Bot frome Monsieur *d'Effies* Lugeing and Clois, ischit furthe *Frenche* Men, to

the Number of thrie scoir Personis, with drawin Swords, and resisted the said Proveist. Bot yit the Toun assembling repulsit thame, till that they came to the *Neyther-bow*; and thair Monsieur *la Chappell*, with the haill Bandis of *Frenche Men in Armes*, rencunterit the Proveist, and violentlie repulsit him, (for the Toun was without Weaponis for the maist Parte) and maid Invasioun upoun all that they met. And first in the Throte of the *Bow* war slayne, *David Kirk* and *David Barbour*, being at the Proveistis Back, and thairefter was slayne the said Proveist himself, being Laird of *Stemmous* and Captane of the Castell, *James Haumiltoun* his Sone, *William Chapman* a godlie Man, Mr. *Walter Stewart*, *William Purves*, and a Woman named *Elizabeth Stewart*; and thairefter taryit within the Toun by Force, frome fyve Hours, till efter sevin at Nycht, and than retyred to thair *Canongait*, as to thair Receptacle and Refuge.

The whole Toun, yea, the Governour and Nobilitie comoved at the Unworthines of this bald Attempt, cravit Justice upoun the Malefactors, or ells they wald tak Justice of the Haill. The Quein craftie ancuche, Monsieur *de Essie* and Monsieur *d'Osell* labourit for Pacificatioun, and did promeis, *That unless the Frenche Men by thameselfis allone suld do suche ane Act, as micht recompens the Wrang that they had done, that than thay sould not refus, bot that Justice sould be executed upoun thame to the Rigour.* Theis fair Wordis pleisit our Fuillies, and so war the *Frenche Bands* the nixt Nicht directed to *Hadingtoun*, to the whiche they approched a little efter Midnich, so secreitlie, that they war nevir espyed, till that the former war within the Bas Court, and the haill Company in the Church Yaird, not twa Pair of Buttis Lenthis distant from the Toun. The *Inglishe Souldearis* war all asleip, except the Watch, whiche was sklender, and yit the Schout ryises, *Bowes and Billis! Bowis and Billis!* whiche is a Significatioun of extreim Defence, to avoyd the present Danger in all Tounes of Ware. The affrayed aryises, Weaponis that first came to Hand serve for the Neid: One amongest mony came to the Eist Porte, quhair lay twa grit Peices of Ordinance, and quhair the Enemies war knawin to be, and cryis to his Fellowis that war at the Yet making Defence, *Ware befoir.* And so fyres a grit Peice, and thairefter ane uther, whiche God so conducted, that efter thame was no farder Pursuit maid; for the Bulletis redoundit frome the Wall of the *Frear Kirk*, to the Wall of *St. Catherenis Chapell*, whiche stude direct fornent it, and fra the Wall of the said Chapell, to the Wall of the said *Kirk* agane so oft, that thair fell moe then ane hundrethe of the *Frenche Men*, at these two Schottis onelie. They schotte oft, but the *Frenche Men* reteired with Diligence, and returned to *Edinburghe*, without Harme done, except the Distructioun of sum drinking Beir, whiche lay in the saids Chapell and Kirk: And this was Satisfactioun more than aneughe for the Slaughter of the said Captane, and Proveist, and for the Slauchter of suche as war slain with him. This was the Beginning of the *Frenche Fruites*.

This Winter, in the Time of *Chrisinnes*, was the Castle of *Home* recoverit frome the *Inglishe Men*, by the Negligence of the Captain named *Dudelie*. This Winter also did the Laird of *Rathe* moift innocentlie suffer, and efter was foirfalted, becaus that he wrait a Bill to his Sone *Johne Melvill*, who then was in *England*, whiche was alleged to have bein found in the Hous of *Ormistoun*: But mony suspected the Paukes and Craft of *Niniane Cockburne*, now callit Capetane *Ringyeane*, to quhome the said Letter was deliverit; bot howsoevir it was, they cruell Beistis, the Bischope of *St. Androis* and Abbote of

Dumefermeling

Dumfermeling, ceasit not, till that the Heid of the said Nobillman was stricken frome him; especiallie becaus that he was knawin to be ane that unfeinyedlie favoured the Treuthe of Godis Word, and was a grit Freind to thois that war in the Castill of *St. Androis*; of quhois Deliverance, and of Goddis wondrous Working with thame during the Time of thair Bondage, we man now speik, leift that in suppressing so notable a Work of God, we micht justlie be accusit of Ingratitude.

And *first*, The Principallis being put in fundrie Houses, as befoir we have said, greit Labouris war maid to mak thame have a gude Opinioun of the Mefs, bot cheiflie Travell was taikin upoun *Normound Leslie*, the Laird of *Grange*, and the Laird of *Pitmillie*, who war in the Castill of *Sheriffmouche*, that thay wald cum to the Mefs with the Captane, who answerit, *That the Captain had Comandment to keip thair Bodies, bot he had no Power to comand thair Consciences.* The Captane replyed, *That he had Power to comand and to compell thame to go whair he geid.* Thay answerit, *That to go to ony lawfull Plaiice with him, they wald not refus; bot to do ony Thing, which was against thair Conscience, they wald not, neyther for him, nor yit for the King.* The Captane said, *Will ye not go to the Mefs?* They answerit, *No; and gif ye wald compell us, yit will we displeis yow farder; for we sull so use ourselfis thair, that all thos that ar present sall know, that we dyspyte it.* These same Answers, and sumquhat schairper, *William Kirkcaldie*, *Peter Carmickell*, and suche as war with thame in *Mont Sanct Michell*, gave to thair Captane: For they said, *They wald not onelie hear Mefs every Day, bot that they wold helpe to say it, proxyding that thay micht stick the Preistis, or ellis thay wald not.* *Mr. Henry Balnawis*, who was in the Castell of *Rowen*, was maist schairpelie assaulted of all; for becaus he was jugit leirned (as he was, and is indeid) thairfoir leirned Men war appointit to travell with him, with whome he had mony Conflitcs. Bot God so evir assisted him, that thay departit confoundit, and he, by the Power of Godis Spreit, remained constant in the Treuth and Professioun of the sam, without ony wavering or declyning to Idolatrie. In the Presoun he wrait a maist profitabill Treatise of *Justificatioun*, and of the *Warks and Conversation of a justified Man*; but how it was suppressit we knaw not. These that war in the *Galayis* war threatnit with Torments, gif thay wald not gif Reverence to the Mefs; for at certane Tymes the Mefs was said in the *Galayis*, or ellis hard upoun the Schore in Presence of the Forfaris, bot they culd nevir mak the purest of that Cumpany to giv Reverence to that Idolle; yea, when upoun the *Sattirday*, they sang thair *Salve Regina*, the haill *Scottis Men* put on thair Capis, thair Hoodis, or suche Thingis as thay had to cover thair Heidis; and when that utheris war compellit to kiss a painted Brodde, whiche they callit, *Nostre Dame*, they war not preassed efter ones; for this was the Chance. Sone efter thair Arryvell at *Nances*, thair grit *Salve* was sung, and a glorious painted Ladie was brocht in to be kissit, and amongest utheris was presented to one of the *Scottis Men* then chainyeid. He gentillie said, *Truble me not; suche ane Idolle is accusit; and thairfoir I will not twiche it.* The Patrone, and the Arguesyn, with two Officers, having the cheif Chairge of all suche Matters, said, *Thow sall kandle it.* And so they violentlie thruist it to his Faice, and pat it betwix his Hands, who seing the Extremitie, tuke the Idolle, and advysitlie luiking about, he caist it in the Rever, and said, *Lat our Ladie now save hirself; sche is lycht aneucke, lat hir leirne to sweyme.* Efter that was no *Scottis Man* urgit with that Idolatrie.

These ar Thingis that appeir to be of no gritte Importance, and yit gif we do rightlie consider, they expresse the sam Obedience, that God requyred of his Pepill *Israell*, quhen that thay sould be carryed to *Babylon*; for he gave Chairge unto thame, that when thay sould sie the *Babylonianes* worship their Gods of Gold, Silver, Mettell and Woode, that thay sould say, *The Gods that have not maid the Heirvinis and Eirthe sall perische from the Heirvin, and out of the Eirthe*: That Confessioun gave that whole Number, during the Tyme of thair Bondage, in the which, wald God, they had continewed in thair Freedom; for then had not Maister *James Balfour* bein Officiall, neyther yit borne a Kape, for Plesour of the Bischope. Bot to proceed, the said Mr. *James* and *Johne Knox* being intill one Gallay, and being wondrous familiair with him, wald oft Tymes ask his Jugment, *Gif he thoicht that evir they sould be deliverit?* Whose Answer was ever, fra the Day that thay enterit into the Gallayis, *That God wald deliver thame frome that Bondage, to his Glorie, evin in this Lyif*. And laying betwix *Dundie* and Sanct *Androis*, the secound Tyme that the Galayis arrived to *Scotland*, the said *Johne Knox* being so extremly feik, that few hoiped his Lyif; the said Maister *James* willit him, to luik to the Land, and asked him, if he knew it? Who answerit, *Yis, I know it weil; for I sie the Steiple of that Plaiçe, quhair God first oppinit my Mouth in publick to his Glorie, and I ame fullie perswadit, how waik that evir I now appeir, that I sall not depart this Lyif, till that my Young sall glorifie his godlie Name in the same Plaiçe*. This reported the said Mr. *James*, in Presens of mony famous Witneses, mony Yeirs befor that evir the said *Johne* set his Fute in *Scotland*, this last Tyme to preiche.

William Kirkcaldie then of Grainge younger, *Petir Carmichill*, *Robert* and *William Lesties*, quho war altogether in *Mont St. Michell*, wrait to the said *Johne*, asking his Counsaill, *Gif they nicht with saif Conscience braik thair Presoun?* Whose Answer was, *That gif without the Bluide of ony sched, or spilt by thame for thair Deliverance, they nicht set thame selfis at Fredome, that they nicht favelie tak it; bot to sched ony Manis Bluid for thair Fredome, thairto he wald never consent*. Adding farder, *That he was assurit that God wald deliver thame and the rest of that Cumpanie, evin in the Eyies of the World, but not be suche Meanis as we had luikit for, that was by the Force of Freindis, or by thair uther Labours*. By suche Means he affirmed they sould not be delivered, but that God wald work so in the Deliverance of thame, that the Prais thair of sould redound to his Glory only; he willed tharefor that everie ane to tak the Occasioun that God has offered unto thame, provyding that they did nothing against God's expresse Comandement for the Deliverance of thame selfis. He was the more earnest in geving his Counsaill, becaus that the auld Laird of *Grange* and uthers repugned to thair Purpois, fearing least that the eschaping of the uthers sould be ane Occasioun of thair worse Intreatment: Whairunto the said *Johne* answered, *That such Feir proceeded not from Godis Spreite, but frome a blind Luif of the Self; and thairfor that no gude Purpois was to be stayed for Thingis that war in the Handis and Power of God*. And added, *That in one Instant God had deliverit all that Cumpanie into the Handis of unfaythfull Men, but so wald he not releve thame, but sum wald he deliver by one Meanes, and at one Time, and utheris must abyid for a Season upoun his gude Plesour*. This Counsaill in the End was embraced upoun the Kingis Evin, quhen *Frenchemen* comounly use to drink liberallie. The foirsaid four Personis having the Helpe and Conducting of a Boy of the Hous, band all those

those that war in the Castell, put thame in sundrie Houses, loked the Dures upoun thame, tuke the Keyis from the Captane, and depairted without Harnie done to the Persone of ony, or without twiching of ony Thing that appertained to the King, the Captane, or the Hous.

Greate Searche was maid throw the haill Cuntrey for thame; but it was God's gude Pleasure so to conduct thame, that thay eschaped the Handis of the saythles, albeit it was with long Travell, and great Pane, and Poverty sutable; for the *Frenche* Boy left thame, and tuk with the small Pose that they had: And so neyther having Money, nor the Knowlege of the Cuntry, and farder fearing least the Boye sould descryve thame, as that in very Deid he did, they tuk Purpose to devide thamefelfis, to change thair Garments, and to go in sundrie Partes; the two Brethren *Robert* and *William Lestier*, (quho now ar become, the said *Robert* especiallie, Enemies to Jesus Christ and to all Vertew) came to *Rowane*. *William Kirkcaldie* and *Petir Carmickell* in Beggars Garment came to *Conquet*, and by the Spaike of twelf or threttein Weekes they travellit as pure Mariners frome Porte to Porte, till, at lenthe, they gat ane *Frenche* Schippe, and landed in the Weste, and from thence came to *England*, where they mett befor thame the said *Johne Knox*, who that sam Winter was delivered and *Alexander Clerk* in his Cumpany.

The said *John* was first appointed Preicheour to *Berwick*, then to *Newcastle*, last he was called to *London*, and to the South Partes of *England*, whair he remaned to the Deithe of King *Edward* the Sext. When he left *England*, then past he to *Geneva*, and thair remaned at his privy Study, till that he was called by the *Inglish* Congregation that than was assemblit at *Frankfurde*, to be Preicheour to thame; which Vocation he obeyed, albeit unwillinglie, at the Comandement of that notable Servand of God *Johne Calvine*. At *Frankfurde* he remaned till that sum of the Leirned, whose Names we suppress, more gevin to unprofitable Ceremonies than to Sinceritie of Religion, began to querell with the said *Johne*; and becaus they despaired to prevaill befor the Magistrate thair, for the establisching of thair Corruptiounis, they accused him of Treasone comitted against the Emperour, and against thair Sovereigne Quein *Maree*, that in his Admonitioun to *England* he called the ane litill inferiour to *Nero*, and the uther more cruell than *Jesabel*. The Magistrate perceaving thair Malice, and fearing that the said *Johne* sould fall in the Handis of his Accusators, by one Meane or other gave Adverteisement secretlie to him to departe thair Cietie; for they could not save him if he war requyred by the Emperour, or by the Quein of *England* in the Emperour's Name; and so the said *Johne* returned to *Geneva*, from thence to *Deape*, and thairefter to *Scotland*, as we shall efter hear.

The Time and that Winter that the Gallayis remained in *Scotland*, war delivered Mr. *James Balfour*, his two Brethren *David* and *Gilbert*, *Johne Auchinleck*, *Johne Sibbald*, *Johne Gray*, *William Guthrie* and *Stephin Bell*. The Gentlemen that remained in Presounes war, by the Procurement of the Quein Dowager to the Cardinall of *Lorayne*, and to the King of *France*, set at Libertie in the Moneth of *Julii*, anno 1550, who shortly thairefter wer called hame to *Scotland*, thair Peace proclaimed, and they thamefelfis restored to thair Lands, in Despyte of thair Enemies; and that was done in Haitrent of the Duke, becaus that then *France* had begun to thirst to have the Regiment of *Scotland* in thair awin Handis. Howsoever it was, God made the Hairts of thair Enemies to sett thame at Libertie and Fredome. Thare rested a Number of comoun

moun Servants yit in the Galayis, who war all delivered upoun the Contract of Peace that was maid betwix *France* and *England*, efter the taking of *Bul-lon*; and so was the whole Cumpanie set at Libertie, none perisching, no not before the Warld, except *James Melvell*, who departed from the Miserie of this Lyif in the Castell of *Birst* in *Bartaneya*. This we wryt to lat the Posteritie to cum understand how potentlie God wrocht, in preserving and delivering of those that had but a small Knowlege of his Truthe, and for the Love of the sam hazarded all; that if eyther we now in our Dayis, having griter Lycht, or our Posteritie that fall follow us, fall sie ane feirfull Dispersioun of such as oppone thamefelfis to Impietie, or tak upoun thame to punishe the same utherwyis than Laws of Men will permitte; gif we, I say, or they fall sie suche lest of Men, yea, as it war, despyisit and punished of God; yet let us not condeme the Personis that punishe Vyce, and that for just Caus; nor yit dispair, but that the same God that dejectis for Causis unknowin to us, will rais up agane the Personis dejected to his Glory and thair Comforte. And to lat the Warld understand, in plain Termes, what we mein, that greit Abufar of this Comoun-welthe, that Pultroun, and vyle Knaif *Davie* was justlie punished the Nynte of *Meirke* in the Yeir of God 1565, for abusing of the Comoun-welthe, and for his uther Villianie, whiche we list not to express, by the Counsaill and Handis of *James Douglas* Erle of *Mortoun*, *Patrick* Lord *Lindesay*, and the Lord *Ruthven*, with utheris Assistars in thair Cumpanie, who all, for thair just Act, and maist Worthe of all Prais, ar now unworthilie lest of thair Brethren, and suffer the Bitternes of Banishment and Exyll. But this is our Hope in the Mercies of our God, that this sam blind Generatioun, whether it will or not, fall be compelled to see that he will have Respect to thame that are injustlie persewit; that he will apardone thair former Offences; that he will restore them to the Libertie of thair Cuntrey and Comoun-welthe agane, and that he will punishe, in Despyte of Men, the Heid and the Taill that now truble the Just, and mainteinis Impieties. The Heid is knawin; the Taill hes twa Branches. The Temporall Lordis that manteinis hir Abominatiounis, and her flattering Counsaillars, blasphemous *Balfour*, now called Clerk of Register, *Sinclair* Dean of *Reslairige* and Bischope of *Briken*, blind of ane Eye in the Bodie, bot of bothe in the Saull, upoun quhome God efter schortly tuke Vengeance, *Leslie* Preistis Geit Abbot of *Lundoiris* and Bischope of *Rois*, *Symoune Prestoun* of *Craigmillar*, a right Epicuriane, whose End will be, or it be lang, according to thair Warkis. Bot now to returne to our History.

Hadingtoun being keipit, and mucche Heirschipe done about in the Cuntrey, (for what the *Inglishmen* destroyed not, that was consumed by the *Frenchmen*) God begynis to fecht for *Scotland*: For in the Toun he sent a Pest so contagious, that with grit Difficulty could thay have thare Deid buried. They war oft refreshed with new Men, bot all was in vane. Hunger and Pest within, and the Persute of the Enemie with a Campe volant lay about thame, and interceptit all Victuellis, except when they wer brocht by ane Convoy frome *Berwick*, so constrayned thame that the Counsaill of *England* was compellit in Spring Tyme, to call thare Forces frome that Plaice. And so spoyleing and burning sum Parte of the Toun, they lest it to be occupyit to suche as first sould tak Possessioun, and thos war the *Frenchmen*, with a meane Number of the ancient Inhabitants; and so did God performe the Wordis and Threatning of Maister *George Wischeart*, who said, *That for thair Contempt of*
God's

God's Messenger, they should be visited with Scorde, and Fyre, with Pestilence, Starvings and Famine; Whiche all they fande in suche Perfection, that to this Day yit, that Toun has neyther recoverit the former Bewtie, nor yit Men of suche Wisedom and Ability, as thane did inhabit it.

Heirefter was Peice contracted betwix *France, Ingland and Scotland*; yea, a severall Peice was contractit betwix *Scotland and Flanders* together with all the *Easterlings*. So that *Scotland* had Peice with the *World*. Bot yit wald their Bischopis mak War agunst God: For how sone that evir they gat any Quietnes, they apprehendit *Adam Wallace (alias Fran)* a simple Man without ony grit Learning, bot ane that was zealous in Godlines, and of ane upricht Lyit. He, with his Wyf *Beatrix Livingston*, frequented the Company of the *Ladie Ormiston*, for Instruction of hir Children, during the Trouble of hir Husband, who then was banished. This Bastard, callit Bischope of *Sanct Androis*, tuk the said *Adam* furthe of the Plaice of *Wyntoun*, Men suppoisit that thay thocht to have apprehendit the Laird, and caryed him to *Edinborge*, quhair efter certane Days he was presentit to Jugment in the Kirk of the *Black Theavis*, alias *Frewis*, befor the Duke, the Erle of *Huntlie*, and divers utheris besydis. The Bischopis and thair Rabill they began to accuis him (*Mr. Johne Lawder* was Accusatour) *That he tuk upoun him to preiche*. He answered, 'That he nevir judged himself worthie of so excellent a Vocation, and thairfore he nevir tuk upoun him to preiche; bot he wald not deny, bot some tymes at the Table, and sum tymes in sum uther privie Plaices he wald read and had red the Scriptures, and had gevin sick Exhortation as God had pleisit to gif to him, to suche as pleisit to heir him.' 'Knay, quoth ane, What have ye to do to meddle with the Scriptures?' 'I think, said he, it is the Dewtie of everie Christiane, to seik the Will of his God, and the Assurance of his Salvatioun where it is to be found, and that is within his Auld and New Testament.' 'What than, said ane uther, fall we leive to the Bischopis and Kirkmen to do, gif everie Man fall be ane Babler upoun the Bybill?' 'It beindethe yow, said he, to speik moir reverentlie of God, and of his blessit Word: Gif the Juge war incorrupte, he wald punishe yow, for your Blasphemie. Bot to your Questiou, I answer, That albeit that ye and I, and uther fyve thousand within this Realme, sculd reid the Byble, and speik of it quhat God should gif us to speik, yit left we moir to the Bischopis to do nor ayther they will or yit can weill do; for we leif to thame publictly to preiche the Evangell of Jesus Christ, and to seid the Flocke whiche he harh redeimed by his awin Bluid, and hes comandit the same to the Care of all trew Pastours. And quhen we leive this unto thame, me think, we leif to thame ane heavie Burdein; and that we do unto thame no wronge, althocht we seirche our awin Salvatioun quhair it is to be found, considering that thay ar bot doum Dogges, and unfaworie Salt, that has altogither loist the Seatione.' The Bischopis heirat offended, said, *Quhat Prating is this? Lat his Accusatioun be red*. And then was begun, *Fals Traitour, Heretyck; thow baptisist thy awin Bairne; thow said, Thair is no Purgatorie; Thow said, That to pray to Sanctis, and for the deid, is Idolatrie, and a vane Superstitioun, &c.* What sayis thow to these Thingis. He answerit, *Gif I should be bound to answer, I wald requir ane upricht and indifferent Juge*. The Erle of *Huntlie* disdainefullie said, *Foolishe Man, Will thow desyre ane uther Juge nor my Lord Duke's Graice grit Governour of Scotland, and my Lordis the Bischopis, and the Clergie heir present*. Quhairto he answerit, *The Bischopis can be no Juges to me,*

for they ar oppin Enemies to me and to the Doctrine that I profes. And as for my Lord Duk, I can not tell gif he hes the Knowlege that suld be in him that suld jüge and decerne betwix Lies and the Treuthe, the Invention of Men and the trew worshipping of God. I desyre Godis Word (and with that he producit the Bybill) to be Jüge betwix the Bischopis and me, and I ame content that ye all heir; and gif by this Buke I sall be convict to have taucht, spoken, or done, in Matteris of Religion, ony Thing that repugnis to Godis Will, I refuis not to die. But if I cannot be convict (as I ame assured by Godis Word I sall not) than I in Godis Name desyre your Assistance, That malicious Men execute not upoun me injust Tirranie. The Erle of Huntelie said, Quhat a bawling Fulle is this? Thow sall get none uther Juges then those that sit heir. Whairunto the said Adam answered, The gude Will of God be done: Bot be ye assurit, my Lord, With sick Mesour as ye met to utheris, with the same Mesure it sall be mesured to yow agane. I know that I sall die, bot be ye assured, that my Blude sall be required of your Handis.

Alexander Erle of Glencairne, yit allyve, said to the Bischope of Orkney, and utheris that sat neir him, Tak yow yon my Lordis of the Clergie, for heir I protest, for my Pairt, that I consent not to his Deyth: And so without Feir prepared the said Adame to answer. And first to the bapteizing of his awin Child, he said, It was and is als lawfull to me, for lack of a trew Minister, to baptis my awin Child, as that it was to Abrahame to Circumceis his Sone Ismaell and his Familie. And as for Purgatorie, praying to Sanctis, and for the Deid, I have oft red, said he, bothe the Aula and New Testamentis, bot I neyther could find mentioun, nor Assurance of thame; and thairfor I beleve thay ar bot meare Inventionis of Men, devysed for Covetousnes Saik. Weill, quoth the Bischope, ye heir this, my Lords. Quhat sayis thow of the Mess, speires the Erle of Huntlie? He answerit, I say (my Lord) as my Maister Jesus Christ sayis, That whiche is in grittest Estimatioun befor Men, is Abhominatioun befor God. Then all cryit out, Heresie, Heresie. And so was the simple Servand of God adjugit to the Fyre, whiche he patientlie susteined that same Day at Efternone upoun the Castellbill.

And so began they agane to pollut the Land whiche God had laitlie plagued, for yit thair Iniquitie was not cum to so full Rypnes, as that God wald that thay sould be manifested to this whole Realme, as this Day they ar, to be Faggotis prepared for the evirlasting Fyre, and to be Men quhome neyther Plagues may correct, nor the Lycht of Godis Word convert from thair Darknes and Impietie.

The Peace, as said is, contracted, the Quein Dowager past by Sie to France, with Galayis that for that Purpois war prepared, and tuk with her divers of the Nobilitie of Scotland, to wit, the Erles Huntlie, Glencairne, Merschell, Cassillis, the Lords Maxwell, Fleming, Sir George Douglas, together with all the King's Sones, and divers Barones, and Gentilmen of ecclesiasticall Estait, the Bischope of Galloway, and mony utheris, with Promeis, that they sould be richelie rewardit for thair gude Service. Quhat they rellavit we cannot tell, but few maid Rus at thair Returning. The Dowager had to praeteis sum-quhat with hir Brethrein the Duk of Guys and the Cardinell of Lorayne, the Wecht whair of the Governour efterward felt: For schortlie efter hir returning, was the Governour deposite of the Government, justlie by God, bot maist injustlie by Men, and sche maid Regent in the Yeir of God 1554. and a Cron put upoun hir Heid, als seimlie a Sicht, gif Men had Eyes, as to put a

Saidill

Saidill upoun the Back of ane unrewlie Cow; and so began sche to praectis Praectises upoun Praectises how *France* mycht be advanced, hir Freindis maid ryche, and sche brocht to immortal Glorie; for that was hir comoun Talk, *So that I may procure the Welthe and Honour of my Freindis, and a gude Fame unto myself, I regaird not quhat God do efter with me.* And in verie Deid, in deip Dissimulatioun, to bring hir awin Purpois to Effect, sche passit the comoun Sorte of Wemen, as we will efter heir. Bot yit God, to whose Evangell sche declaired himself Enemie, in the End frustrat hir of all hir Devyises.

Thus did Lycht and Darknes stryve within the Realme of *Scotland*; the Darknes evir befor the Warld suppressing the Lycht, from the Deyth of that notable Servand of God, Mr. Patrik *Haumiltoun*, untill the Deyth of *Edward* the sext, that maist godlie and vertewous King, that had bein knawin to have runge in *England*, or ellsquhair, thir mony Yeiris by past, who departit the Miseries of this Lyif, the sext of *Julii*, anno 1553. The Deyth of the Prince was lamentit of all the Godlie within *Europe*, for the Graces gevin unto him of God, als weill of Nature as of Eruditioun and Godlines, passand the Mesure that accustomablie usit to be gevin to uther Princes in thair grittest Perfection, and yit exceidit he nocht sextein Yeirs of Age. Quhat Gravitie above Age? Quhat Wisdome passing all Understanding or Expectatioun of Men? And quhat Dexterity in answering, in all Thingis proponit, wer into that excellent Prince? the Ambassadors of all Cuntreys, yea, sum that war mortal Enemies unto him, and to his Realme, amongis quhome the Quein Dowager of *Scotland* was not the leist, could and did testifie; for the said Quein Dowager, returning from *France* throw *England*, comuned with him at lenthe, and gave Record quhen sche came to this Realme, *That sche fand moir Wisdome and solid Jugement in young King Edward, than sche wald have liiked for in ony thre Princes that war then in Europe.* His Liberalitie towardis the Godlie and Leirned, that war in utheris Realmes persecuted, was suche, as *Germanes, Frenche Men, Italianes, Scottis, Spanyards, Pollonianes, Grecianis, and Hebrewes* borne, can yit gif sufficient Document. For how honourable war *Martyne Luther, Petir Martyre, Johannes Alasco, Emmanuell Gualterus*, and mony utheris, upoun his publick Stipendis, interteined, thair Patentis can witnes, and thay thame selves during thair Lyves wald nevir have denyit.

Efter the Deyth of this maist verteus Prince, of quhome the godles People of *England*, for the maist Parte, was not worthie, Sathan intendit nothing les than the Licht of Jesus Christ utterlie to have bein extinguished within the haill Ile of *Brittane*. For efter him was raysit up, in God's hotte Displeasure, that idolatrous *Jesabell*, mischevous *Marye* of the *Spaniartis* Blude, a cruell Persecutrix of Goddis Pepill, as the Actis of hir unhappie Rigne can sufficientlie witnes. And into *Scotland* that same Time, as we have hard, rang that craftie Praectiser, *Marie* of *Lorraine*, thane named Regent of *Scotland*, who bound to the Devotioun of hir two Brethrein the Duk of *Guis* and Cardinell of *Lorraine*, did onelie abydde the Opportunitie, to cut the Throtte of all thois, in quhome sche suspected ony Knowlege of God to be, within the Realme of *Scotland*. And so thoicht Sathan, that his Kingdome of Darknes was in Quietnes and Rest, als weill in the one Realme as in the uther: Bot that provident Eye of the eternell God, who continuallie watchis for Preservatioun of his Church, did so dispoise all thingis, that Sathan schort efter fand himself far disapointed of his Conclusioun tane: For in what cruell

Persecutioun, used be that Monstour, *Marie of Inghland*, war godlie Men disperfit in divers Natiouns, of quhome it pleisit the Goodnes of God to send sum unto us, for our Comfort and Instructioun. And first came a simple Man, *William Harlaw*, whole Eruditioun, althocht it excellit not, yit for his Zeal, and diligente Plainnes in Doctrine, is he to this Day worthie of Prays, and remanes a fruitfull Member within the Church of *Scotland*. Efter him cam that notabill Man *John Willock*, as one that had sum Comissioun to the Quein Regent, from the Dutches of *Emden*; bot his principall Purpois was to assay what God wald work by him in his native Cuntrey. Thos two did sumtymes in severall Cumpanies assemble the Brethrein, who by thair Exhortatiounis began gritlie to be encuraged, and did schew, that they had ane eirnest Thirst of Godlines. And last came *Jobne Knox*, in the End of the Haruest, in the Yeir of God 1555. who first being lodged in the Hous of that notable Man of God *James Sym*, began to exhorte secreteilie in that sam Hous, wherunto repaired the Laird of *Dun*, *David Forrest*, and sum certane Personages of the Toun, amongis quhome was *Elizabeth Adamsoun*, than Spous to *James Barroun* Burges of *Edinburghe*, who, be Resõne that sche had ane troublit Conscience, delytted much in the Companie of the said *Jobne*, becaus that he, according to the Grace gevin unto him, oppinit mair fullie the Fontaneis of Godis Mercies, then did comone Sorte of Teicheris, that sche had hard befor (for sche had hard nane except Freiris) and did with suche Gredines drink thair of, that at hir Deyth sche did expres the Fruite of hir Heiring, to the grit Comfort of all thos that repaired to hir; for albeit that sche sufferit moift grevous Torment in hir Bodie, yit out of hir Mouth was hard nothing bot praying of God, except that sumtymes sche wald lament the Trubillis of thois that war trublit by hir: Beand sumtimes demandit by hir Sisteris, *Qubat sche thocht of that Pane, whiche sche then sufferit in Bodie, in respect of that quhairwith sche was sumtymes trublit in Spirit?* Sche answerit, *A thousand Yeir of this Torment, and ten Tymes moir joynit unto it, is nocht to be compaired to the Quarter of ane Hour, that I sufferit in my Spirit. I thank my God, throuche Jesus Christ, that hes deliverit me frome that moift fearfull Pane, and welcum be this, evin so lang as it pleisis his godlie Majestie to exerceis me thairwith.* A little befor hir Departure sche desyred hir Sisteris, and sum utheris that war besyid hir, to sing a Psalme, and among utheris sche appointed the ciii. Psalme, begynning, *My Saull prais thow the Lord alwayis*, whiche endit, sche said, *At the teiching of this Psalme, began my trublit Saull first effectuellie to taist of the Mercie of my God, whiche now to me is more sweet and precious than all the Kingdomes of the Eirthe war gevin unto me, to possess thame a thousand Yers.* The Preistis urged hir with thair Ceremonies and Superstitionnis; to quhome sche answerit, *Depart frome me ye Servantis of Sathan; for I have refused, and in your awin Presence do refus all your Abominatiounis; that whiche ye call your Sacrament, and Christis Bodie, as ye have deceavit us to beleve in Tymes past, is nothing bot ane Idoll, and hes nothing to do with the rycht Institutioun of Jesus Christ; and thairfor in God's Name, I comand you not to truble me.* They departit, alleging, *That sche ravit, and wist not qubat sche said.* And sche schort thairefter sleipt in the Lord Jesus, to no small Comforte of thois that saw hir bleffit Departing. This we could not omitt of this worthie Woman, quho gave so notable a Confessioun, befor that the grit Licht of Godis Word did universalie schyne throuche this Realme.

At the first coming of the said *Johne Knox*, he persaving divers quho had a Zeall to Godlines mak small Scupill to go to the Mess, or to comunicat with the abused Sacramentis in the papistick Maner, began alsweill in privy Conference as in Doctrine, to schaw the Impietie of the Mess, and how dangerous a Thing it was to communicate in ony Sorte with Idolatrie; quhairwith the Consciences of some being afrayed, the Matter began to be agitat fra Man to Man, and so was the said *Johne* called to Supper by the Laird of *Dun* for that sam Purpose, quhair war convened *David Forrest*, *Mr. Robert Lockhart*, *Johne Willock*, and *William Maitland* of *Lethingtoun* younger, a Man of Leirning and of schairpe Wit and Reasoning. The Question was proponed, and it was answered by the said *Johne*, *That nowyis it was lawfull to a Christiane to present himself to that Idoll*. Nothing was omitted that micht mak for the Temporall, and yit was every Heid so fully answered, and especially one quhairunto they thought thair grit Defence stude, to wit, *That Paul at the Comandement of James, and of the Elders of Jerusalem, passit to the Temple, and seinged himself to pay his Vow with uthers*. This, we say, and uthers wer so fullie answered, that *William Maitland* concluded, saying, *I sie persyittlie that our Schiftis will serve nathing befoir God, seing they stand us in sa small Steid befoir Men*. The Answer of *Johne Knox* to the Fact of *Paull*, and to the Comandment of *James*, was, *That Paullis Fact had nothing to do with thair going to the Mess; for to pay Vowes was sumtymes God's Comandment, and was nevir Idolatrie; but thair Mess, from the Originall was and remainit odious Idolatrie; thairfoir the Fact was most unlyk*. Secundarlie, said he, *I gritly doot quibither ayther James Commandement or Paullis Obedience proceidit from the Holie Ghost*. We know thair Counsaill tendit to this, that *Paull* sould schaw himself one that observeth the virie small Pointis of the Law, to the End that he might purches to him the Favours of the Jews, who war offendit at him be Reason of the Bruittis that war sparfed, that he taucht Defection from *Moyles*. Now quhill he obeyit thair Counsaill, he fell into the most desperate Danger that evir he susteined befoir, quhair of it was evident, that God approvit not that Meane of Reconciliatioun, bot rather that he planelie declaired, that Evill sould not be done that Gude micht cum of it. Evill it was to *Paull* to confirm those obstinate Jews in thair Superstitioun by his Exampill; wors it was to him to expone himself, and the Doctrine whicke befoir he had taucht, to Sklander and Mockage: And thairfoir, concluded the said *Johne*, that the Fact of *Paull*, and the Sequell that thair of followit, appeared rayther to fecht against thame that wald go to the Mes, than to gif unto thame ony Assuarance to follow his Exempill, unless that they wald that the lyk Truble sould instantlie apprehend thame that apprehendit him, for obeying wardlie oys Counsaill. Efter thes and lyk Reasonings the Mes began to be abhorrit of suche as befoir used it for the Passioun, and avoyding of Slander, as then they termed it.

Johne Knox at the Request of the Laird of *Dun*, followed him to his Place of *Dun*, quhair he remained a Moneth, daylie exerceisit in Doctrine, quhairunto resortit the principall Men of that Cuntrey. Efter his returning, his Residence was most in *Calder*, quhair repaired unto him the Lord *Erskin* that now is the Erle of *Argyll*, then Lord of *Lorn*, and Lord *James*, then Pryour of *St. Andrews*, and now Erle of *Murray*, quhair they hard and so approvit his Doctrine, that they wisched it to have been publiſt. That same Winter he taucht comounlie in *Edinburghe*; and efter the Yull, be the Conduct of the Laird of *Bar*, and *Robert Campbell* of *Kingyeandleuche*, he came to *Kyll*, and

taucht in the *Barre*, in the Hous of the *Carnell* in the *Kingyeancleuche*, in the Town of *Air*, and in the Hous of *Ucbitrie* and *Gargyrthe*; and in some of thame ministrare the Lord's Tabill. Befoir the *Pasch* the Erle of *Glencairne* sent for him to his Plaice of *Fynlastoun*, quhair, efter Doctrine, he also ministrare the Lord's Tabill; quhairof, besydis himself, wer Partakers his Ladie, two of his Sones, and certane of his Freindis: And so returnit he to *Calder*, quhair divers from *Edinburghe*, and frome the Cuntrey about, convenit, allweill for the Doctrine, as for the right Use of the Lord's Table, which befor they had nevir practeisit. Frome thence he departed the secund Tyme to the Laird of *Dun*; and teiching then in gritter Libbertie, the Gentilmen requirit that he suld minister the Table of the Lord Jesus lykewyis unto thame, quhairof war Partakers the most parte of the Gentilmen of the *Mernis*, who (God be praysit) to this Day do constantlie remain in the same Doctrine whiche then they professit, to wit, that thay refusit all Societie with Idolatrie, and band thamefelfis to the uttermost of thair Poweris to manetein the trew preiching of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, as God sould offer unto thame Preicheurs and Oportunitie.

The Bruit heirof sparfed, (for the Freiris from all Quarters flocked to the Bischopis) the said *Jobne Knox* was summond to compeir in the Kirk of the *Blak Freiris* in *Edinburghe*, the 15th Day of *Maii*, whiche Day the said *Jobne* decreed to keip, and for that Purpois *Jobne Erskin* of *Dun*, with divers utheris Gentlemen convenit to the Toun of *Edinburghe*. Bot that Dyet held not. For quhidder that the Bischopis perseavit Informalitie in thair awin Proceidingis, or gif they feirit Danger to infew upoun thair Extremitie, it is unknowin unto us. Bot the *Sattirday* befor the Day appointed, thay caist thair awin Summondis, and the said *Jobne*, the sam Day of the Summondis, taucht in *Edinburghe*, in a gritter Audiance than evir befor he had done in that Toun. The Plaice was the Bischope of *Dunkelis* his grit Lugeing, quhair he continewit in Doctrine ten Dayis, bothe Befoir and Efternone. The Erle of *Glencairne* allurit the Erle of *Merschell*, who with *Harie Drummond* his Counsaillour for that Tyme, hard ane Exhortatioun, bot it was upoun the Nicht, who war so weill contentit with it, that thay bothe wyllit the said *Jobne* to wrytte unto the Quein Regent sumquhat that mycht move hir to heir the Worde of God. He obeyit thair Desyre, and wrait that whiche efter was Imprintit, and is callit, *The Letter to the Quein Dowager*; which was deliverit unto hir awin Hands by the said *Alexander* Erle of *Glencairne*: Which Letter, when sche had red, within a Day or two, sche deliverit it to that proude Prelate *Beatoun*, Bischope of *Glasgow*, and said in Mockage, *Pleis yow my Lord to reid a Pasquill*. Whiche Wordis cumming to the Eiris of the said *Jobne*, war the Occasioun that to his Letter he maid his Additiounis, as yit may be sein. As concerning the Threatningis pronuncit against hir awin Persoun, and the moift principall of hir Freinds, lat thair verie Flatterars sie quhat had faillit of all that he hes writtin; and thairfoir it war expedient that hir Dochter, now mischevousslie reigning, sould luik to that whiche hath passit befor, leift that in following the Counsaillis of the Wickit, sche end moir miserablie than hir craftie Mother did.

Whill *Jobne Knox* was thus occupied in *Scotland*, Letteris came unto him frome the *Inglische* Kirk that was assemblit in *Geneva*, whiche was separated frome that superstitious and contentious Cumpanie that war at *Franckfurd*, comanding him in Goddis Name, as he that was thair chosen Fastour, to re-

pair unto thame for thair Comforte. Upon the whiche the said *Johne* tuk his Leiv from us, almoist in every Congregation quhair befor he had preicht, and exhorted us to Prayeris, to reiding of the Scriptures, and mutuall Conference, unto suche Tyme as God suld gif unto us gritter Libertie. And heir-upoun he sent befor him to *Deip*, his Mother-in-law *Elizabeth Bennet*, and his Wyf *Marjory*, with na small Dolour to thair Hairtis, and to mony of us. He himself by Procurement and Labours of *Robert Campbell* of *Kingswarr*, remainit behind in Scotland, and passit to the old Erle of *Argyll*, who then was in the Castell of *Campbell*, quhair he taucht certane Dayis. The Laird of *Glenorquhair*, which yit levethe, being one of his Auditours, willit the said Erle of *Argyll* to retein him still; bot he purpoist upoun his Journey, wald not at that Time stay for no Requeist, adding, *That gif God so blisset theis small Beginningis, that they continued in Godlines, quhensoever they pleist to command him, they suld find him obedient.* Bot, he said, *That anis he must needs visit that litill Flocke whiche the Wickitnes of Men had compellit him to leif.* And so in the Moneth of *July* he left this Realme, and past to *France*, and so to *Geneva*. Immediatlie efter, the Bischopis summondit him, and for Non-compeirance brunt him in Effigie at the Croice of *Edinburghe*, in the Yeir of God 1555, fra the whiche unjust Sentence the said *Johne* maid his Appellation, and causit to Prent the same, and directed it to the Nobilitie and Councillis within Scotland, as yit may be red.

In the Winter that the said *Johne* abaid in Scotland, appeirit a Comeit, the Cours quhair of wes frome the *Southe* and *South-west*, to the *Nortke* and *North-east*. It was sein in the Monethes of *November*, *December*, and *Januare*; It was callit, *The Fyrey Buffome*. Sone efter died *Christierne King* of *Denmark*; and Warre rays betwix Scotland and *Ingland*, for the Comissionaris of bothe Realmes, who almoist the Spaice of sex Moneths entreatit upoun the Conditouns of Peace, and wer upoun a neir Point of Conclusioun, wer disapointed. The Quein Regent with hir Counsaill of the *Frenche* Factioun decreitted, warr at *Newbottell*, without geving ony Adverteisment to the Comissionaris for the Parte of Scotland. Suche is the Fidelitie of Princes, gydit by Preistis, whensoever they seik thair awin Affectionis to be served.

In the end of that nixt Harvest was sein upoun the Borders of *Ingland* and *Scotland* a strange Fyre, whiche descendit from the Hevin, and brunt divers Cornes in bothe the Realmes, bot maist in *Ingland*. Thair was presentit to the Quein Regent, by *Robert Ormiston*, a Calfe having two Heidis, whairat sche scorppit, and said, *It was bot a comoun Thing.* The Warre began in the End of Harvest, as said is, and Conclusioun was takin that *Warke* suld be assleigeit. The Armie and Ordinance past fordward to *Maxwell Heuche*. The Quein Regent remainit in the Castell of *Horne*, and thinking that all Thingis war in Assurance, Monsieur *D'Osell*, than Lieutenant for *France*, gave Chairge that the Cannones sould be transportit over the Watter of *Tweed*, whiche was done with Expedition, for the *Frenche-men* in suche Factis ar expert; bot the Nobilitie of Scotland nothing content with suche Proceedingis, efter Consultatioun amengis thame selfis, past to the Pavilioun of Monsieur *d'Osell*, and in his awin Faice declaired, *That in no ways wald they invaid Ingland.* And thairfor comandit the Ordinance to be re-teirit: And that it was bot farder Delay.

This put ane Affray in Monsieur *d'Osell's* Breaches, and kendlit suche a Fyre in the Quein Regent's Stomach, as was not weill sloknit till hir Breath

failit. And thus was that Interpryis frustrate. Bot yit War continewed, during the whiche, the Evangell of Jesus Christ began wondrouslie to floorishe. For in *Edinburghe* began publictlie to exhort *William Harlaw*; *Johne Douglas*, who had bein with the Erle of *Argyll*, preich'd in *Leyth*, and sumtymes exhortit in *Edinburghe*. *Paull Messane* began to preich publictlie in *Dundie*, and so did divers utheris in *Angus* and the *Mernis*. And last, at Gods gude Pleasure arrayved *Johne Willock*, the secound Tyme from *Emden*, whose Returne was so joyfull to the Brethren, that thair Zeall and godlie Curage daylie increffit. And albeit he contracted a dangerous Seiknes, yit he ceasit not from Labouris, bot taucht and exhortit from his Bed some of the Nobilitie, (of quhome some ar fallen back, amongis quhome the Lord *Seatoun* is cheif) with mony Barrones and Gentilmen war his Auditours, and by him war godlie instructed, and wondrouslie comforted. They kept thair Conventiounis, and held Consaillis with suche Gravitie and Clofenes, that the Enemies tremblit. The Images war stollen away in all Partis of the Cuntrey. And in *Edinburghe* was that grit Idoll, callit Sanct *Geill*, first drowned in the *Northe Loch*, and efter brunt, whiche raysit no small Trubill in the Town; for the Freiris rousing lyk Ravenis upoun the Bischopis, the Bischopis ran upoun the Quein, quho to thame was favorabill yneuche, bot that sche thocht it culd not stand with hir Advantage to offend suche a Multitude as than tuk upoun thame the Defence of the Evangell, and the Name of Protestants. And yit consented sche to summond the Preicheours: Quhairat the Protestants nether offendit, nether yit thair of affrayed, determined to keip the Day of Summondis, as that they did. Whiche perceavit by the Prelattis and Preistis, they procured a Proclamatioun to be publictlie maid, That all Men that war come to the Town without the Comandment of the Authoritie, sould with all Diligence repair to the Borders, and thair remain 15 Dayis: For the Bischope of *Galloway* in this Maner of Ryme, said to the Quein; *Madame, becaus they ar cum without Ordour, I reid yow send thame to the Border.*

Now so had God providit, That the Quarter of the West-land, into the which war mony faythfull Men, was that same Day returnit from the Borders; who understanding the Matter to proceed from the Malice of the Preistis, assemblit thamefelfis togither, and maid Passage to thamefelfis, till that thay came to the verie privie Chalmer, quhair the Quein Regent and the Bischopis war. The Gentilmen began to complain upoun thair strange Interment, considdering that hir Graice had fund in thame so faythfull Obedience in all Thingis lawfull. Whill that the Quein began to Crafft, a zealous and a bald Man, *James Chalmeris* of *Gaithegryth*, said, *Madame, we know that this is the Malice and Devyce of thai Jeswellis, and of that Bastard, meaning the Bischope of Sanct Androis, that standis by yow. We avowe to God we sall mak ane Day of it. They oppres us and our Tennents, for feidding of thair idill Bellies: They trubill our Preicheours, and wald murther thame and us: Sall we suffer this ony langer? Nay, Madam, it sall not be. And thairwith everie Man put one his Steill Bonnet. Thair was hard nothing of the Queinis Parte, but, My Joyis, my Hairtis, What aillis yow? Me menis no evill to yow, nor to your Preicheours: The Bischopis sall do yow no wrang, ye ar all my luifing Subjects; me knows nothing of this Proclamatioun; the Day of your Preicheours sall be dischairged, and me will heir the Contraversie that is betwixt the Bischopis and yow; they sall do yow no wrang. My Lords, said sche to the Bischopis, I forbid yow ayther to truble thame or thair Preicheours. And unto the Gentilmen,*
who

who war wondrouslie commovit, sche turnit agane and said, *O my Hairts, sould ye not love the Lord your God with all your Hairt, with all your Mynd? And sould ye not love your Nychbours as your seis?* With thease and the lyik fair Words sche keipt the Bischopis from Buffets at that Tyme.

And so the Day of Summondis being dischaired, began the Brethrein univiersallie to be farther encouraged. But yit culd the Bischopis in no sorte be quiet; for Sanct Geill's Day approching, they gave Chairge to the Proveist, Bailies, and Counsaill of *Edinburghe*, eyther to get agane the alud Sanct Geill, or ells upoun thair Expens to mak a new Image. The Counsaill answered, *That to them the Chairge appeired verie injust, for they understude that God in some Places had commandit Idolls and Images to be destroyit; bot quhair he had commandit Images to be set up they had not red;* and desyrit the Bischope to find a Warrant for his Comandment. Quhairat the Bischope offendit, admonished under Pane of cursing, which they preventit by a formall Appellatioun, appeilling frome him, as from a pertiaff and corrupt Juge, unto the Pape's Holines; and so gritter Thingis schortlie following, that passit in Oblivoun: Yit wald not the Preastis and Frearis ceis to have that grit Solempnitie and manifest Abhominatioun, whiche they accusomablie had upoun Sanct Geill's Day, to wit, they wald have that Idoll borne, and tharefoir was all Preparatioun deuly maid. A *Marmorset* Idoll was borrowed from the Gray Frearis, (a Silver Peice of *James Carmickell* was laid in Pledge) it was fast fixed with Irone Nailles upoun a Barrow called thair Fertour. Thare assembled Preastis, Frearis, Chanonis, and rottin Papistes, with Tabournes and Trumpetis, Baneris and Bagge Pypes: And who was thare to lied the Ring, but the Quein Regent herself, with all hir Schavelings, for Honour of that Feast. West about goes it, and cumis down the hie Streat, and down to the comone Crose. The Quein Regent dynd that Day in *Sandie Carpytynis* Hous betwix the Bowis, and so quhen the Idolle returned back agane, sche left it, and past in to her Denner. The Heartes of the Brethrein war wonderouslie inflamed, and seing sick Abhominatioun so manifestlie manteined, war decreed to be revenged. They war devyded in severall Cumpanies, quhairof not ane knew of ane uther. Thare war some Teniporissaris that Day, amonges quhome *David Forrests*, called *the Generall*, was ane, who fearing the Chance to be done as it fell, laboured to stay the Brethrein; but that could not be; for immediate efter that the Quein was entered in the Lugeing, some of those that war of the Interpryis drew ney to the Idoll, as willing to help to bear him, and getting the Ferteour upoun thair Schuldeours, began to schuder, thinking that thareby the Idoll sould have fallin; but that was provyded and prevented by the Irone Nailles, as we have said; and so begane ane to cry, *Down with the Idoll, down with it*, and so, without Delay, it was pulled down. Sum Bragis maid the Preistis Patrounis at the first; bot when thay saw the Febilnes of thair God, for one tuke him be the Heallis, and dadding his Heid to the Calfay, left *Dagoun* without Heid or Handis, and said, *Fy upoun the thow young Sanct Geill, thy Father wald have taryed four suke.* This confiderit, we say, the Preistis and Freiris fled faster then they did at *Pinkie Cleuche*. Thair nicht have bein sein so suddane a Fray as seldome hes bein sein amongis that Sorte of Men within this Realme; for down gois the Crocis, of gois the Surplyses, round Capis, Cornet with the Crownis. The Gray Freirs gaiped, the Blak Freirs blew, and the Preistis panted and fled, and happie was he that first gat the Hous; for suke ane suddane Fray came nevir amongist the

Generatioun of Antichrist within this Realme befoir. By chance thair lay upoun a Stair a merrie *Inglisthe* Man; and seing the Discomfitour to be without Blude, thoicht he wald adde sum Merrines to the Matter: And so cryed he over the Stair, and said, *Fy upoun yow Hoorsones, quhy have ye brockin Ordour, down the Strete ye passit in Array, and with grit Mirthe: Quhy fly ye Villanes now without Ordour? Turne and stryke everie ane a Straik for the Honour of his God; fy Cowartis fy, ye sall nevir be juged worthie of your Wages agane.* Bot Exhortatiounis war then unprofitable: For efter that Bell had brockin his Neck, thair was na Comforte to his confusit Armie.

The Quein Regent layd up this amongst hir uther Mementoos, till that sche might have sein the Tyme proper to have revenged it. Searche was maid for the Doaris, bot nane could be deprehendit: For the Brethrein assemblit thamefelfis in suche Sorte, in Cumpanies, singing Psalmes, and praising God, that the proudest of the Enemies war astonied.

This Tragedie of Sanct Geill was so terribill to sum Papistis, that Durie, sumtymes callit for his Filthines Abbote Stottikin, and then intituled, Bischope of Galloway, left his Ryming, quhairwith he was accustomed, and departit this Lyif evin as that he levit. For the Artickles of his Beleve war, *I refer, Decarte you. Ha, ha, the four Kingis and all maid. The Devil go with it; it is bot a Varlate. Fra France we thoicht to have gottin a Rubye; and yit it was nothing bot a Cobubie.* And with suche Fayth and suche Prayers departit out of this Lyif that Enemie of God, who had vowed and plainlie said, *That in despyte of God, so lang as they that than war Prelats levid, sould that Word, callit the Evangell, nevir be preached within this Realme.* Efter him followed that Bellie-God, Maister David Panter, callit, Bischope of Rois, evin with the lyik Documentis, except that he departit eating and drinking, whiche, togidder with the rest that thairupoun dependit, was the Pastyme of his Lyif. The moift Pairt of the Lordis that war in France at the Queinis Mariage, althoicht that thay gat thair Congye from the Court, yit they foryet to returne to Scotland. For whither it was by ane *Italiane* Posslet, or by *Frenche* Fegis, or by the Potage of thair Pottingare (he was a *Frenche* Man) thair departed fra this Lyif, the Erle of Cassillis, the Erle of Rothess, Lord Fleming, and the Bischope of Orknay, whais End was evin according to his Lyf: For efter that he was drevin back by a contrarious Wynd, and forcit to Land at agane Deape, perceaving his Seiknes to incres, he caussit mak his Bed betwix his two Coffers, (sum said upoun thame) suche was his God, the Gold that thairin was incloised, that he could not departe thairfra, so lang as Memorie wald serve him. The Lord James, than Pryour of St. Androis, had, by all Appeirance, lickit of the sam Buist that dispatched the rest, for thair of to this Day, his Stomach dois testifie. Bot God preserved him for a better Purpois. This sam Lord James, now Erle of Murray, and the said Bischope war comounlie at Debait for Matteris of Religioun; and thairfoir the said Lord, heiring of the Bischopis Diseas, came to visite him: And finding him not so weill at a Point, as he thocht he sould have bein, and as the Honour of the Cuntrey required, said unto him, *Fy, my Lord, how ly yow so? Will ye not go to your Chamber, and not ly heir in this comoun Hous.* His Answer was, *I ame weill quhair I ame, my Lord, so long as I can tary, for I ame neir unto my Freindis,* (meining his Cofferis, and the Gold thairin.) Bot, my Lord, said he, *long have ye and I bein in Pley for Purgatorie. I think that I sall know or it be lang whither thair be suche a Plaice or not.* Whill the other did exhort him to call to
Mynd

Mynd the Promeis of God, and the Vertew of Christis Deyth: He answered, *Nay, my Lord, let me alone, for ye and I nevir aggreit in our Lyif, and I think we sall not agrie now at my Deyth; and thairfor lat me alone.* The said Lord James departit to his Lugeing, and the other schort efter departed this Lyif, whithir, the grit Day of the Lord will declair.

Quhen the Word of the Departing of so mony Patronis of Papistrie, and of the Maner of thair departing came unto the Quein Regent, efter Astonischment and Musing, sche said, *Quhat sall I say of suche Men? They leived as Beistis, and as Beistis they die: God is nocht with thame, nether with that whiche they interpryis.*

Whill thes Thingis war in doing in Scotland and France, that perfyt Ypocrit, Maister *Johne Sinclaire*, then Deane of *Restalrig*, and now Lord President and Bischope of *Breckin*, began to preiche in his Kirk of *Restalrig*, and at the Beginning held himself so indifferent, that mony had Opinioun of him, that he was not far frome the Kingdome of God. Bot his Ypocrisie could not lang be clocked; for when he understude, that suche as feired God began to have a gude Opinioun of him, and that the Freiris and utheris of that Sect, began to quhisper, *That gif he tuk not Heid in Tyme to himself, and unto his Doctrine, he wald be the Disiruction of the baill Eliait of the Kirk.* This by him understude, he apointed a Sermone, in the whiche he promised to gif his Jugement in all suche Heidis, as than war in Contraverse in the Matters of Religion. The Bruit heirof maid his Audience greate at the first; bot that Day he so handlit himself, that efter that no godlie Man did credite him; for nocht onlie gainsaid he the Doctrine of Justificatioun and of Prayer, which befor he had tauchte, bot also he sett up, and mantained Papistrie to the uttermost Prick; yea holie Watter, Pilgramage, Purgatorie and Pardones war of such Vertew in his Conceate, that without thame he looked not to be saved. In this meane Tyme the Clergie maid a Brag, that thay wald disput. Bot Mr. *David Panter*, whiche then lived and lay at *Restalrig*, dissuaidit thame thairfra, affirming, "That gif evir they disputed, bot quhair "thamselfis war bayth Juge and Partie, and quhair that Fyre and Sworde "sould obey thair Decree, that than thair Caus was wracked for evir, for "thair Victorie stude nether in God nor his Wordes, bot in thair awin Willis, "and in the Thingis concludit by thair awin Consaills, togidder with Fyre "and Sworde, whairto, *said he*, thes new start-up Fellowis will gif no "Plaice; bot will call yow to your Compt-buik, and that is to the Bybill; "and by it ye will no more be found the Men that ye ar callit, than the "Devill will be approvin to be God: And thairfor, if ye luif yourselfis, "enter nevir in Disputatioun; nether yit call ye Maters in Questioun; bot defend your Possessioun, or all is loiste." *Cayphas* could not gif a better Counsaill to his Companiounis; bot yit God disapointed bothe thame and him, as efter we sall heir. At this same Time sum of the Nobilitie directed thair Letters to call *Johne Knox* frome Geneva, for thair Comforte, and for the Comforte of thair Brethrein the Preichers, and uthers that than curagiously faucht against the Enemies of Godis Treuthe. The Tenour of thair Letter is this.

Graice, Mercie, and Peice for Salvatioun.

DEirlye Belovit in the Lord, the Faithfull that ar of your Acquaintance in thir Parts (thankis be unto God) ar steidfast in the Beleif quhairunto ye left thame, and bes ane godlie Thrift and Desyre, Day be Day, of your Presence agane,
B b whiche

whilk gif the Spirit of God so move, and permitte Tyme unto yow, we will hait-
he desyre yow, in the Name of the Lord, that ye will returne again in thir Parteis,
quhair ye sall find all faythfull that ye left behind yow, nocht onlie glaid to heir
your Doctrine, bot will be redie to jeopard Lyves and Gudis, for the forward set-
ting of the Glorie of God, as he will permitte Tymes. And albeit the Magistrates
in this Countrey be as yit, bot in the Staite ye left thame, yit at the making heir-
of, we have no Experience of ony mair Crueltie to be usit nor was befor: Bot ra-
ther we have Beleif, That God will augment his Flock, becaus we sie the Freirs,
Enemies to Christis Evangell, daylie in less Estimatioun, bayth with the Queinis
Graice, and the rest of the Nobilitie of our Realme. This in few Words is the
the Mynd of the Faythfull, being present, and utheris absent. The rest of our Mynds
this faythfull Bearer will schaw yow at Lenthe. Thus fair ye weill in the Lord.

Of Stirling the tent of
Merche, anno 1556.

This is the trew Copie of the Bill, being subscriyvit by the Names under-
written.

Sic subscribitur,

GLENCAIRNE.
LORNE, now ARGYLL.
ERSKIN.
JAMES STEWART.

These Letteris war deliverit to the said *Johne* in Geneva, by the Handis of
James Sym, who now restethe with Christ, and of *James Barrone* that yit
levethe, in the Monethe of *Mai* immediatlie thairefter; whiche received,
and advyised upoun, he tuck Consultatioun alsweill with his awin Church,
as with that notable Servand of God *Johne Calvin*, and with uther godlie Mi-
nisteris, who all with ane Consent, said, That he culd not refus that Vocation,
unless he wald declair himself rebellious unto his God, and unmercyfull unto his
Countrey. And so he returned Answer, with Promeis to visite thame with
ressonabill Expedition, and so sone as he micht put Ordour to that deir
Flock that was comitted to his Chairge; and so in the End of the nixt
September efter, he departed from Geneva, and cum to Deip, whair thair mett
him contrair Letteris, as by his Answer thairto we may understand.

*The Spreit of Wisdome, Constancie and Strenthe be multiplied with yow, by the Fa-
vour of God our Father, and be the Graice of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

ACording to my Promeis, Richt honourable, I came to Deape the 24th
of October, of full Mynd, by the gude Will of God, with the first
Schipis to have visited yow. Bot becaus two Letteris, not verie pleising unto
the Flesche, wer thair presented unto me, I was compelled to stay for a
Tyme; the ane was directed to myself, from a faythfull Brother, which maid
Mentioun, that new Consultatioun was apointed for finall Conclusioun of the
Matter befor purposit, and willit me thairfoir to abyd in these Partis, till the
Determinatioun of the same. The uther Letter was directed frome a Gentil-
man to a Freind, with Chairge to adverteise me, that he had commoned
with all thois that seamed most francke and fervent in the Matter, and that
into

into none did he find sick Boldnes and Constancie, as was requisite for suche ane Interpretyis: Bot that sum did (as he wryteth) repent, That evir ony suche Thing was moved: Sum war partlie aichamed, and utheris war abill to deny, that evir they did consent to ony such Purpois, gif ony Tryel or Questioun sould be takin thair of. Whiche Letteris, when I had considered, I partlie was confounded, and partlie was pearced with Anguis and Sorrow. Confoundit I was, that I had so far travellit in the Matter, moving the same to the most godlie and most learned that this Day we knaw to liew in *Europe*, to the Effect that I might have thair Jugmentis and grave Counsaillis, for Assurance, alsweill of your Consciences, as of myne in all Interpretyis. And then that Nothing sould succed of so lang Consultatiouns, cannot bot redound ayther to your Schame or myne: For ether it sall appeir, that I was marvellous vane, being so solist, where no Necessitie required; or ells, that suche as wer my Moveris thairto laked the Rypnes of Jugement, in thair first Vocation. To sum it may appeir ane small and licht Matter, that I have cast of, and as it wer abandoned, alsweill my particular Cair, as my publick Office and Chairge, leving my Hous and puir Familie destitute of all Head (saif God onlie) and comitting that small (bot Christ his deirlye belovit) Flock, over the whiche I was appointed one of the Ministers, to the Chairge of ane uther. This, I say, to warldlie Men may appeir ane small Matter, bot to me it was, and yit is suche, that more warldlie Substance than I will expres, culd not have causit me willinglie behold the Eyes of so mony grave Men weip at ones, for my Caus, as that I did, in takeing of my last gude Nycht frome thame, to quhome, gif it pleis God, that I returne, and Question be demandit, Quhat was the Impediment of my purpoisit Journey? Juge yow quhat I sall answer. The Caus of my Dolour and Sorrow (God is Witnes) is for nothing perteining eyther to my corporal Contentment, or wardlie Displefour; bot it is for the greavous Plagues and Punischments of God, whiche assuredlie sall apprehend not onlie yow, bot every Inhabitant of that miserable Realme and Ylle, except that the Power of God, by the Libertie of his Evangell, deliver yow from Bondage. I mein not onlie that perpetuall Fyre and Torment, prepared for the Devill, and for suche as, denying Christ Jesus and his knawin Veritie, do follow the Sones of Wickednes to Perdition, whiche most is to be feared, bot also that Thraldome and Miserie that sall apprehend your awin Bodies, your Childrein, Subjects and Posteritie, quhome ye have betrayed. In Conscience, I can except none that beir the Name of Nobilitie, and presentlie do secht to betray thame and your Realme to the Slaverie of Strangeris. The Warre begun (althocht I acknowledge it to be the Wark of God) sall be your Distruction, unles that be Tyme Remedie be provydit. God oppin your Eys that ye may espy, and consider your awin miserable Estait. My Wordis sall appeir to sum schairpe and undescreitlie spoken; bot as Cheritie aucht to interpret all Thingis to the best, so aucht wyis Men to understand, that a trew Freind cannot be a Flatterer, especially quhen the Questiounis of Salvatioun, bothe of Bodie and Saull ar moved; and that not of one or two, bot as it war of a whole Realme and Natioun. Quhat ar the Sobbis, and quhat is the Affliction of my troubled Haint, God sall one Day declair? Bot this will I add to my former Rigour and Severitie, to wit, gif ony perswade yow, for Feir or Dangeris that may follow, to faint in your former Purpois, be he nevir esteimit so wyis and freindlie, lat him be judged of yow, bothe

foolifche and your mortall Enemie : Foolifche, for becaus he underftandeth nothing of God's appoved Wifdome; and Enemie unto yow, becaus he labourethe to feperate yow frome God's Favour, provoking his Vengeance and greavous Plagues againft yow, becaus he wald that ye fould preferre your warldlie Reft to Godis Prays and Glorie, and the Freindschip of the Wicked, to the Salvatioun of your Brethrein. *I ame not ignorant, that feirfull Troubles fall enfew your Interpryis, as in my former Letteris I did fignifie unto yow! Bot O joyfull and comfortable ar thois Troublis and Adverfiteis, whiche Man fustainethe for Accomplifchment of Godis Will, reveiled by his Worde! For how terribill that evir they appeir to the Jugementis of the naturall Men, yit ar they nevir abill to devoir, nor utterlie to confume the Sufferares; for the invifibill and invincibill Power of God fustainethe and prefervethe, according to his Promeis, all fuche as with Simplicite do obey him.* The fubrill Craft of Pharaο, mony Yeirs joynit with his bludie Crueltie, was not abill to destroy the Mall Childrein of Ifraell, nether war the Wateris of the Red-ſey, muche leſs the Rage of Pharaο, abill to confound Moyſes and the Companie whiche he conducted; and that becaus, the ane had Godis Promeis that thay fould multiplie, and the uther his Comandement to enter into ſuche Dangeris. I wald your Wifdomes fould confider, that our God remainethe One, and is immutable; and that the Church of Chriſt Jeſus hath the ſam Promeis of Protectioun and Defence, that Ifraell had of Multiplicatioun. And farder that no les Caus have ye to enter in your former Interpryis, then Moyſes had to go to the Prefence of Pharaο; for your Subjects, yea, your Brethrein ar oppreſſed, thair Bodies and Saullis haldin in Bondage: And God ſpeikethe to your Conſciences (unles ye be deid with the blind Warld) that ye aught to haſard your awin Lyves, be it againſt Kingis or Emperouris, for thair Deliverance; for onlie for that Caus ar ye callit Princes of the Pepill, and ye reſſave of your Brethrein Honour, Tribute and Homage at God's Comandement, nocht be Reſſoun of your Byrthte and Progenie, as the maiſt Part of Men falſlie do ſuppois, but be Reſſoun of your Office and Dewtie, which is to vindicate and deliver your Subjectis and Brethrein from all Violence and Oppreſſion, to the uttermoſt of your Power. Advyis diligently, I beſeik yow, with the Pointis of that Letter, which I directed to the haill Nobilitie, and lat everie Man apply the Matter and Cais to himſelf; for your Conſciences ſall one Day be compelled to acknowlege, that the *Reformatioun of Religioun*, and of publick Enormities, dothe appertein to mo than to the Clergie, or cheif Rullaris, callit Kings. The michtie Spreit of the Lord Jeſus reulle and gyde your Counſails to his Glorie, your eternal Comforte, and to the Conſolation of your Bretherin. *Amen.*

Frome Deape 27th Day
of October 1557.

Theſe Letteris receaved and red, together with utheris direct to the haill Nobilitie, and ſum to particular Gentilmen, as to the Lairds of *Dun* and *Petterrow*, new Conſultatioun was had, what was beſt to be done: And in the End it was concludit, That thay wald follow forward thair Purpois aneis intendit, and wald committ thameſelfis, and whaſoevir God had gevin unto thame, in his Handis, rather than thay wald ſuffer Idolatrie ſo manifeſtly to rigne, and the Subjectis of that Realme ſo to be defraudit, als lang as thay had bein, of the onelie Fude of thair Saullis, the trew Preiching of Chriſtis Evangell,

Evangel, and that everie ane should be the mair assured of uther, a comoun Band was maid, and by some subscrivit, the Tenour quhairof followes.

WE perceaving how Sathan in his Memberis, the Antichristis of our Tyme, cruel-
lie deeth rage, seeking to dounthring and to destroy the Evangel of Christ,
and his Congregation, aucht, according to our boundin Dewtie, to strive in our
Maisteris Caus, even unto the Deithe, being certane of the Victorie in him: The
quhilk our Dewtie being weill considerit, We do promise befor the Majestie of
God, and his Congregation, That we, be his Grace, sall with all Diligence con-
tinuallie apply our baill Power, Substance, and our verie Lyves, to manteine, set
fordeward, and establish the most thrist Word of God, and his Congregation: And
sall labour at our Possibilitie to have saythfull Ministeris, punlie and trowlie to mi-
nister Christis Evangel and Sacramentis to his Pepill. We sall mantein thame, nu-
rische thame, and defend thame, the baill Congregation of Christ, and everie
Member thairof, at our baill Poweris, and wairing of our Lyves, against Sathan
and all wicked Power that dois intend Tirranie or Trybill against the soirsaid Con-
gregation. Unto the quhilk holie Word, and Congregation, we do joyn us; and
also dois renunce and joirsake the Congregation of Sathan, with all the Superstiti-
ousis, Abominatiounis and Idolatrie thairof. And mairover, sall declair our selfis
manifeste Enemies thairto, Be this our saythfull Promise befor God, testified to
his Congregation, be our Subscription at thir Presens. At Edinburghe the 3d
Day of December 1557 Yeirs. God callit to Witnes.

Sic subscribitur,

A. Erle of ARGYLL.

GLENCAIRNE.

MORTOUN.

ARCHIBALD Lord of Lorne.

JOHNE ERSKIN of Dun, &c.

Befoir a lyttle that this Band was subscrivied be the soirwrittin, and mony
utheris, Letters wer direct agane to *Johne Knox* fra the saidis Lordis, together
with thair Letteris to Maister *Calvin*, craving of him, That by his Authoritie
he wald command the said *Johne* anis agane to visit thame. Thes Letters
war deliverit be the Handis of Mr. *Johne Gray*, in the Monethe of November,
the Yeir of God 1558, who at that samyn Tyme past to Rome, for Expediti-
oun of the Bowis of Rois to Mr. *Henrie Sinclair*. Immediatlie efter the Sub-
scriptioun of this soirsaid Band, the Lordis and Barrones professing Christ
Jesus, conveynit frequentlie in Counsaill: In the which thes Heidis wer con-
cludit. First, It is thoicht expedient, dewyist, and ordainit, That in all Parichines
of this Realme the Comoun Prayeris be red onkly one Sonday, and uthers festivall
Dayis, publickly in the Parocke Kirks, with the Lesonis of the New and Aula Te-
stament, conforme to the Ordour of the Buik of Comoun-Prayeris. And gif the Cu-
rates of the Parochinis be qualifeit, to caus thame to reid the samyn, and gif thay
be not, or gif they refuis, that the most qualifeit in the Parockin use and reid the
sam. Secundlie, It is thoicht necessarie, that Doctrane, Preiching, and Interpre-
tation of Scriptures be had and used privelie in quiet Houses, without greit Con-
ventiounis of the Pepill thairto, whill efterward that God move the Prince, to grant
publick Preiching be saythfull and trow Ministeris.

These two Heidis concerning the Religioun, and some utheris concerning the Policie being concludit, the auld Erle of *Argyll* tuke the Manteinance of *Johne Douglas*, causit him preiche publictlie in his Hous, and reformed mony Thingis according to his Counceill. The sam Boldnes tuk divers utheris, alsweill within Tounis, as to Landwart, whiche did not a little Trubill the Bischopis and Quein Regent: As by this Letter and Credite committed to Sir *David Haumilton*, fra the Bischope of St. *Androis* to the said Erle of *Argyll*, may be cleirlye understude.

The Bischoppis Letter to the auld Erle of *Argyll*.

M*Y* Lord, efter maist hairtie Comendatiouns, this is to adverteis your Lordschip we have directit this Beirar our Cousing towards your Lordschip, in sick Bessines and Effairs as concernis your Lordschipis Honour, Profeit and grit Weill; lyk as the said Beirar will declair your Lordschipe at mair lenthe. Praying your Lordschip effectuouslie to advert thairto, and gif Attendance to us your Lordschipis Freindis, that ay bes willit the Honour, Profeit, and utter Welthe of your Lordschipis Hous, as of our awin; and Credite to the Beirar. And Jesu have your Lordschip in everlasting keiping. Of *Edinburghe*, the 25th of Merche, anno 1558.

Sic subscribitur,

Your Lordschipis at all Power,

Sanct Androis.

Followis the Credite.

Memorandum, To Sir *David Haumiltoun*, to my Lord Erle of *Argyll*, in my Behalf, and lat him sie and heir everie Artickle.

Inprimis, *TO* repeate the ancient Blude of his Hous, how long it bes stude, how notable it bes bein, and so mony nobill Men bes bein Erles, Lordis, Knichtis thair of: How long thay have runge in thei Parts, evir trew and obedient bothe to God and the Prince, without ony Smote in thair Davis in ony maner of Sort: And to remember how mony notable Men ar cumen of his Hous.

Secundlie, *To* schew him the grit Effectioun I heir towardis him, his Bluid, Hous and Freindis, and of the ardent Desyre I have of the perpetuall standing of it in Honour and Fame, with all thame that are cum of it: Quhilk is my Parte, for mony and divers Causes, as ye sall schaw.

Thridlie, *To* schaw, my Lord, how heavie and displeasing a Thing it is unto me, now to heir, That he quho is and has bein so noble a Man, sould be seduced and abused, be the Flatterie of sick ane insaimed Persone of the Law, and men-sworne Apostate, quho under the Pretence that he gevis himself furth as a Preicheour of the Evangell and Veritie, under that Colour settis furth Schismes and Divisiounis in the balie Kirk of God, with hereticall Propositionis, thinkand that under his Maneteinance and Defence, to infect this Cuntrey with Herefie, perswading my said Lord, and utheris his Bairnis and Freindis, that all that he speikis is Scripture, and conforme thairto, albeit that mony of his Propositionis ar mony Yairs past condemned by the generall Counsaillis, and the baill Estait of Christiane People.

Fourthlie,

Fourthlie, To schaw to my Lord how perillous this is to his Lordschip and his Hous, and Decay thairrof, in cais the Authoritie wald be schairpe, and wald use bayth conforme to Civill and Canon, and also your awin Municipall Law of this Realme.

Fiftlie, To schaw his Lordschip how wae I wald be, eyther to heir, se, or know ony Displeasure that micht cum to him, his Sone, or ony of his Hous or Freindis, and especiallie in his awin Tyme and Dayis. And also how grit Displeasure I have ellis to heir greit and evill Bruit of him that sould now in his Age, in a maner waver from his Fayth, and to be altered thairin quhen the Tyme is that he sould be most sure and firme thairin.

Sixtlie, To schaw his Lordschip that thair is Delatioun of that Man callit Douglas, or Grant, of sundrie Artickles of Heresie quhilk lyes to my Chaarge and Conscience to put Remedie to, or ellis all the pestilentius Doctrane he sawis, and sicklyk all that ar corrupted be his Doctrane, and all that he drawis fra our Fayth and Christiane Religioun, will ly to my Chaarge befoir God: And I to be accused befoir God for overseing of him, gif I put not Remedie thairto, and correct him for sick Thingis he is delaited of. And thairfoir that my Lord consider, and wey it weill, how hickelie it lyes bayth to my Honour and Conscience: For if I tholl him, I will be accused for all thame that he corruptis and infectis in Heresie.

Heirfoir I pray, my Lord, in my maist hairtie maner to tak this Matter in the best Pairt for his awin Conscience, Honour, and Weill of himself, Hous, Freindis, and Servands: And sicklyk for my Parte, and for my Conscience and Honour, That considering that thair ar divers Artickles of Heresie to be layd to him, that he is dilaited of, and that he is presentlie in my Lords Cumpanie: That my Lord wald be sum honest Way departe with this Man, and put him fra him, and fra his Sonis Cumpanie: For I wald be richt sorie that ony being in ony of thair Cumpanies sould be callit for sick Causes, or that ony of thame sould be bruite to hald ony sick Men. And this I wald adverteis my Lord, and have his Lordschipis Answer and Resolution, or ony Summondis passit one him, togither with my Lordis Answer.

Item, Gif my Lord wald have a Man to instruct him trewlye in the Fayth, and preiche to him, I wald provyde a cunning Man to him, quhairfoir I fall answer for his trew Doctrane, and fall put my Saull thairfoir, that he fall teiche nathing bot trewlie according to our Catholick Fayth. Of Edinburghe this last of Merche 1558.

Sic subscribitur,

Sanct Androis.

Item, Attour, your Lordschip fall draw to gud Remembrance, and wey the grit and hevye Murmur against me, bayth be the Queinis Graice, the Kirkmen, Spirituall and Temporall Estantis, and weill gevin Pepill, moaning, crying, and murmur-ing me greitomie, That I do not my Office, To thole sick infamous Persones, with sick perversit Doctrane, within my Diocie, and this Realme, be resone of my Legacie and Primacie, which I have rather susteined and long suffered, for the grit Luse I had to your Lordschip and Posteritie, and your Freindis, and your Hous: Also beleiving surelie your Lordschipis Wisedome sould not have manteined and meltit with sick Thingis that micht do me Dishonour or Displeasure, considering I being reddie to put gude Ordour thairto alwayis; bot hes alanerlie abstained, for the Luif

of your Lordschip and Hous foirsaid, that I beir trewlie, knowing and seing the greit Skaythe, and Dishonour and Lack appeirandlie that nicht cum thairthrowch, in cais your Lordschip remeid not the samyn haistlie, quhairby we nicht bayth be quit of all Danger, quibilk doutles will cum upoun us bayth, gif I use not my Office, or that be be callit, in the Tyme that he is now with your Lordschip, and under your Lordschips Protectioun.

Subscrivit agane,

Sanct Androis.

By these former Instructiounis, thow may perceave, gentill Reidar, what was the Cair that this Pastur, with his Complices, tuke to feid the Flock comitted to thair Chairge, as thay allege, and to gainstand fals Teichearis. Heir is is oft Mentioun of Conscience, of Herefie, and suche uther Tearmes, that may fray the Ignorant, and Simple deceave. But we heir no Cryme in particular laid to the Chairge of the Accused; and yit is he damned as ane men-sworne Apostate. This was my Lordis Conscience, which he leirned of his Fatheris, the *Phariseis*, auld Enemies to Christ Jesus, who damned him befoir thay hard him. Bot who reulled my Lordis Conscience, when he tuk his Kin's Wyf, Lady Giltoun? Consider yow the rest of his Perswasoun, and yow fall cleirlye sie, that Honour, Estimatioun, Love to Hous and Freindis, is the best Ground, that my Lord Bischope hes, why he sould persecute Jesus Christ in his Members. We thoichte gude to insert the Answeris of the said Erle, whiche follow.

Memorandum. This present Writ is to mak answer particularlie to everie Artickle, directed be my Lord of Sanct Androis to me, with Sir David Haumiltoun, quibilk Artickles ar in Number nyne, and heir repeitted and answered, as I truist, to his Lordschips Contentment.

THe first Artickle puttis me in Remembrance of the Antiquitie of the Blude of my Hous, how many Erles, Lordis, and Knychtis hes bein thair of; how mony Nobilmen descendit frome the same Hous, how long it continewed trew to God and the Prince, without Smote in thair Dayis, in ony Maner of Sorte.

Answer. Trew it is, my Lord, that thair is weill long Continewance of my Hous, be Godis Providence and Benevolence of our Princes, quhome we have served, and fall serve trewlie nixt to God. And the lyk Obedience towardis God and our Princes remainis with us yit, or rather better (praysed be the Lord's Name) nether knaw we ony Spotte towardis our Princes and hir dew Obedience. And gif thair be Offence towardis God, he is mercifull to remit our Offences; for *he will not the Deithe of a Synner*: Lyk as, it stands in his omnipotent Power to mak up Houses, or continew the samyn, to alter thame, to mak thame small or grit, or to extinguische thame, according to his awin inscrutable Wisdome; for in exalting, depressing and changing of Houses, the Laude and Prays muste be gevin to that ane eternall God, in quhose Handis the same standis.

The second Artickle beiris the grit Effectioun and Love your Lordschip beiris towardis me and my Hous, and of the ardent Desyre ye have of the per-

perpetual standing thair of in Honour and Fame, with all thame that is cummin of it.

Answer. Forsuith it is your Dewtie to wische Gude unto my Hous, and unto thame that ar cumin of the same, nocht allanerlie for the Faythfulnes, Amitie and Societie that hes bein betwix our Fairbeareris, bot also for the lair Conjunction of Blude that is betwix our saidis Houses, gif it be God's Plesure that it have Succes; whiche sould gif sufficient Occasioun to your Lordship to wische Gude unto my Hous, and Perpetuitie with Godis Glorie, without quhilk nothing is perpetuall, unto quhome be Prais and Worschip for evir and evir. *Amen.*

Thridlie, Your Lordship declairis, how despleisand it is to yow, that I sould be seduced be ane infained Persone of the Law, and be the Flattery of ane mensworne Apostate, that under Pretence of his Furth-geving, makes us to understand that he is ane Preicheour of the Evangell, and thairwith rayses Schismes and Divisiounis in the haill Kirk of God; and be our Menteinance and Defence, wald infect this Countrey with Hereſie; alledging, that to be Scripture, whilk thir mony Yeirs bygane hes bein condemned as Hereſie, be the General Counsaillis, and haill Estait of Christian Pepill.

Answer. The God that created Hevin and Eirthe, and all that thairin is, preserve me fra seducing; and I dreid mony utheris under the Cullour of Godlines ar seducent, and thinkis that they do God a Plesour, quhen they persecute ane of thame that profess his Name: Quhat that Man is of the Law we know not, we heir nane of his Flatterie, his mensworne Ayth of Apostacie is ignorant to us; bot gif he had maid ane unlawful Ayth contrair Godis Comand, it war better to violate it, than to observe it; he preichis nathing to us bot the Evangell; gif he wald utherwyis do, we wald not beleive him; nor yit ane Angell of Hevin. We heir him saw na Schismes nor Divisiounis, bot sick as may stand with Godis Word, whiche we sall caus him confes in Presence of your Lordship and the Clergie, when ye require us thairto. And as to it that hes bein condemned by Generall Counsaillis, we truist, ye know weill that all the Generall Counsaillis hes bein at Diversitie amongis thame selfis, and never twa of thame universallie aggreing in all Pointis, in sae mekill as they ar of Men. Bot the Spreit of Veritie that beiris Testimonie of our Lord Jesus hes not, nether cannot erre; *For Hevin and Eirthe sall perishe, or ane Jotte of it perishe.* By this, my Lord, nether teiches he, nether will we accept of him, bot that quhilk aggreis with Godis sinceir Worde, set furthe be Patriarkis, Prophetis, Apostles and Evangelists, left to our Salvatioun in his expresse Word; and sa, my Lord, to condemne the Doctrine not examined is not required; for quhen your Lordship pleises to heir the Confessioun of that Manis Fayth, the Maner of his Doctrine, whiche aggreis with the Evangell of Jesus Christ, I will caus him to assist to Jugement, and sall be present thairat with Godis Plesour, that he may render Reckning of his Beleif and our Doctrine, to the supperiour Powers, according to the Prescriptioun of that Blude of the eternell Testament seallit be the immaculat Lambe, to quhome, with the Father, and Holie Spreit, be all Honour and Glorie, for evir and evir. *Amen.*

The *fourth* Artickle puttis me in Remembrance how dangerous it is, gif the Authoritie wald put at me and my Hous, according to the Civill and Canone Lawis, and our awin Municipall Lawis of this Realme, and how it appeareth to the Decay of our Hous.

Answer. All Lawis ar, (or at leift suld be) subject to God's Lawis, quhilk Lawis sould be first plaiced and planted in everie Manis Hairt; it sould have no Impediment, Men sould not abrogat it, for the Defence and Upsetting of thare awin Advantage. Gif it wald pleis Authorities to put at our Hous, for confessing of Godis Word, or for Manteinance of his Law, God is michtie aneuche in his awin Caus; he sould be rather obeyed nor Man. I will serve my Princes with Bodie, Hairt, Gudis, Strenthe, and all that is in my Power, except that whiche is Godis Deutie, whiche I will reserve to God allone, that is, to worschipe him in Treuthe and Veritie, and als neir as I can, conforme to his prescrybed Word, to his awin Honour, and Obedience of my Princes.

The *fift* Artickle puttis me in Remembrance, how wae your Lordschip wald be to heir, sie or know ony Displefour that micht cum to me, my Sone, or ony of my Hous, and speciallie in my Tyme and Dayis; and also to heir the grit and evill Bruit of me, that sould now in my Age, in a Maner begin to waver from my Fayth, and to be altered thairin, quhen the Tyme is that I sould be most sure and firme thairin.

Answer. Your Lordschip's gude Will is evir maide manifest to me, in all your Artickles that wald not sie, heir or know of my Displefour, for the quhilk I ame bund to rander your Lordschip Thankis, and sall do the samyn assuredlie; but as for wavering in my Fayth, God forbidde, that I suld sa do; for *I believe in God the Father Almichtie, Maker of Hevin and Eirthe, and in Jesus Christ his onlie Sone our Saviour.* My Lord, I vary not in my Fayth; bot I prays God, that of his Gudnes, now in my letter Dayis, hes of his infinite Mercie oppint his Bosome of Graice unto me, to acknowledge him, the eternell Wisdome, his Sone Jesus Christ ane sufficient Satisfactioun, to refuis all Maner of Idolatrie, Superstitioun and Ignorance, quhairwith I have bein blindit in Tymes by-gane, and now beleves, that God will be mercifull to me; for now he hes declairit his bleffit Will cleirlie to me, befor my departing this transitorie Lyif.

The *sext* Artickle declairis, That thair ar Delatiounis of sundrie Pointis of Heresie upoun that Man callit *Douglas* or *Grant*, whilk lyis to your Chairge and Conscience, to put Remedie to, or ellis that all the pestilentius Doctrine he sawis, and all whome he corruptis with his Seid, will be required at your Handis, and all quhome he drawis from your Christiane Fayth; and if ye sould thoill him, that ye will be accuised for all thame whome he infectis with Heresie; and thairfor to regaird your Lordschip's Honour and Conscience heiruntill.

Answer. What is his Surname I know not, bot he callis himself *Douglas*; for I know nether his Father nor his Mother. I have hard him teich na Artickles of Heresye, bot that whilke agreis with Godis Worde; for I wald manetein no Man in Heresie nor Errour. Your Lordschip regairds your Conscience in the Punischment thair of. I pray God, that ye sa do, and examyn your Conscience weill. He preiches against Idolatrie; I remitt to your Lordschip's Conscience, gif it be Heresie or not. He preiches against Adulterie and Fornicatioun; I refer that to your Lordschip's Conscience. He preiches against Hypocrisie, I referre that to your Lordschip's Conscience. He preiches against all Maner of Abusses and Corruptioun of Christis sincere Religioun; I refer that to your Lordschip's Conscience. My Lord, I exhorte yow in Christis Name, to wey all thir Effaires in your Conscience, and considder, if it be your Dewtie also, not onlie to thole this, bot in lyk Maner to do the same.

This

This is all, my Lord, that I varie in my Age, and na uther Thing, bot that I knew not befor theſe Offences to be abhominable to God, and now knowing his Will, be Manifeſtation of his Worde, abhorres thame.

The *ſeventh* Artickle deſyres me to wey thir Matters in maiſt hairtie Manner, and to tak thame in beſt Parte, for the weill of bayth our Conſciences, my Houſe, Freindis and Servandis, and to put ſick ane Man out of my Company, for feir of the Cummer and Bruit that ſud follow thairone, be reſſone he is delaited of ſundrie Hereſies: And that your Lordſchip wald be ſorie to heir ony of our Servands delaited or bruite for ſick Cauſes, or for halding of ony ſick Man; and that your Lordſchip wald underſtand my Answer heiruntill, or ony Summondis paſſed thairupoun.

Anſweir. I thank your Lordſchip gritlie, that ye ar ſo ſoliſt for the weill of me, and of my Houſe, and is ſo humane, as to mak me the Adverteiſment, befor ye have ſummondit, of your awin gud Will and Benevolence; And hes weyed thir Matteris, as heichlie as my Jugement can ſerve me, bayth for your Lordſchips Honour and myne. And quhen I have reſſonit all that I can do with my ſelf in it; I think it ay beſt to ſerve God, and obey his manifeſt Word, and not be obſtinate in the contrarie, ſyne to gif thair dew Obedience to the Princes, Reullaris, and Magiſtrates, and to heir the Voice of Godis Propheitis, declairing his gude Promeiſes to thame that repentis, and threatning to obſtinate wicked Doaris, everlaſting Diſtruſtioun. Your Lordſchip knowis weill the Man, he hes ſpokin with your Lordſchip: I thocht yow content with him. I hard no Occaſioun of Offence in him. I cannot weill want him, or ſum Preicheour. I cannot put away ſick ane Man, without I know him ane Offendare, as I know not; for I heir nothing of him, bot ſick as your Lordſchips ſelf hard of him, and ſick as he yit will profes in your Prefens, quhenevir your Lordſchip requires. Sick ane Man that is reddie to aſſiſt himſelf to Jugement, ſould not be expellit without Cognitioun of the Caus; for lyk as I anſwerit befor in ane uther Artickle, quhen your Lordſchip pleiſes, that all the Spirituall and Temporall Men of Eſtate of Scotland beis conveyit, I ſall cauſ him rander ane Accompte of his Beleif and Doctrin in your Prefences; then gif he deſervis Punifchment and Correctioun, lat him ſo ſuffer; gif he be found faythfull, lat him leiſe in his Fayth.

The *eight* Artickle proponis unto me, That your Lordſchip wald tak the Labour to get me a Man to inſtruct me in your Catholick Fayth, and to be my Preicheour, for whais Doctrin ye wald lay your Saull, that he wald teiche nathing, bot trewlie conforme to your Fayth.

Anſweir. God Almichtie ſend us mony of that Sorte, that will preiche trewlie, and nathing bot ane Catholik univerſall Chriſtiane Fayth; and we Hieland rude Pepill hes miſter of thame. And if your Lordſchip wald get and provyde me ſick a Man, I ſould provide him a corporall Leving, as to my ſelf, with grit Thankis to your Lordſchip: For trewlie, I and many ma hes grit Miſter of ſick Men. And becaus I am abill to ſuſtein ma nor ane of thame, I will requieſt your Lordſchip earneſtly to provyde me ſick a Man as ye wrait, for the Harveſt is grit, and thair ar few Labouraris.

The *laſt* and *nynth* Artickle puttis me in Remembrance to conſider quhat murmur your Lordſchip tholles, and great Bruit, at many Menis Handis, bayth Spreituall and Temporall, and at the Queinis Graices Hand, and utheris weill gevin Pepill, for not putting of Ordour to thir Effairs; and that your

Lordſchip hes abſteinit fra Executioun heirow, for Love of my Houſe and Poſteritie, to the Effect that my ſelf ſould remeid it, for feir of the Diſhonour nicht cum upoun us bayth for the ſame: Quhilk being remeidit, nicht bring us out of all Danger.

Anſweir. My Lord, I know weil quhat murmur and Indignatioun your Lordſchip thoilles at Enemies Handis of all Eſtatis, for non periewing of pure ſimple Chriſtians: And I know, that if your Lordſchip wald uſe thair Counſaill, that wald be blude ſchedding and burning of pure ſimple Men, to mak your Lordſchip ſerve thair wicked Appetytis; yit your Lordſchip knaws your awin Dewtie, and ſould not feir the Danger of Men, as of him quhome ye profes. And verrelie, my Lord, thair is nathing that may be to your Lordſchips Releif in this Behalf, bot I will uſe your Lordſchips Counſaill heiruntill, and furdre the ſamyn, Godis Honour being firſt provydit, and the Treuthe of his eternall Word having Libertie. And to abſteane for my Love fra Perſute, as your Lordſchip hes ſignified, I ame addettit to your Lordſchip, as I have writtin divers Tymes befor. Bot thair is ane above, for whois feir ye mane abſteane fra blude ſchedding, or ells, my Lord, knock one your Conſcience. Laſt of all, your Lordſchip pleis to conſider how deſyrous ſum ar to ſaw Seditioun amonges Freindis; how michtie the Devill is to ſaw Diſcord; how that mony wald deſyre na better Game, bot to hunt us at uther. I pray your Lordſchip begylle thame; we will agrie upoun all Purpoſes with Godis Pleſour, ſtanding to his Honour. Thair ar divers Houſes in *Scotland* by us, that profes the ſame God ſecreitlie; they deſyre bot that ye begin the Bargan at us; and quhen it beginnis at us, God knawis the End thair of, and quha ſall byde the nixt Put. My Lord, conſider this, mak na Preparative of us: Lat not the vane Exhortatioun of thame that regairdis litill the Strenthe and Weill of bayth of our Houſes, ſturr up your Lordſchip, as they wald, to do againſt God, your awin Conſcience, and the Weill of your Poſteritie for evir. And thairfor now in the End, I pray your Lordſchip wey thir Thingis wyſelie; and gif ye do utherwayis, God is God, was, and ſall be God, quhen all is wrocht that Man can work.

This Answer received, the Biſchope and his Complices fund thameſelfis ſumquhat diſſapointed; for the Biſchopis loked for nathing leſs than for ſuche Answer from the Erle of *Argylle*; and thairfor they maid thame for thair extreim Defence, that is, to corrupt, and by Buds to ſtur up the Quein Regent in our contrair; as in the Secund Buk we ſall more cleirly heir. Schorte efter this, the Lord callit to his Mercie the ſaid Erle of *Argyll* from the Miſeries of this Lyfe; quhair of the Biſchopis war glaid; for they thoicht that thair grit Enemy was takin out of the Way, bot God diſſapointed thame: For as the ſaid Erle departit maiſt constant in the trew Fayth of Jeſus Chriſt, with a plain Renunciatioun of all Impietie, Superſtitious, and Idolatrie; ſo left he it in his Teſtament to his Sone, That he ſuld studie to ſet forward the publick and trew preaching of the Evangell of Jeſus Chriſt, and to ſuppreſs all Superſtitious and Idolatrie to the uttermoſt of his Power. In whiche Point ſmall Fault can be fund with him to this Day, the 10th of *Maie*, anno 1568. God be mercifull to his uther Offences. *Amen.*

The Blind, Crooked, Bedralis, Widowis, Orphelingis, and
all uther Pure, sa visit be the Hand of God as may not
Worke,

To the Flockis of all Freiris within this Realme, we wische Restitutioun of
Wrangis bypast, and Reformatioun in Tymes cuming, for Salvatioun.

YE your selfis ar not ignorant, and thocht ye wald be, it is now (thankis to
God) weill knawin to the baill Warld, be his maist insallibill Word, That
the Benegnitie or Almes of all Christiane Pepill perteinis to us allanerlie; quhilk
ye, being baill of Bodie, stark, sturdie, and abill to work, quhat under Pretence
of Povertie, and nevirtheles possessing maist easelie all Abundance, quhat throw clockit
and huidit Simplicitie, thoch your Proudnes is knawin, and quhat senyeit Holines,
whiche now is declaired Superstitioun and Idolatrie, hes thir mony Yeirs, expres a-
gainst Godis Word, and the Practeis of his holie Apostles, to our grit Torment, al-
lace! maist falslie stollen fra us. And als ye have be your fals Doctrine and wrest-
ing of Godis Worde (leirned of your Father Sathan) induced the baill Pepill, hie
and low, in sure Hope of Beleaf, that to cloithe, seid, and nurische yow, is the
onlie maist acceptabill Almes allowed befor God; and to gif ane Pennie, or ane
Peice of Breid anis in the Oulke is yneuche for us. Evin so ye have perswadit
thame to bigge to yow grit Hospitallis, and mantein yow thairin be thair Purs,
quhilk onlie perteinis now to us be all Law, as biggit and dottat to the Pure, of
whois Number ye ar not, nor can be repete, nether be the Law of God, nor yit be
na uther Law proceeding of Nature, Resson, or civill Pollicie. Quhairfor seing
our Number is sa grit, sa indigent, and sa hevylie oppressit be your fals Meanis,
that name takis Cair of our Misserie: And that it is better for us, to provide
thir our impotent Members, quhilk God hes gevin us, to oppone to yow in plain Con-
traversie, than to sie yow beirefter, as ye have done afoir, steill fra us our Lev-
ingis, and our selfis in the mein Tyme to perische and die for want of the same.
We have thoicht gude thairfor, or we enter with yow in Conflict, to wairne yow,
in the Name of the grit God, be this publict wrytting, affixt one your Yettis quhair
ye now dwell, that ye remove furthe of our said Hospitallis, betwix this and the
Feist of Whitsunday next: Sua that we the onlie lawfull Proprietaris thairof,
may enter thairto, and efterward injoy the Comodities of the Kirke, whence ye
have heirunto wrangouslie haldin from us. Certiseing yow, and ye failye, we will
at the said Terme, in baill Number, with the Helpe of God, and the Assistance of
his Sanctis in Eirthe, (of whois reddie Supporte we dout not) enter and tak Pos-
sessioun of our said Patrimonie, and eject yow utterlie furthe of the same.

Lat him thairfor that befor hes stollen, steill no mair, but rather lat him
worke with his Handis, that he may be helpfull to the Pure.

*Fra the baill Cities, Townis and Villages of Scot-
land, the first Day of Januare 1558.*

The Bischopis continewed in thair provinciall Consaill evin unto that Day
that Johne Knox arryved in Scotland; and that they micht gif sum Schaw to
the Pepill, that they myndit Reformatioun, they sparsed abroad a Rumour
thairof,

thairof, and set furthe sumquhat in Prent, whiche of the Pepill was callit, *The Twa-penny Fayth*. Among thair Actis thair was muche ado for Capis, schavin Crounis, Tippetis, lang Gownis, and such uther Trifellis.

I. Item. *That nane sould injoy Office, or Benefice ecclesiasticall, except a Priest.*

II. Item. *That na Kirk-man sould nourishe his awin Bairne in his awin Cumpanie, bot that everie ane sould hald the Children of utheris.*

III. *That none sould put his awin Sone in his awin Benefice.*

IV. *That gif ony war found in oppine Adulterie, for the first Fault he sould loise the Third of his Benefice; for the second Cryme the Half; and for the third the haill Benefice.*

Bot heirfra apeillit the Bischope of Murray, and uther Prelatis, saying, *That they wald abyde at the Canoun Law*. And so they micht weill aneuche do, so lang as they remainit Interpretars, Dispensatours, Makers and Dissanullers of that Law. Bot lat the same Law have the trew Interpretatioun, and just Executioun, and the Devill fall assone be provin a trew and obedient Servand to God, as ony of that Sort fall be provin a Bischope, or yit to have ony just Authority within the Church of Christ Jesus. Bot we returne to our Historie.

The Persecutioun was decreeid, alsweill by the Quein Regent as by the Prelattis; bot thair rested a Poynt, whiche the Quein Regent and France had not at that Tyme obtained, to wit, That the Crown matrimoniell sould be granted to Francis, Husband to our Soverane, and so sould France and Scotland be bot one Kingdome, the Subjects of both Realmes to have equall Liberties, Scottis Men in France, and Frenche Men in Scotland. The Glister of the Profeit, that was jugeit heirop to have infewit to Scottis Men, at the first Sicht, blindit mony Menis Eyis; bot a small Wind causit that Mist suddanelie to evanische away; for the grittest Offices and Benefices within the Realme war apointed for Frenche Men. Monsieur Rubie kept the Greit Seill. Vielmort was Controller; Melrofs and Kelso sould have bein a Commend to the puire Cardinall of Lorayne; the Fredomes of Scottis Merchents wer restrayned in Rowane, and they compellit to pay Toll and Taxatiounis, uthers then their ancient Liberties did beir. To bring this Heid to pas, to wit, to get the matrimoniell Crown, the Quein Regent left no Point of the Compass unsaylled. With the Bischopis and Preistis sche practeisid one this Maner.

Ye may cleirlye see, That I cannot do quhat I wald within this Realme; for thes Heretykis, and Confedderatis of Ingland ar so bandit togither, that they stoppe all gude Ordure; bot will ye be favorabill unto me in this Suit, of the matrimoniell Crown to be grantit to my Dochter's Husband, then sall ye see how I sall handill thes Heretykis and Tratours or it be lang. And in verie deid, in thes hir Promeises, sche meanit no Deceat in that Behalf.

Unto the Protestantis, sche said, *I ame not unmyndfull, how oft ye have suitit me for Reformatioun in Religioun, and gladlie wald I consent thairunto; bot ye see the Power and Craft of the Bischop of Sanct Androis, togither with the Power of the Duke, and of the Kirk men, evir to be bent against me in all my Proceedingis; so that I may do nothing, unles the full Authoritie of this Realme be devolved to the King of France, whiche cannot be bot by Donatioun of the Crown Matrimoniall, whiche Thing gif ye will bring to pas, then devise ye quhat ye pleis in Materis of Religioun, and they sall be granted.* With this Comissioun and Credit, was Lord

James

James, then Pryour of St. *Androis*, direct to the Erle of *Argyll*, with many utheris Promises then we list to rehers. By suche Dissimulatioun to those that war simple and trew of Hairt, inflamed sche thame to be more fervent in hir Petitioun, then hirself appeared to be: And so at the Parliament, haldin at *Edinburghe* in the Monthe of *October*, the Yeir of God 1558. it was cleirlye voited, no Man reclaiming, except the Duke for his Interest; and yit for it thare was no better Law produced, except that thare was ane solemnit Mefs appointed, for that Purpois in the Pontificall. This Heid obtainit, quhairat *France* and sche principally schotte, quhat Fayth sche keipte unto the Protestantis, in this our secound Buke sall be declairit; in the Begining quhairof, we man more amplie rehers sum Things, that in this our first ar summarily tuitched.

The End of the first Buke.

M.





THE
 Secunde Booke
 OF THE
 HISTORIE
 OF

Thingis done in *SCOTLAND*, in the Reformation of Religioun, begining in the Yeir of God 1558.



UR Purpois was to have maid the begining of our Historie, from the thingis that war done, from the Yeir of God 1558, till the Reformation of Religioun, whiche of Godis Mercie we anis possessit; and yit in Doctrine, and in the ryght

Use of Administratioun of Sacramentis, do possess.

F f

Bot

Bot becaus divers of the godlie, as befoir is said, earnestlie requirit, That suche Personis as God raisit up in the middest of Darknes, to oppone thame selfis to the same, fould not be omitted, we obeyed thair Requeist, and have maid a schorte Reherfall of all suche Matteris as concerne Religioun, frome the Deyth of that notable Servand of God, Mr. *Patrik Haumiltoun*, unto the foirsaid Yeir, quhen that it pleised God to luke upoun us more mercifullie then we desserved, and to gif unto us gritter Baldnes, (albeit not without Hafsard and Truble) and better Succes in all our Interpryses then we luikit for, as the trew Narratioun of this secound Buke fall Witnes. The PREFACE quhairof followis.





PRÆFATIO.



EAST that Sathan by our long Silence fall tak Occasioun to blaspheme, and to slander *us the Protestantis of the Realme of Scotland*, as that our Fact tendit rather to Seditioun and Rebellioun, than to Reformatioun of *Maners*, and Abuses in Re-

ligioun; We have thoicht expedient sotrewlie and brevelie as we can, to comitt to wrytting the Causes moving us, (us, we say, ane grit Part of the Nobilitie and Barrones of the Realme) to tak the Sworde of just Defence, against thois that maist injustlie seik our Distructioun. And in this our Confessioun we fall faythfullie declair quhat moved us to put our Handis to the Reformatioun of Religioun; How we have proceiddit in the same; Quhat we have asked, and quhat presentlie we require of the sacreit Authoritie; to the end that our Caus beinge knawin, allweill our *Enemies* as our *Brethrein* in all Realmes, may understand how falslie we ar accused of Tumult and Rebellion, and how injustlie we ar persecuted by *France*, and by thair Factioun: As also that our Bretherin naturall *Scottismen*, of quhatsoever Religioun they be, may have Occasioun to examine thameselfis, Gif thay may with

saif Conscience oppone thameselfis to us, who seik nothing bot *Christ Jesus his glorious Evangell to be preiched, his holy Sacramentis to be trewlie ministrate, Superstitioun, Tyrannie, and Idolatrie to be suppressed in this Realme; And finallie, The Libertie of this our native Cuntrey to remane frie from the Bondage and Tirranie of Strangeris.*

Quhill that the Quein Regent practeisid with the Prelatis, how that *Christ Jesus his bleffit Evangell nicht uterlie be suppressit within Scotland, God so blissit the Labours of his waik Servants, that na small Parte of the Barones of this Realme began to abhore the Tyrannie of the Bischopis: God did so oppin thair Eyis by the Licht of his Word, that thay could cleirly discern betwix Idolatrie, and the trew honouring of God: Yea, Men almoist universallie began to dout quhadder they nicht (God not offendit) gif thair bodelie Pretence to the Mels, or yit offer thair Childrein to the Papisticall Baptisme To the whiche douttis quhen the maist godlie, and maist leirned in Europe had answered, bothe by Worde and Writ, affirming, That nether of bothe we nicht do, without the extreim Perrillis of our Saullis, we began to be more troublit: For then also began Men of Estimatioun, and that bair Reulle amongest us, to examine thameselfis concerning thair Dewtis, alsweill towardis Reformatioun of Religioun, as toward the just Defence of thair Brethren maist cruellie persecuttet. And so began divers Questiounis to be moved, to wit, Gif that with saif Conscience such as wer Judges, Lordis, and Reullaris of the Pepill, nicht serve the upper Powers in mainteining of Idolatrie, in persecutting thair Bretherin, and in suppressing Christs Truth? Or, Quhadder they to quhome God in sum Caise had comitted the Sworde of Justice, nicht suffer the Blude of thair Brethren to be sched in thair Presens, without ony Declaratioun that suche Tirranie displeisit thame? By the plain Scriptures it was found, That a lyvelie Fayth required a plain Confessioun when Christs Treuth is opugned, That not onelie ar they gilty that do evill, bot also they that assent to evill. And plain it is, That they assent to evill, who seing Iniquitie*

quitie oppinlie committed, by thair Silence seim to justifie and allow whatsoevir is done.

These Thingis being resolved, and sufficientlie proven by evident Scriptures of God, we began everie Man to luke more diligentlie to his Salvatioun: For the Idolatrie and Tyrannie of the Clergie, callit the Churchemen, was and is so manifest, that whosoever doethe deny it, declaireth himself ignorant of God, and Enemy to Christ Jesus. We thairfor with humbill Confessioun of our former Offences, with fasting and Supplicatioun to God, began to seik sum Remedie in so present a Danger. And first it was concludit, *That the Brethren in everie Toun at certane Tymes shuld assemble together, to Comoun Prayaris, to Exerceis, and reidding of the Scriptures, till it shuld pleis God to geve the Sermon of Exhortatioun to some for Comfort and Instructioun of the rest.*

And this our waik begyning did God so blis, that within a few Monethis the Hairtis of many wer so strengthened, that we socht to have the Faice of a Church amongis us, and oppin Crymes to be punished without respect of Persone: And for that Purpois by comoun Electioun, wer Elders appointed, to quhom the haill Brethren promiseit Obedience: For at that Tyme we had no publict Ministeris of the Worde; onlie did certane zealous Men, amongis quhome war the Laird of *Dun*, *David Forres*, Mr. *Robert Lockhart*, Mr. *Robert Haumiltoun*, *William Harlaw*, and utheris, exhorte thair Brethren, according to the Giftis and Graices granted unto thame. Bot schorte efter did God steir up his Servand *Paull Messen* (his latter Fall aucht not to defaice the Worke of God in him) who in Baldnes of Spreit began oppinlie to preiche Christ Jesus in *Dundie*, in divers Partis of *Angus*, and in *Fyfe*; and so did God work with him, that mony began oppinlie to abrenunce thair auld Idolatrie, and to submitte thame-selvis to Christ Jesus, and unto his blissit Ordinances; in-somuche that the Toun of *Dundie* began to erect the Faice of a publict Church reformed, in the which the

Word was oppinlie preiched, and Christis Sacramentis trewlie ministrat.

In this mein Tyme did God send to us our deir Brother *Johne Willock*, ane Man godlie, leirned, and grave, who efter his schort abode at *Dundie*, repaired to *Edinburgh*, and thair, notwithstanding his long and dangerous Sicknes, did so incurage the Brethren by godlie Exhortationis, that we began to deliberat upoun sum publict Reformatioun; for the Corruptioun in Religioun was suche, that with save Conscience we could no longer sustein it: Yit becaus we wald attempte nothing without the Knowleg of the sacrate Authoritie, with one Consent, efter the Deliberatioun of mony Dayis, it was concludit, That by our publict and commoun Supplicatioun, we sould attempte the Favours, Supporte, and Assistance of the Quein then Regent, to a godlie Reformatioun: And for that Purpois, efter that we had drawin our Oratioun and Petition as followeth, we appointed frome amongst us a Man whos Age and Yeirs deserved Reverence, whose Honestie and Worschip micht have cravit Audience of ony Magistrate in Eirthe, and whose faythfull Service to the Authoritie in all Tymes had bein suche, that in him culd fall no Suspicioun of unlawfull Disobedience. This Oratour was that ancient and honourabil Father, Sir *James Sandilands* of *Calder* Knycht, to quhome we gave Comission and Power in all our Names then present, befor the Quein Regent thus to speik.

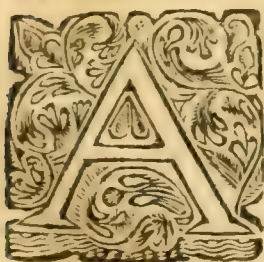




THE FIRST

ORATIOUN and PETITIOUN

OF THE

Protestantis of *Scotland* to the Quein Regent.

LB EIT we have of long Time conteaned ourselfis in that Modestie (*maist Noble Princess*) that nyther the Exylle of Body, Tinsell of Goodis, nor perisching of this mortall Lyif was able to conveyn us to ask at your Graice Reformatioun, and Redress of those Wrangis; and of that soir Grief patientlie borne of us in Bodyes and Myndes, of so lang Tyme; yet ar we now of verie Conscience, and by the Fear of our God, compelled to crave

at your Graices Feit Remeady against the most unjust Tyranny used against your Graces most obedient Subjects, by those that be called the Estate Ecclesiasticall. Your Grace can not be ignorant what Contraversie hath bein, and yit is concerning the trew Religioun, and ryght worschipping of God; and how the Clergye (as they will be termed) usurpe to thameselfis suche Impyre above the Conscience of Men, that quhatsoever they comand must be obeyed, and quhatsoever they forbid must be avoided, without farder Respect had to God's Plesour, Comandment, or Will reveilled to us in his most holy Word, or ellis thare abyde nothing for us but Faggott, Fyre and Sworde; by the whiche mony of our Brethrene, most cruellie and most unjustlie, have been stricken of lait Yeirs within this Realme, whiche now we find to truble and wound our Consciences: For we acknowledge it to have bein our bound Dewties befor God, eyther to have defended our Brethren from those cruell Murtherers, seing we ar a Parte of that Power which God had establisched in this Realme, or ellis to have gevin oppin Testification of our Fayth with thame, which now we crier ourselfis to do, leif

that by our continual Sylence we fall seim to iustify thair cruell Tyranny; which doeth not onlie displeis us, but your Graces Wisedome most prudentlie doeth foirsie, that for the quieting of this intestine Dissentioun, a publick Reformation, alsweall in the Religioun, as in the temporall Governnient, war most necessarie; and to the Performance thareof most gravelie and most godlie, as we ar informed, ye have exhorted alsweall the Clergy as the Nobilitie, to employ thair Studie, Diligence, and Cair: We tharefoir of Conscience dar no longer dessembill in so wechty a Matter, whiche concernethe the Glory of God and our Salvatioun: Nether now dar we withdraw our Presence, nor conceill our Petitiouns, leist that the Adversaries heirefter fall object to us, that Place was granted to Reformatioun, and yit no Man suited for the same, and so fall our Sylence be prejudiciall to us in Tyme to coum: And tharefoir, we knowing no uther Ordour placed in this Realme, but your Grace, and your grave Counsaill, set to amend alsweall the Dissordour Ecclesiasticall, as the Defaultis in the Temporall Regiment, most humblie prostrate ourselfis befoir your Feit, asking your Justice, and your gracious Help against thame that falslie traduce and accuse us, as that we war Heretykes and Schismatickes, under that Cullour seiking our Destruction, for that we seik the Amendment of thair corrupt Lyves, and Christis Religioun to be restored to the originall Puritie. Farder we crave of your Grace, with oppin and patent Earis, to heir those our subsequent Requeistis, and to the Joy and Satisfactioun of our trubled Consciences, mercifully to grant the same, unles by Goddis plain Word ony be able to prove, that iustlie they aucht to be denied.

The First PETITION.

FIRST, Humblie we ask, That as we have, of the Lawis of this Realme, efter long Debate, obtained to reid the holie Buikis of the Auld and New Testaments in our comoun Tounge, as spirituall Fude to our Saullis, sa from henceforth it may be lawfull that we may convey publicly or privatellie, to our comoun Prayaris in our vulgar Tounge, to the End that we may increas and grow in Knowledge; and be induced, in fervent and oft Prayers, to comend to God the holie Church universal, the Quein our Soverane, hir honorabill and gracious Husband, the Stabilitie of thair Successioun, your Grace Regent, the Nobilitie, and baill Estait of this Realme.

Secundly, Gif it fall happen in our saidis Conventiounis ony hard Place of Scripture to be red, of the whiche no Profeit aryseth to the Conveinaris, that it fall be lawfull to ony qualifeit Persone in Knowlege, being present, to interpret and oppen up the saidis hard Places to Goddis Glorie, and to the Profeit of the Auditor; and if ony think that this Libertie sould be Occasioun of Confusioun, Debate, or Heresie, we ar content that it be provydit, that the said Interpretatioun fall underlie the Jugement of the maist godlie and maist leirned within the Realme at this Tyme.

Thirdly, That the holy Sacrament of Baptisme may be used in the vulgar Tounge, that the Godfathers and Witnesses may not only understand the Poyntes of the League and Contract maid betwix God and the Infant, but also that the Church than assembled, more gravelie may be informed and instructed of thair Dewteis whiche at all Tymes they aw to God; according to that Promeis maid un-

to him, quhen thay war receaved into his Housholde by the Lavacrie of spirituell Regeneratioun.

Feardly, *We desyre, That the Sacrament of the Lordis Supper, or of his most blessed Body and Blude, may likewise be ministrated to us in the vulgar Tounge, and in bothe Kyndis, according to the plain Institution of our Saviour Christ Jesus.*

And last, *We most humbly requyre, That the wicket, slanderous, and detestabill Lyf of Prelattes, and of the Stait Ecclesiasticall, may be so reformed, that the Pepill by thame have not Occasioun, as of many Dayis they have had, to contempe thair Ministrie and the preicheing, whair of thay sould be Messengers. And gif they suspect, that we, rather envying thair Honours, or covetting thair Riches and Possessiouns, than zealouslie desyring thair Amendment and Salvatioun, do travell and labour for this Reformatioun; we ar content that not only the Reullis and Preceptis of the New Testament, but also the Wryttings of the ancient Fetheris, and the godlie approved Lawis of Justiniane, decyde the Controversie that is betwix us and thame; and gif it sall be found, that eyther malevolentlie or ignorantly, we ask more than thes thre foirnamed have requyred, and continuallie do requyr of abell and trew Ministers of Christes Church, we refus not Correcitioun as your Grace with rycht Jugement shall think meit. Bot and gif all the foirnamed sall damn that which we damn, and approve that which we requyr, then we most earnestly beseik your Grace, that, notwithstanding the long Consuetude whiche they have had to leve as they list, they be compelled to desist from Ecclesiasticall Administratioun, or to discharge thair Dewties as becometh trew Ministers; so that the grave and godlie Face of the primitive Church reduced, Ignorance may be expelled, trew Doctrin and gud Manueris may ones agane appeir in the Church of this Realme. These Thingis we, as most obedient Subjectis, requyre of your Grace, in the Name of the Eternall God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, in Presence of quhose Throne judiciall, ye and all uther that heir on Earth bear Authoritie, sall give Accompts of your Temporall Regiment. The Spirit of the Lord Jesus move your Graces Hairt to Justice and Equitie. Amen.*

Theis our Petitiounis being proponed, the Estait Ecclesiasticall began to storme; and to devys all Maner of Lyes to defaice the Equitie of our Caus. They bragged as thocht they wald have publick Disputatioun, which also we most earnestly requyred, two Thingis being provyded; the former, That the plane and writtin Scriptures of God sould desyde all Controversie. Secnudlie, That our Brethrein, of quhome some war then exyllled, and by thame injustlie damed, sould have free Acces to the said Disputatioun, and said Conduet to returne to thair dwelling Plaices, notwithstanding any Proceß which befor had bein laid against thame in Matteris concerning Religioun. Bot these being by thame utterlie denyed, (for no Judge wald they admitte bur thameselfis, thair Counsaills and Cannon Law,) they and thair Factioun began to draw certane Artickles of Reconciliatioun, promeising to us, gif we wald admitte the Mess to stand in hir former Reverence and Estimatioun, grant Purgatorie efter this Lyf, confes Prayer to Sanctis, and for the Deid, and suffer thame to enjoy thair accustomed Rents, Possessioun and Honour, that then they wald grant to us to pray and baptise in the vulgar Tounge, so that it war done secretlie and not in the oppin Assemblie. Bot the Grosenes of those Artickles war suche, that with ane Voice we refused thame, and constantly craved Justice of the Quein Regent, and a resonabill Answer of our former Petitiounis. The Quein than Regent, ane Woman craftie, dissimulate and fals, thinking to mak hir Pro-

feit of bothe Parties, gave to us Permissioun to use ourselfis godlie according to our Desyris, provyding we sould not make publict Assemblies in *Edinburghe* or *Leyth*, and did promeis hir Assistance to our Preichours, untill some uniforme Ordour might be establisched by a Parliament. To thame (we mean the Clergie) sche quietlie gave Significatioun of her Mynd, promising that how soon ony Opportunitie sould serve, sche sould so put Ordour in thair Matteris, that after thay sould not be trubled; for sum say, thay gave hir a longe Purs, 40000 Poundis, sayis the Chronicle, gatherit by the Laird of *Erlesball*. We nothing suspecting hir Doubilnes, nor Falshode, departed fully contented with hir Answer, and did use ourselfis so quietlie, that for her Pleasour we put Silence to *Jobne Douglas*, quho publictly would have preiched in the Toun of *Leyth*; for in all Thingis we socht the Contentment of hir Mynd, so far furth as God suld not be offendit with us, for obeying hir in Thingis unlawfull.

Schortlie efter these Thingis, that cruell Tyrant and unmercifull Hypocreit, falslie called Bischope of Sanct *Androis*, apprehended that blessed Martyr of Christ Jesus *Walter Mylne*, a Man of decreipit Age, whome most cruelle and most injustlie he put to Deithe by Fyre in Sanct *Androis*, the Twentieth aucht Day of *Aprylle*, the Yeir of God 1558 Yeirs, whiche Thing did so heichlie offend the Hairts of all Godlie, that immediatelie efter his Deyth began a new Fervencie amongis the haill Pepill; yea, evin in the Toun of Sanct *Androis* began the Pepill plainlie to dame such injust Crueltie, and in Testificatioun that they wald that his Deyth sould abyde in recent Memorie, thare was cassin togither a grit Heipe of Stones in the Place quhare he was brunt. The Bischope and Preistis thareat offended, caussed ones or twys to remove the sam, with Denunciatioun of cursing, gif ony Man thare sould lay ony Stane: Bur in vain was that Wynd blawin; for still was the Heip maid, till that the Preistis and Papistis did steill away the Stanes by Nicht to big thair Wallis, and to uther thair private Uses.

We suspecting nothing that the Quein Regent was consenting to the foirnamed Murther, most humblie did complain of suche injust Crueltie, requyring, that Justice in such Caices sould be ministrated with griter Indifferencie. Sche, as a Woman borne to dissemble and dissave, began, with us, to lament the Crueltie of the Bischope, excusing himself as innocent in that Caus; for that the Sentence was gevin without hir Knowlege, becaus the Man sumtymes had bein an Preist; tharefoir the Bischopis Officialis did proceid upoun him without ony Commissioun of the Civill Authoritie, *ex officio*, as they tearme it.

We yit nothing suspecting hir Falshode, requyred sum Ordour to be takin against suche Inormiteis, whiche sche promissed as befoir: Bot becaus schorte efter thare was ane Parliament to be haldin, for certane Effairis perteneing rather to the Queinis Profeit particulare, nor to the Comoditie of the comon Welthe, we thocht gud to expone our Matter unto the haill Parliament, and by thame to seik sum Redres. We tharefoir, with ane Consent, did offer unto the Quein and Parliament ane Letter in this Tennour.

The Forme of the Letter gevin to the Parliament.

UNto your Graice, and unto yow Richt Honourabill Lordis of this present Parliament, humblie meinis and schawis your Graces saythfull and obedient Subjectis; That quhare we ar daylie molested, sclandered and injured
be

be wicked and ignorant Persones, Placeholders of the Ministeris of the Church, who most untrewlie ceis not to infame us as Heretykis, and under that Name they have most cruellie persecuted divers of our Brethren, and farder intend to execute thair Malice against us, unless be sum godlie Ordour thair Furie and Raige be brydellit and stayit; and yit in us they ar abill to prove no Cryme worthie of Punischment, unless that to reid the holie Scriptures in our Assemblies, to invoke the Name of God in publick Prayeris, with all Sobrietic to interpret and oppin the Places of Scripture that be red, to the farder Edification of the Brethren assembled, and trulie according to Christ Jesus his holie Institution to minister the Sacraments, be Crymes worthie of Punischment. Uther Crymes we say in us they ar not abill to convict. And to the Premisses ar we compelled; for that the saidis Plaiceholders dischairge no Part of thair Dewties rychtly to us, nether yit to the Pepill subject to us; and tharefor, unles we sould declair ourselfis altogether unmyndfull of our awin Salvation, we ar compelled, of verry Conscience, to seik how that we and our Brethren may be delivered from the Thraldome of Sathan: For now it hath pleased God to open our Eyes, that manifestlie we sie, that without extreame Danger of our Saullis, we may in no wayis communicate with the damnabill Idolatrie, and intollerable Abuses of the Papiesticall Church: And tharefor most humbly requyr we of your Grace, and of your Rycht Honorable Lordis, Baronis, and Burgesse assembled in this present Parliament, prudentlie to wey, and as it becomes just Judges, to grant theas our most just and ressonabil Petitiounis.

First, *Seing that the Controversie in Religion, which long had continewed betwix the Protestantis of Almanie, Helvetia, and uther Provinces, and the Papiesticall Church, is not yit desyded by a lawfull and general Counsell; and seing that our Consciences ar lykerweys twicheit with the Fear of God, as was thairs in the Beginning of thair Controversie, we most humbly desire, That all suche Actes of Parliament, as in the Tyme of Darknes gave Power to the Churchmen to execute thair Tyranny aganst us, be Rescoun that we to thame war delated as Heretykis, may be suspended and abrogated, till a generall Counsaill lawfullie assembled have desyded all Controversies in Religion.*

And last that this Mutatioun sould seem to set all Men at Libertie to live as they list, we, secundarlie, requyre, *That it be enacted by this present Parliament, That the Prelattis and thair Officiaris be removed from Place of Jugement, onlie granting unto thame, notwithstanding, the Place of Accusators in the Presens of a temporall Juge, besoir quhome the Churchmen Accusatours sall be boundin to call ony by thame accused of Heresie, to quhome also they sall be bounden to deliver an auttentick Copie of all Depositiones, Accusationes, and Proces led against the Person accused, the Juge likewise delivering the same to the Partie accused assigneing unto him a competent Tyme to answer the sam, efter he had takin sufficient Cautioun judicio fisti.*

Thirdly, *We requyre, That all lawfull Defences be granted to the Persouns accused; as if he be abill to prove, that the Witnesses be Persones unabill by Law to testifie against thame, that then thair Accusationes and Dispositiones be null according to Justice.*

Item, *That Place be granted to the Parte accused to explain and interpret his awin Mynd and Meening; whiche Confessioun we requyre to be inserted in publick Actes, and be preferred to the Depositionis of anie Witnesses, seing that nane aucht to suffer for Religion, that is not found obstinate in his damnable Opinioun.*

Last, *We requyre, That our Brethrein be not damned for Heretykes, unles by the manifest Word of God they be convicted to have erred from that Faythe which the holie Spreit witnessethe to be necessary to Salvatioun, and gif so they be, we refuse not bot that they be punished according to Justice, unless by hailsome Admonitioun they can be reduced to a better Mynd.*

These Things requyr we to be considered of yow, quho occupy the Place of the Eternall God, quho is God of Ordour and Treuthe, even in such Sorte as ye will answer in the Presens of his Throne judicall: Requyring farder, that favorably ye will have Respect to the Tendernes of our Consciences, and to the Truble whiche appeirethe to follow in this Comoun-welth, if the Tyrannie of the Prelattis, and of thair Adherentes, be not brydelled by God and just Lawis. God move your Hairtes deiplye to consider your awin Dewteis, and our present Trubillis.

These our Petitiounes did we first present to the Quein Regent, because that we war determinate to interprys nothing without hir Knowledge, most humble requyring hir favorablie to assist us in our just Actioun. Sche spaired not amiable Luikis, and gude Wordis in abundance; but always sche keipt our Bill clos in her Pocket. When we requyred secreitlie of hir Grace, that our Petitiounes sould be proponed to the haill Assemblie, sche answered, *That sche thocht not that expedient; for then wald the haill Ecclesiasticall Estait be contrarie to hir Proceedings, which at that Tyme wer greit; for the matrimonial Crown was asked, and in that Parliament granted: Bot, said sche, how sone Ordour can be taiken with these Things which now may be hindered by the Kirkmen, ye sall knaw my gude Mynd; and, in the mean Tyme, quhatsoever I may grant unto yow, sall be gladlie granted.* We yit nathing suspecting hir Falshode, wer content to give Place for a Tyme to hir Plessour, and pretended Resfone; and yit thocht we expedient sumquhat to protest befor the Dissolutioun of the Parliament; for our Petitiounes wer manifestlie knawin to the haill Assemblie, and also how for the Queinis Plesour we ceased to persew to the uttermost. Our Protestatioun was formed in the Maner following.

Forme of the Protestatioun maid in Parliament.

IT is not unknowin to this honourabill Parliament, what Controversie is now laitlie ryssen betwix these that will be called the Prelatis and Reularis of the Church; and a grit Number of us the Nobilitie and Comunaltie of this Realme, for the trew worshipping of God, for the Dewtie of Ministers, for the rycht Administratioun of Christ Jesus holie Sacrament, how that we have complained by our publick Supplicatiouns to the Quein Regent, That our Consciences are burdened with unprofitable Ceremonies, and ar compelled to adhere to Idolatrie; that suche as tak upoun thame the Office ecclesiasticall, discharge no Parte thareof as becometh trew Ministers to do. And finally, That we and our Brethrene ar most unjustlie oppressed by thair usurped Authoritie; and also we suppose it is a Thing sufficiently knawin, that we war of Mynd at this present Parliament to seik Redress of sick Enormities: But considdering that the Trubles of the Tyme do not suffer suche Reformatioun as we, by Godis plane Word, do requyre, we are enforced to delay that which most earnestly we desyre; and yit least that our Sylence sould give Occasioun to our Adversaries to think, that we repent our former Interprys,

terpryis, we cannot ceas to protest for Remedie, against that most injust Tyrannie whiche we heirtofoir most patientlie have sustained.

And first we protest, *That seing we cannot obtaine ane just Reformatioun, according to Godis Worde, that it be lawfull to us to use our selfis in Matteris of Religion and Conscience, as we must answer unto God, unto suche Tyme as our Adversaries be able to prove thameselfis the trew Ministeris of Christis Church, and to purge thameselfis of suche Crymes as we have alreddie laid to thair Charge, offering our selfis to prove the sam whensoever the sacrat Authoritie pleis to give us Audience.*

Secundly we protest, *That nether we, nor yet ony uther that godlie list to joyne with us in the trew Fayth, whiche is grounded upoun the invincibill Worde of God, shall incur ony Danger in Lyfe or Landis, or uther politicall Painis, for not observinge suche Actis as heirtofoir have passed in favours of our Adversaries, nether yit for violatting of suche Ryttes as Man without Godis Commandment or Word hes commandit.*

We thridly protest, *That gif ony Tumult or Uproare shall aryse among the Members of this Realme for the Diversitie of Religion; and if it shall chance that Abusses be violentlie reformed, that the Cryme thair of be not imput to us, who most humbly do now seik all Thingis to be reformed by ane Ordour: Bot rather quhatsoever Inconvenience shall happen to follow for lack of Ordour tairing, that may be imputed to thois that do refus the samyn.*

And last we protest, *That these our Requeisitis, proceeding from Conscience, do tend to no uther End, bot to the Reformatioun of Abusses in Religion onlie: Most humbly beseking the sacrat Authoritie to tak us faythfull and obedient Subjects in Protectione agains our Adversaries, and to schaw unto us suche Indifference in our most just Petitiounes, as it becomethe Godis Leivetenentis to do to thois that in his Name do call for Defence agains cruell Oppressours, and Blud-thirstie Tyrantis.*

Theas our Protestatiounis publicklye red, we desyred thame to have bein inserted in the comoun Register; bot that, by Labours of our Enemies, was denyed unto us. Nottheleis the Quein Regent said, *Me will remember what is protestit, and me shall put gude Ordour after this to all Thingis that now be in Contraverfie.* And thus efter that sche be Craft had obtained hir Purpois, we departit in gud Esperance of hir Favours, praying God in our Hairs, that sche was so weill inclynit toward Godlines. The gud Opinioun that we had of hir Sinceritie, causit us not onlie to spend our Gudis, and hassard our Bodyis at hir Plesour, bot also by our publick Letteris writtin to that excellent Servand of God *Johne Calvin*, we did pray and commend hir for excellent Knowlege of Godis Word, and gude Will towardis the Advancement of his Glorie; requiring of him, *That by his grave Counsaill, and godlie Exhortatioun, he wald animate hir Graice constantlie to follow that, whiche godlie sche had begun.* We did furder schairpelie rebuke, bothe by Word and wryting, all suche as appeired to suspect in hir ony Venome of Hypocrisie, or that war contrair to that Opinioun whiche we had conceaved of hir godlie Mynd. Bot how far we war deceaved in our Opinioun, and abusit by hir Crafte, did suddantlie appair: For how sene that all Thingis pertaining to the Comeditie of *France* war granted by us, and that Feice was contracted betwix King *Philip* and *France*, and *England* and us, sche began to spew furth,

and disclois the latent Venome of hir doubill Hairt. Then began sche to frown, and to luik frowardlie to all suche as sche knew did favour the Evangell of Jesus Christ. Sche comandit hir Houshald to use all Abhominatioun at *Pasche*; and sche hirself, to gif Exempill to utheris, did communicate with that Idoll, in oppin Audience; sche controlled hir Houshald, and wald knaw quhair that everie ane receaved thair Sacrament. And it is suppoisit, That efter that Day the Devill tuk more violent and strang Possessioun in hir Hairt, than he had befor; for from that Day forward, sche appeirit altogether alterit, in so muche that hir Continance and Factes did declair the Vennome of hir Hairt: For incontinent sche caussit our Preicheours to be summoned; for whome, when we maid Intercessioun, beseiking hir Grace not to molest thame in thair Ministerie, unles ony Man war abill to convict thame of fals Doctrine, sche could not brydill hir Toung from oppin Blasphemie, bot prouddie sche said, *In despyte of yow and your Ministeris bothe, they sall be banished out of Scotland, albeit they preichit als trewlie as evir did Sanct Paull.* Whiche proud and blasphemous Answer did gritlie astonishe us, and yit ceissit we not most humelie to seik hir Favours, and by grit Diligence at last obtained, that the Summondis at that Tyme war delayit. For to hir war send *Alexander Erle of Glencairne*, and *Sir Hew Campbell of Loudone Knycht and Shireff of Air*, to resson with hir, and to crave soun Performance of hir monifald Promeises. To quhome sche answered, *It became not Subiectis to burdein thair Princes with Promeises, furder then it pleisit thame to keip the sam.* Bothe thei Nobillmen faythfullie and baldlie dischairgit thair Dewtie, and planelie foirwairnit hir of the Inconveniencis that war to follow; quhairwith sche sumquhat astonyed, said, *Sche wald avyis.*

In this mein Tyme did the Toun of *Perth*, callit Sanct *Johnestown*, imbrace the Treuthe, whiche did provoke hir to a new Furie; in whiche sche willit the Lord *Ruthven* Proveist of that Toun, to suppres all suche Religioun thair. To the whiche when he answered, "That he culd mak thair Bodyis to cum to" "hir Graice, and to prostrate thame selfis befor hir, till that sche war fullie satisfiate of thair Blude, bot to caus thame do against thair Conscience, he culd" "not promise." Sche in Furrie did answer, *That he was to mallapairt, to gif hir suche Answeris*, affirming, *That bothe he and they sould repent it.* Sche solistid Mr. *James Halybourtoun* Proveist of *Dundie*, to apprehend *Paull Messen*, who feiring God, gave secreit Adverteisment to the Man to avoyd the Toun for a Tyme. Sche send furthe suche as sche thoicht moift abill to perswaid at *Pasche*, to caus *Montrois, Dundie, Sanct Johnestoun*, and uther such Plaices as had receaved the Evangell, to communicate with the Idoll of the Mes; bot they culd profite nothing, the Hairtis of mony war bent to follow the Trewthe reveilled, and did abhorre Superstitioun and Idolatrie. Quhairat sche more hielie comoved, did summond agane all the Preicheours to compeir at *Striveling*, the Tent Day of *Maii*, the Yeir of God 1559. Whiche understude he us, we with all humbill Obedience socht the Meinis how sche micht be appeasit, and our Preicheours not molestit: Bot quhen we culd nothing prevail, it was concludit be the holle Brethrein, That the Gentilmen of everie Cuntrey suld accompanie thair Preicheours to the Day and Place appointed; quhairto all Men war most willing. And for that Purpois the Toun of *Dundie*, the Gentilmen of *Angus* and *Mearnis*, passit forward with thair Preicheours to Sanct *Johnestown*, without Armour, as peiceable Men, mynding only

to gif Confessioun with thair Preicheours. And leif that fuche a Multitude fould have gevin Feir to the Quein Regent, the Laird of *Dun*, a zealous, prudent, and godlie Man, passit befor to the Quein, than being in *Striveling*, to declair to hir, That the Caus of thair Convocatioun was onelie to gif Confessioun with thair Preicheours, and to assist thame in thair just Defence. Sche understanding the Fervencie of the Pepill, began to craft with him, so lifting him to stay the Multitude, and the Preicheours also, with Promeis that sche wald tak sum better Ordour. He, a Man maist gentill of Nature, and maist addict to pleis hir in all Thingis not repugnand to God, wrait to those that then war assemblit at Sanct *Johnestoun*, to stay, and not to cum fordward, schawand quhat Promeis and Esperance he had of the Queinis Grace Favours. At the reiding of his Letteris, sum did smell the Craft and Deceat, and perswaidit to pas fordward, unto the Tyme a Discharge of the former Summonds fould be had, alleaging that utherwyis thair Proces of Horning or Rebellioun fould be execute against the Preicheours: And so fould not onlie thay, bot also all fuche as did accompanie thame, be involved in a lyk Cryme. Utheris did resson, That the Queinis Promeis was not to be suspected, nether yit the Laird of *Dun*'s Requeist to be contemptit, and so did the haill Multitude with thair Preicheours stay.

In this mein Tyme that the Preicheours war summonsd, to wit, the second of *Maie* 1559. arrayed *Johne Knox* from *France*, who lugeing two Nichtis onlie in *Edinburgh*, heiring the Day appointed to his Brethrein, repaired to *Dundie*, quhair he earnestlie required thame, *That he might be permitted to assist his Brethrein, and to give Confessioun of his Fayth with thame*: Whiche granted unto him, he departit unto Sanct *Johnestoun* with thame; quhair he began to exhort, according to the Grace of God grantit unto him. The Quein perceaving, that the Preicheours did not compeir, began to utter her Malice; and, notwithstanding ony Requeist maid in the contrair, gave Comandment to put thame to the Horne, inhibiting all Men, under Pain of Rebellioun, to assist, comfort, receive, or mantein thame in ony Sorte; whiche Extremitie perceived be the said Laird of *Dun*, he prudentlie withdrew himself: For utherwayis, by all Appeirance, he had not eschapiit Imprisonment; for the Maister of *Maxwell*, ane Man zelous and stout in Godis Caus, as than appeirit, under the Clocke of ane uther small Cryme, was that same Day comitted to Waird, becaus he did bauldly affirme, *That, to the uttermost of his Power, he wald assist the Preicheours, and the Congregatioun, notwithstanding ony Sentence, whiche was unjustlie, or fould be pronounced against thame*. The Laird of *Dun* cuming to St. *Johnestoun* expouned the Cais even as it was, and did conceill nothing of the Queinis Craft and Falshood. † Whiche understode, the Multitude was so inflamed, that nether culd the Exhortatioun of the Preicheours, nor the Comandment of the Magistrate stay thame, from destroying the Plaices of of Idolatrie. The Maner quhair of was this. The Preicheours had declaired afor, how odious was Idolatrie in Godis Presence; quhat Comandment he had given for the Destruction of the Monuments thair of, quhat Idolatry, and quhat Abomination was in the Mefs. It chanceit, that the nixt Day, whiche was the 11th of *Maie*, efter, that the Preicheours wer exylled, that efter the Sermon, whiche was vehement against Idolatrie, that a Preist in Contempt wald go to the Mefs; and to declair his malapainte Presumptioun, he wald oppin up

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† Thair is in this Place, in the uther Copie, inserted the Summonds against the Freirs, quhair is in the End of the first Buke.

ane glorious Tabernacle, whiche stude upoun the hie Alter ; thair stude besyde certain godlie Men, and amongis utheris a young Boy, who cryed with a loud Voice, *This is intollerable, that quhen God by his Worde hath planelie damned Idolatrie, we sall stand and see it used in Despyte.* The Preist heirat offendit, gave the Child a grit Blowe ; who in Anger tuk up a Stone, and casting at the Preist, did hit the Tabernacle, and brake down ane Image ; and immediatly the haill Multitude that war about cast Stanes, and put Hands to the said Tabernacle, and to all uther Monuments of Idolatrie, whiche they dispatched, befor the tenth Man in the Toun wer adverteisit, for the maist Parte war gane to Denner. Whiche noyssed abrode, the haill Multitude conveinit, not of the Gentilmen, nouthir of thame that war ernesť Professours, bot of the rascall Multitude, who finding nothing to do in that Church, did rin without Deliberatioun to the Gray and Black Freiris ; and notwithstanding that they had within thame verray stark Gairdis kept for thair Defence, yit war thair Gaittis incontinent brust up. The *first* Invasioun was upoun the Idolatrie ; and thare efter the comoun Pepill began to seik sum Spoyll. And in verray deid the Gray Freiris was a Plaice weill providit, that unless honest Men had sein the sam, we wald have feirit to report what Provisioun they had ; thair Scheitis, Blancattis, Beddis and Covertours war sick, that no Erle in Scotland had the better ; thair Naiprie was fyne ; thay war bot aucht Personis in Convent, and yit had aucht Punscheonis of salt Beif, (consider the Tyme of the Yeir, the 11th of Maii) Wyne, Beir and Aill, besydis Stoir of Victuells esfeiring thairto. The lyk Aboundance was not in the Blak Freiris ; and yit thair was moir than become Men professing Povertie. The Spoylle was permitted to the Pure ; for so had the Preicheours befor threatned all Men, that for Covetousnes saik none sould put thair Hand to suche a Reformatioun, that no honest Man was enriched thairby the Valew of a Grotte. Thair Conscience so moved thame, that thay sufferit these Hipocreitis to tak away quhat thay could, of that whiche was in thair Plaices. The Pryour of *Charterbous* wes permitted to tak with him, evin so muche Gold and Silver, as he was weill able to carie. So war Menis Consciences befor beatten with the Worde, that thay had no Respect to thair awin particular Profeit, bot onelie to abolishe Idolatrie, the Places and Monumentis thair of, in whiche they war so bussie and so laborious, that within two Dayis these thrie grit Places, Monuments of Idolatrie, to witt, the *Blak* and *Gray* Freiris, and the *Charterbous* Monkis, a Building of a wondrous Cost and Greitnes, was so destroyed, that the Wallis onlie did remane, of all these grit Edificatiounes.

Whiche reported to the Quein, sche was so enraged, that sche did vow, *Utterlie to destroy Saint Johnestoun, Man, Woman, and Child, and to consume the same by Fyre, and thairefter to salt it, in Signe of a perpetuall Desolatioun.* We suspecting nothing suche Crueltie, bot thinking, that suche Wordis michth eschaip hir in Choler, without Purpois determinat, becaus sche was a Woman set afyre by the Complaintis of thois Hipocreitis, who flockit unto hir, as Ravenis to a Carioun ; we, we say, suspecting nothing suche beistlie Crueltie, returnit to our awin Houses ; leving in St. *Johnestoun* *Johne Knox* to instruct, becaus they war young and rude in in Christ. Bot sche set on Fire, partelie be her awin Malice, partlie be hir Freinds in France, and not a littill by Brybes, quhilk sche and Monsiuer d' *Osell* recevit from the Bischopis and Preists heir at Hame, did continew in hir Rage. And *first*, Sche sent for all the Nobilitie, to quhome sche complainit,

That

That we meinit nothing bot Rebellioun : She did grevouslie aggreate the Destruction of the Charterhouse, becaus it was a Kingis Fundatioun, and thare was the Tombe of King James the first. And be suche uther Perswasounis, sche maid the maist Parte grant to persew us. And than incontinent sent she for hir Frenche Men; for that was, and evir hes bein hir Joy, to sie Scottis Men dip one with ane utheris Blude. No Man was at that Time more franck against us, then was the Duke, led be the cruell Beist, the Bischope of Sanct Andrews, and be thois that yit abuse him, the Abbote of Kilwyning and Mathew Haumiltoun of Mylburne, two cheif Enemies to Christ Jesus; yea, and Enemies to the Duke, and to his haill Hous, bot in sà far as therby they procure thair particular Profeir. These and suche uther pestilent Papistes ceassit not to cast Faggotis in the Fyre, continuallie crying, Fordward upoun these Heretykes; we sall ance red this Realme of thame. The Certaintie heiroyf cuming to our Knowledge, sum of us repaired to the Toun again, about the 22d Day of Maii, and thare did abyde, for the Comfort of our Brethren: Quhair, efter Invocatioun of the Name of God, we began to put the Toun and ourselfis in sick Strength, as we thoicht nicht best stand for our Defence. And becaus we wer not utterlie dispaired of the Queinis Favour, we caused forme a Letter to hir Grace as followis.

To the Queinis Grace Regent, all humbill Obedience and Dewtie premised.

AS heirtofoir, with Jeopard of our Lyves, and yit willing Hairtis, we have served the Authoritie of Scotland, and your Grace, now Regent in this Realme, in Service to our Bodies dangerous and painefull; so now, with most dolorous Myndis, we ar constrained, ly injust Tyranie purpoised against us, to declair unto your Grace, That except this Crueltie be stayet, be your Wisdome, we will be compellit to tak the Swords of just Defence, against all that sall persew us for the Matter of Religion, and for our Conscience saik, quibilk auct not, nor may not be subject to mortall Creatures, farder then by Godis Word Man is abill to prove that he hathe Power to comand us. We signifie more unto your Grace, That if be Rigour we be compellit to seik the extreim Defence, that we will not onlie notifie our Innocence, and Petitiones to the King of France, to our Maistres and to her Husband, bot also to the Princes and Counsaill of everie Christiane Realme, declairing unto thame, that this cruell, injust and maist tirranicall Murder intendit against us, against Tounis and Multitudes, was, and is the onelie Caus of our Revolt from our accustomed Obedience, quibilk, in Godis Presence, we saythfullie promeis to our Sovereane Maistres, to hir Husband, and unto your Grace Regent; provyding, that our Consciences may live in that Peice and Libertie, whiche Christ Jesus hes purchessit unto us be his Blude: And that we may have his Worde trewlie preiched, and holie Sacramentis rychtlie ministrat unto us; without the quibilk we firmelie purpois nevir to be subject to mortall Man: For better, we think, to expone our Bodeis to a thousand Deyths, then to hazard our Saullis to perpetuell Condemnatioun, be denying Christ Jesus, and his manifest Veritie, quibilk Thing not onlie do thay that comitt oppm Idolatrie, bot also all suche, as seing thair Brethren injustlie pursued, for the Caus of Religion, and having sufficient Means to comfort and assist thame, do not the les withdraw from them thair detfull Support. We wald not your Grace sould be deceaved be the fals Perswasounis of these cruell Beistis the Kirk Men, who affirme, That your Grace neideike not gritlie to regaird the Lois of us, that profes Christ Jesus in this Realme; gif (as God forbid) ye gif Eir to thair pestilent Consail, and

so use against us this Extremitie pretendit, it is to be feired, that nether ye, nor your Posteritie, fall at any Tyme after this, find that Obedience and faythfull Service within this Realme, quibilk at all Tymes ye have found in us. We declair our Jugement frelie, as trew and faythfull Subjects. God move your Grace's Hairt favourable to interpret our faithful Meaning. Farther adverteising your Grace, that the self same Thing, togedder with all Thingis we have done, or yit intend to do, we will notifie, be our Letters to the King of France. Asking of yow, in the Name of the eternell God, and as your Grace tenders the Peice and Quietnes of this Realme, that ye invaid us not with Violence, till we receave Answer from our Maistres, hir Husband, and from thair advyisit Counsaill thair. And thus we comitt your Grace to the Protectioun of the Omnipotent. From Sanct Johnestoun, the 22d of Maie 1559.

Sic subscribitur,

Your Grace's obedient Subjectis in all Thingis,
not repugning to God,

The faythfull Congregatioun of Iesus Christ in Scotland.

In the sam Tennour, we wrait to Monsieur d' Osell in Frenche, requiring of him, that be his Wisdome he would mitigate the Queinis Raige, and the Rage of the Preistis; utherwayis that Flambe, whiche then began to burne, wald so kendill, that when sum Men wald, it could not be sloknit. Adding farder, That he declairit himself no faythfull Servand to his Maister, the King of France, gif, for the Plefour of the Preistis, he wald persecute us, and so compell us to tak the Sword of just Defence. In lyk Maner we wrait to Capitane Serra la Bourse, and to all the uther Capitanes, and Frenche Souledeours in generall, admoniching thame, that thair Vocation was not to fecht against us naturall Scottis Men; nether yit that thay had any sick Comandement of thair Maister. We beseikit thame thairfor, not to provoke us to Inenmitie against thame, considdering, that thay had fund us favorabill in thair maist extream Necessities. We declaired farther unto thame, That gif they enterit in Hostilitie, and bludie Weir against us, that the sam sould remain langer then thair and our Lyves, to wit, evin in all Posterities to cum, so lang as naturall Scotis Men suld have Power to revenge suche Crueltie, and most horribill Ingratitude.

These Letteris war caussit be spred abroad in grit Abundance, to the End, that sum mycht cum to the Knowledge of Men. The Quein Regentis Letter was laid upoun hir Cushoun in the Chapell Royall of Stirling, quhair sche accustomed to sit at Mese; sche loked upoun it, and pat it in the Pockat of her Gown. Monsieur d' Osell and the Captaines reslaved thairis, delivered evin by thair awin Souledeours (for sum amonges thame war Favoursers of the Treuth) who efter the reidding of thame, began to ryve thair awin Beardis; for that was the modest Behaviour of Monsieur d' Osell, quhen the Treuth was tauld unto him, so that it repugned to his Fantasie. These our Letters war suppressed to the uttermoist of thair Power, and yit they cam to the Knowledge of many. Bot the Rage of the Quein and Preistis could not be stayed, bot fordward they move against us, who then wer bot a verry few and meane Number of Gentilmen in Sanct Johnestoun. We perceaving the Extremitie to approche, did wrytt to all Brethrein, to repair towardis us for our Releif, to the quhilk we fand all Men so reddie bent, that Work of God was evident-
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lie to be espyed; and becaus we wald omitt no Diligence, to declair our Innocencie to all Men, we formit a Letter to thois of the Nobilitie (who then persecuted us) as efter followis.

To the Nobilitie of Scotland, the Congregatioun of Christ Jesus within the sam, desyre the Spirit of rycheous Jugement.

BEcaus we ar not ignorant, that the Nobilitie of this Realme, who now persecute us, imploying their whole Study and Force, to mantein the Kingdome of Sathan, of Superstitioun and Idolatrie, ar yit not the les devydit in Opinioun; We the Congregatioun of Christ Jesus, be yow injustlie persecuted, have thoicht gude, in one Letter to wrytte unto yow severallie. We say, ye ar devydit in Opinioun; for sum of yow think, that we, who have taikin upoun us this Interpryis, to remove Idolatrie and the Monumentis of the sam, to orest the trew Preichinge of Christ Jesus, in the Boundis committed to our Chairges, ar Heretyikes, seditious Men, and Troubleris of this Comoun welthe; and thairfoir, that no Punischement is sufficient for us; and so blindit with this Rage, and under Pretence to serve the Authoritie, ye proclame Weir, and threattin Destruetioun without all Ordour of Law against us. To yow we say, that nether your blind Zeall, nether yet the Cullour of Authoritie sall excuis yow in God's Presence, quho comandis *none to suffer Deyth till that he be opynly convicted in Jugement, to have offendit against God, and against his Law writtin*; quhilk no mortal Creature is able to prove against us: For quhatsoever we have done, the same we have done at Godis Comandement, who plainlie comandis Idolatrie, and all Monumentis of the sam, to be destroyed and abolisched. Our earnest and lang Requeist hes bein, and yit is, that in opyn Assemblie it may be disputed, in Presens of indifferent Auditors, *Whither that these Abominatiounes, named by the pestilent Papistis, Religioun, quhilk thay by Fyre and Sword defend, be the trew Religioun of Jesus Christ or not?* Now this our humbill Requeist denyed unto us, our Lyves ar socht in a maist cruell Maner: And ye the Nobilitie, quhois Deutie is to defend Innocentis, and to brydill the Furie and Rage of wickit Men (wer it of Princes or Empriours) do notwithstanding follow their Appetytis, and arme your selfis against us, your Brethren and naturall Cuntreymen; yea, against us that be innocent and just, as concerning all suche Crymes as be laid to our Chairges. If ye think, that we be criminall, becaus we dissent from your Opiniouns, consider we beseik yow, that the Propheitis under the Law, the Apostles of Christ Jesus efter his Ascensioun, his primitive Kirk, and holie Martyrs, did dissassent from the haill Warld in thair Dayis; and will ye deny, bot that thair Actioun was just, and that all those that persecuted thame war Murtherars befor God? May not the lyk be trew this Day? Quhat Assurance have ye this Day of your Religioun, quhilk the Warld had not that Day of thairs? Ye have a Multitude that agree with yow, and so had they; ye have Antiquitie of Tyme, and that they laiked not; ye have Consaillis, Lawis, and Men of Reputatioun that have establisched all Thingis, as ye suppois: Bot none of all these can mak any Religioun acceptable befor God, quhilk onlie dependis upoun his awin Will, revealed to Man in his most sacred Word. Is it not then a Woner, that ye sleip in so deidlie a Securitie, in the Matter of your awin Salvatioun, considering that God gevis unto yow so manifest Tokenis, that ye and your Leideris ar bothe declyned frome God? For if *the Tre shall be jugeit be the Fruit* (as Christ

Jefus affirmed, *that it must be*) then of Necessitie it is, that your Prelatis and the hail Rabill of your Clergie be evill Treis: For if Adulterie, Pryde, Ambetious, Drunkennes, Covetousnes, Incest, Unthankfulnes, Opreffioun, Murther, Idolatrie and Blasphemie be evil Fruits, thair can none of that Generatioun, quhilk clame to thame selfis the Titill of Kirk-men, be juged *gude Treis*; for all these pestilent and wickit Fruitis do thay bring furthe in grit Abundance; and if they be *evill Treis* (as ye your selfis muist be compellit to confes they ar) advyis prudentlie with quhat Consciences ye can maintein thame, to occupye the Roun and Plaice in the Lord's Vyneyaird. Do ye not cosidder, That in so doing, ye labour to maintein the Servantis of Syn in thair filthie Corruptiouns; and so consequentlie ye labour, that the Devill may rigne, and still abuse this Realme, by all Iniquitie and Tyrranie, and that Christ Jefus and his blissit Evangell be supprest and extinguisched.

The Name and the Cloike of the Authoritie (quhilk ye pretend) will nothing excuis yow in God's Presence, bot rather fall ye beir doubill Condemnatioun; for that ye burdien God, as that his gud Ordinances war the Caus of your Iniquitie. *All Authoritie quhilk God hes establisched, is gude and perfyte, and is to be obeyed of all Men, yea, under the Pane of Damnatioun:* Bot do ye not consider, that thair is a grit Difference betwix the Authoritie which is Godis Ordinance, and the Personis of thois, quhilk ar placed in Authoritie. The Authoritie and God's Ordinance can nevir do Wrang; for it commands, *That Vyce and wicked Men be punished, and Vertew and verteous and just Men be mainteined:* Bot the corrupt Personis, placed in this Authoritie, may offend, and maist comonlie doethe contrarie to his Authoritie. Is then Corruptiounes of Persones to be followed, be Reffone he is cled with the Name of Authoritie? Or, fall thois that obey the wicked Comandment of thois that ar placed in Authoritie, be excused befor God? Not so; not so: Bot the Plagues and Vengeance of God takin upoun Kingis, thair Servandis, and Subjectis, do witnes to us the plain contrarie. *Pharao* was a King, and had his Authoritie of God, quho comandit his Subjectis to murther, and torment the *Israelites*, and at last maist cruellie to persecute thair Lyves. But was thair Obedience (blind Rage it sould be callit) excusabill befor God? The universall Plague did planelie declair, that the wicked Comander and those that obeyed war alyk giltie befor God. And if the Exemplill of *Pharao* fall be rejectit, becaus he was ane Ethnick, then let us consider the Fact of *Saull*; he was a King anoynted of God, appointed to rigne over his Pepill, he comandit to persecute *David*, becaus, as he alleadgit, *David* was a *Tratour*, ane Usurper of the Crown, and lykwayis comandit *Abimelech* the hie Preist and his Fellowis to be slain: Bot did God approve ony Part of this Obedience? Evident it is, that he did not. And think ye, that God will approve in yow that which he did damne in utheris? Be not deceived, with God thair is no such Particularitie; if ye obey the injust Comandement of wicked Reulars, ye fall suffer God's Vengeance and just Punischment with thame: And thairfor, as ye tender your awin Salvatioun, we most eirneftlie requir of yow Moderatioun, and that ye stay your selfis, and the Furie of utheris from persecuting of us, till our Caus be tryed in oppin and lawful Jugement.

And now, to yow that ar perswaidit of the Justice of our Caus, that sumtymes have professed Christ Jefus with us, and that also have exhorted us to this Interpretis, and yit have left us in our extreme Necessitie, or at leist luik throw your Fingeris, in this our Trouble, as that the Matter apperteinit not to yow; we

We say, That unles (all Feir and warldlie Respectis set asyde) ye joyne with us your selfis, that as of God ye are reputed Tratoris, so fall ye be excommunicate from our Societie, and from all Participatioun with us in the Administratioun of the Sacraments; the Glorie of this Victorie, whiche God shall give to his Church, yea evin in the Eyes of Men, shall not appertain to yow; but the feirful Jugementis, that apprehendit *Ananias* and his Wyf *Saphira*, shall apprehend yow and your Posteritie. Ye may perchance contemne, and despyis the Excommunicatioun of the Kirk (now by God's mightie Power erected among us) as a Thing of na Force; but yit dout we nothing, bot that our Kirk and the trew Ministers of the sam, have the sam Power, quhilk our Maister Christ Jesus grantit to his Apostles, in these Words, *Quose Synes ye shall forgive, shall be forgiven; and quois Synis ye retein, shall be reteined*; and that becaus they preiche, and we beleve the sam Doctrine, quhilk is contained in his most blesit Word: And thairfor, except that ye will conteme Christ Jesus, nether can ye despyis our Threatning, nether yet refus us calling for your just Defence. By your fainting, and by abstracting of your Supporte, the Enemies are encouraged, thinking, that they shall find na Resistance; in quhilk Point (God willing) they shall be deceived; for if thay war ten thousand, and we bot ane thousand, they shall not murder the leist of our Brethrein, bot we (God assisting us) shall first comitt our Lyves in the Hands of God for thair Defence. Bot this shall aggavate your Damnation, for ye declair yourselfis both Traytors to the Treuth ance professed, and Murtherers of us, and of your Brethrein, from quhome ye draw your debtfull and promised Support, quhome (to Manis Jugement) your onlie Presence might preserve from this Danger; for our Enemies luik not to the Power of God, but to the Force and Strenthe of Man. Quhen the Number is meane to resist thame, then rage thay, as bludie Wolfis; bot a Partie equall or abill to resist thame in Appeirance, doethe brydill thair Furie. Examine your awin Consciences, and wey that Sentence of our Maister Christ Jesus, saying, *Quo soevir deryis me, or is askamed of me befor Men, I shall deny him befor my Father*. Now is the Day of his Battells in this Realme, if ye deny us your Brethrein, suffering for his Name's saik, ye do also deny him, as himself doeth witness in these Words, *Quat soevir ye did unto any of thois littill ones, that ye did unto me; and quat ye did not to one of these littill ones, that ye did not unto me*. Gif these Sentences be trew, as concerning Meit, Drink, Clothing, and suche Things as appertain to the Bodie, shall thay not be lyikways trew in thois Things that appertain to the Preservatioun of the Lyves of thousandis, whois Blude is now socht, for professing of Christ Jesus? And thus schortlie leive we yow, who sumtymes hes professit Christ Jesus with us, to the Examinatioun of your awin Consciences. And yit ances again, of yow, who blindit be Superstition persecute us, we require Moderatioun, till our Caus may be tryed, quhilk gif ye will not grant unto us for God's Caus, yit we desyre yow to have Respect to the Preservatioun of our comoun Cuntrey, whiche we cannot soner betray in the Hands of Strangers, then that one of us destroy and murder ane uther. Consider our Petitiounes, and call for the Spirit of rychteous Jugement.

These our Letters being divulgate, sum Men began to resson, Quhidder of Conscience they might invade us or not, considering that we offered dew Obedience to the Authoritie, requiring nothing bot the Libertie of Conscience, and our Religion and Fact to be tryed be the Word of God. Our Letteris came with convenient Expeditioun to the Handis of the Brethrein in Cuning-

hame and Kyll, who conveinit at the Kirk of Craigie, quhair efter sum contrarious Ressonis, Alexander Erle of Glencairne, in Zeale burst furthe in thois Wordis, Lat everie Man serve his Conscience. I will, be Gods Graice, sie my Brethrein in Sanct Johnestoun: Yea, albeit nevir a Man suld accompanie me, I will go, and gif it war bot with ane Pick upoun my Schudder, for I had rather die with that Cumparie than leve efter thame. These Wordis so incuraget the rest, that all decreid to go fordward, as that they did so stoutlie, that quhen the Lyoune Herald in Cote Armour, commandit all Men under the Pane of Tressone to returne to thair Houses by publiet Sound of Trumpet in Glasgowe, nevir Man obeyed that Chairge, bot all went fordward, as we will efter heir. Quhen it was cleirlye understode that the Prelatis and thare Adherentis, suppressing our Petitiounes as far as in thame lay, did kendill the Furie of all Men against us, it was thocht expedient to wrytt unto thame sum Declaratioun of our Myndis, whilk we did in this Forme following.

To the Generatioun of Antichrist, the pestilent Prelats, and thair Schavelingis within Scotland, the Congregatioun of Christ Jesus within the sam sayethe.

TO the end that ye fall not be abused, thinking to eschape just Punishment, efter that ye in your blind Furie have caused the Blude of many be shed, this we notifie and declair unto yow, That if ye proceed in this your malicious Crueltie, ye fall be intreated (quhairsoevir ye fall be apprehendit) as Murtherers and opin Enemies to God and Mankynd. And thairfoir betymes ceis from this your bludie Rage: Remove first from your selfis, your Bandis of bludy Men of Weir, and reforme your selfis to a moir quiet Lyif, and thairafter mitigat ye the Authoritie whiche, without Cryme comitted upoun our Parte, ye have inflamed against us; or ellis be ye assured, That with the sam Measur that ye have mesured againis us, and yit intendis to measur to utheris, it fall be mesured unto yow; that is, as ye by Tyrannie intend not only to destroy our Bodeis, bot also by the sam to hald our Saullis in Bondage of the Devill, subject to Idolatrie, so fall we with all our Force and Power, quhilk God fall grant unto us, execute just Vengeance and Punishment upoun yow; yea, we fall begin that sam Weir that God comandit the *Israelites* to execute against the *Canaanites*, that is, Contract of Peice fall nevir be maid, till ye desist frome your oppin Idolatrie and cruell Persecutioun of Godis Childrein: And this we signifie unto yow in the Name of the eternall God, and of his Sone Jesus Christ, whose Veritie we profes, and Evangell we will have preiched, and holie Sacramentis rychtlye ministrate, so lang as God will assist us to gainstand your Idolatrie. Tak this for Adverteisment, and be not deceived.

These our Requeistis and Adverteismentis notwithstanding, Monsieur d'Osell and his *Frenchemen*, with the Preistis and thair Bandis, merched fordward against us to Sanct Johnestoun, and approched within Ten Mylles to the Toun, then repaired the Bretherin from all Quarters for our Relief: The Gentilmen of *Fyfe*, *Angus* and *Mernis*, with the Toun of *Dundie*, war thay that first hafardit to resist the Enemye, and for that Purpois was chosin a Peice of Ground, a Myll or more distant from the Toun. In this mein Tyme the Lord *Ruthven*, Proveist of the Toun of Sanct Johnestoun, and a Man quhome monye judgit stout and godlie in that Actioun (as in verie deid he was evin

to his last Breathe) left the Toun, and first departit to his awin Plaice, and efter to the Quein; quhois Defectioun and Revolt was a grit discouragement to the Hartis of many: And yit did God so comfort his, that within the Space of Twelf Hours efter, the Hartis of all Men war erected agane. For those that war then assembled did not so much hope Victorie be thair awin Strength, as be the Power of him whose Veritie they professed, and began ane to comfort ane uther till the haill Multitude wer erected in a reasonabill Esperance. The Day efter that the Lord *Ruthven* departit, quhilk was the 24th of *Maie*, came the Erle of *Argyll*, Lord *James* Pryour of Sanct *Androis*, and the Lord *Sempill*, directed from the Quein Regent to inquire the Caus of that Convocatioun of Liegis thair. To quhome, quhen it was answered, that it was onelie to resist that cruell Tyrannie devyisit againis that pure Toun, and the Inhabitantis of the sam. They asked, if we myndit not to hald that Toun against the Authoritie, and against the Quein Regent. To the quhilk Questioun answerit the Lairdis of *Dun* and *Pettarro*, with the Congregatioun of *Angus* and *Mernis*, the Maister of *Lindesay*, the Lairdis of *Lundie*, *Balwairde*, and uther Barronis of *Fyfe*, That if the Queinis Grace wald suffer the Religion thair begun to proceed, and not trubill thair Brethren and Sisteris that had professed Christ Jesus with thame, that the Toun, thay thamefelfis, and quhatsoever to thame pertained, suld be at the Queinis Commandiment. Quhilk Answer understode, the Erle of *Argyll* and the Priour (who bayth war than Protestantis) began to muse, and said plainlie, That thay war far utherwayis informed by the Quein, to wit, *That we ment no Religion, bot a plain Rebellion*. To the quhilk quhen we had answerit simplie, and as the Treuthe was, to wit, That we conveynit for no uther Purpois, bot onlie to assist our Brethren, who then war most unjustlie persecuted; and thairfor we desyred saythfullie to reporte our Antwer, and to be Intercessours to the Quein Regent, That suche Crueltie suld not be usit against us, considering that we had offered, in our former Letters, alsweill to the Queinis Grace, as to the Nobilitie, our Matter to be tryed in lawfull Jugement. They promised Fidelitie in that Behalt, quhilk also they keipit. The Day efter, quhilk was the 25th Day of *Maie*, befoir that the saidis Lordis departit, in the Morning *Johne Knox* desyrit to speik with the sam Lordis, quhilk granted unto him, he was convoyit to thair Lugeing be the Laird of *Balwaird*. And thus he began.

The Oratioun of *Johne Knox* to the Lordis.

THE present Trublis, Honourabill Lords, aucht to move the Hartis not onlie of the trew Servantis of God, bot also of all suche as bear ony Favour to thair Cuntrey, and naturall Cuntreyemen, to descend within thamefelfis, and deiply to consider quhat fall be the End of this pretended Tyranny. The Raige of *Sathan* seeketh the Destruction of all these that within this Realme profess Christ Jesus; and they that inflame the Queins Grace, and yow the Nobills against us, regarde not quho prevail, provyded that they may abuse the Warld, and leve at thair Pleasure, as heirtesoir they have done. Yea, I fear, that some seek nothing more than the Effusioun of Scottis Bloode, to the End that your Possessiounes may be the more patent to utheris. Bot becaus that this is not the Principall quhilk I have to speak, omitting the sam to be considered by the Wisdome of those to quhome the Care of the Comon-welthe apperteineth,

1. I maist humblie requyre of yow, my Lordis, in my Name to say to the Queins Grace Regent, that we, quhome sche in hir blynd Rage doth persecute, ar Godis Servantis, saythfull and obedient Subjectis to the Authoritie of this Realme; That that Religioun quhilk sche pretendeth to mainteyne by Fire and Sworde, is not the trew Religioun of Christ Jesus, bot is expres contrarie to the same; a Superstitioun devysed be the Brane of Man, whicke I offer myself to prove against all that within Scotland will mantene the contrarie, Libertie of Toun being granted unto me, and Godis written Word being admitted for Juge.

2. I farder requyr your Honours, in my Name to say to hir Grace, that as of befor I have written, sa now I say, that this hir Interpryis fall not prosperouslie succed in the End. And albeit for a Time sche trouble the Sancts of God, for sche fechts not against Man only, but against the Eternall God and his invincibill Veritie; and tharefor the End fall be hir Confusioun, unless betyme sche repent and desist.

These Things requyr I of yow, in the Name of the Eternall God, as from my Mouth, to say unto hir Grace, adding, that I have bein, and I am a more assured Fremd to hir Graice than they that ether flattering hir Graice, ar Servandis of hir corrupt Affeitiounis or Appetytes, or ellis inflambe hir against us, who seik nothing bot Godis Glory to be advanced, Vice to be suppressed, and Veritie to be maintained in this pure Realme.

They all thre did promise to reporte his Words, so far as they could, whiche afterwards we understude they did; yea the Lord Sempill himself, a Man fauld under Syn, Enemie to God, and to all Godlines, did mak suche Reporte, that the Quein was sumquhat offendit, that ony Man suld usf suche Libertie in hir Presence. Sche still proceeded in hir Malice; for immediatlie thairefter sche sent hir Lyoun Herauld, with Lettres straitlie chairging all Men to avoyde the Toun, under the Pane of Treassone. Quhilk Letters, efter he had declairit to the cheif Men of the Congregatioun, he publictly proclaimed the same, upoun Sunday, the 27th of Maii. In this mein Tyme came sure Knowlege to the Quein, to the Duke, and to Monsieur d'Osell, that the Erle of Glencairne, the Lordis Uchiltrie and Boyd, the young Scheref of Air, the Lairdis of Cragie-walace, Sefnock, Carnell, Barr, Garthgirthie, and the haill Congregatioun of Kille and Cuninghame, approached for our Relief; and in verie deid they came in sick Diligence, and suche a Number, that as the Enemie had just Caus to feir, so have all they that professit Christ Jesus Matter to prays God, for thair Fidelitie and stoute Curage in that Neid; for by thair Prefens, was the Tyrannie of the Enemie brydillit. Thair Diligence was sick, that albeit the Passages be Striveling, and sex Mylles abone wer stopped (for thair lay the Quein with hir Bands, and gart cutt the Brigis upoun the Watters of Forthe, Gudie and Teithe, abone Striveling) yit maid they sick Expeditioun, throw Desert and Montane, that they prevented the Enemie, and approached within sex Myllis of our Campe, quhilk than lay without the Toun, awaitting upoun the Enemie, befor that ony assured Knowlege came to us of thair coming. Thair Number was of gud Compt, fyve and twentie hundreth Men, quhair of thair war 1200 Horsmen. The Quein understanding how the said Erle and Lords, with thair Cumpanie, approached, causit to besett all Wayis, that na Adverteisment suld come to us, to the End, that we, dispaired of Supporte, micht condiscend to sick Apointment as sche required; and sent first to requir, that sum discreit Men of our Number wald cum and speik the Duke and Monsieur d'Osell (who then with thair

Armie

Armie lay at *Auchtirardour*, ten Myllis fra St. *Johneſtown*) to the End that ſum reſſonabill Appointment might be had. Sche had perſuaidit the Erle of *Argyll*, and all uthers, that we meint nothing bot Rebellioun; and thairfoir had he promeiſit unto hir, that in cais we ſould not ſtand content, with an reſſonabill Appointment, he ſould declair himſelf plain Enemie to us, notwithstanding that he profeſſit the ſam Religioun with us. From us war ſent the Laird of *Dun*, the Laird *Innergubartie*, *Thomas Scott* of *Abbotſhall*, to heir quhat Appointment the Quein wald offer. The Duk and *Monſieur d'Oſell* required, that the Toun ſould be maid patent, and that all Thingis ſould be referred to the Queinis Pleſour. To the quhilk they answered, *That nether had they Commiſſioun ſo to promeis, nether durſt thay of Conſcience ſo perſuaid thair Brethren. But if that the Queinis Grace wald promeis, that na Inhabitant of the Toun ſould be troublit, for ony ſick Crymes, as might be allegit againſt thame, for the lait Mutation of Religioun, and Aboliſhment of Idolatrie, and for douncaſting of the Places of the ſam; and if ſche wald ſuffer the Religioun begun to go ſordward, and leue the Toun at hir departing, free from the Garifonis of Frenche Souldaris, that thay wald labour at the Hands of thair Brethren, that the Quein ſould be obeyit in all Things.* *Monſieur d'Oſell* perceaving the Danger to be grit, gif that ane ſuddant Apointment ſuld not be maid; and that thay war not abill to execute thair Tyrannie againſt us, efter that the Congregation of *Kyll* (of whoſe cuming we had no Adverteiſment) ſuld be joyned with us, with gud Wordis diſmiſſit the ſaid Lairdis to perſuaid the Brethren to quiet Concord, to the quhilk all Men war ſo weill myndit, that with ane Voce they cryit, *Cuſit be they that ſeik Effuſioun of Blude, Weir, or Diſſentioun. Lat us poſſeſs Chriſt Jeſus, and the Benefite of his Evangell, and nane within Scotland ſall be moir obedient Subjects, than we ſall be.* With all Expedition war ſent from *Striveling* agane (efter that the cuming of the Erle of *Glencairne* was knawin, for the Enemie for Feir quaicked) the Erle of *Argyll*, and Lord *James* foirſaid, and in thair Cumpanie a craftie Man, *Mr. Garwane Haumiltoun* Abbot of *Kilwynning*, who war ſent be the Quein, to finiſche the Apointment foirſaid: Bot beſoir that thay came, was the Erle of *Glencairne* and his honourable Companie arryved in the Toun; and than be an all Men to prays God, for that he had ſo mercifullie hard thame, in thair maiſt extream Neceſſitie, and had ſent unto thame ſuche Releif, as was abill, without Effuſioun of Blude, to ſtay the Rage of the Enemie. The Erle of *Argyll* and Lord *James* did earneſtly perſuaid the Aggrement, to the quhilk all Men war willing; bot ſum did ſmell the Craft of the Adverſaries, to wit, that they war myndit to keip no Point of the Promeis langer than they had obtainit thair Intent. With the Erle of *Glencairne* came our loving Brother *Johne Willock*; *Johne Knox* was in the Toun beſoir; theſe two went to the Erle of *Argyll* and Prior, accusing thame of Infidelitie, in ſo far as thay had defraudit thair Brethren of thair debtfull Supporte and Comfort in thair gritteſt Neceſſities. They answerit bothe, “ That thair Hairt was “ conſtant with thair Brethren, and that they wald defend that Caus, to the “ uttermoſt of thair Power. Bot becaus they had promeiſit to labour for “ Concorde, and aſſiſt the Quein, in cais we reſuiſit reſſonabill Offers, of Con- “ ſcience and Honour they could do no les, than to be ſaythfull in thair Pro- “ mais: And thairfor they required, that the Brethren might be perſuaidit “ to conſent to that reſſonable Appointment, promeiſing, in God’s Prefens, “ that, gif the Quein did brek in ony Joit thairof, that thay, with thair hail “ Powers, wald aſſiſt and concurre with thair Brethren, in all Tymes to cum.”

This Promeis maid, the Preacheours appeased the Multitude, and obtēit the End, that all Men did consent to the Apointment foirsaid, quhilk they obtēit nōt without grit Labouris; and na Wonder, for mony foirsaw the Danger to follow; yea the Preacheours thamefelfis, in oppin Sermonis did affirme plainlie, *That thay war assuredly persuaidit, that the Quein ment no Treuthe; bot to stop the Mouthe of the Adversarie, who did unjustlie burden us with Rebellioun, they most earnestlie required all Men to approve the Apointment, and so to suffer Hypocrisie to disclois it self.* This Apointment was concludit the 28th. of Maii, and the Day following at twa Efternone departit the Congregatioun. fra Sanct Johne-stoun, efter that *Johne Knox* had in his Sermone exhortit all Men to Constancie, and unfainedlie to thank God, for that it had pleisit his Mercie to stay the Rage of the Enemie, without Effusioun of Blude, and that no Brother sould wearie nor faint to supporte suche as suld efterwarde be lykwayis persecuted: *For (said he) I am assured, that no Parte of this Promeis maid sall be langer keipit, then the Quein and hir Frenche Men have the upper Hand.* Mony of the Enemies wer at the sam Sermone; for efter that the Apointment was maid, they had frie Entres into the Toun to provide Ludgeingis. Befoir the Lordis departit, was this Band maid, quhois Tennor followis, as it was writtin and subscryvit.

AT Perthe the last Day of Maii, the Yeir of God 1559. the Congregatioun of the West Countrey, with the Congregatioun of Fyfe, Perthe, Dundie, Angus, Mernis and Montrois, being conveinit in the Toun of Perthe, in the Name of Jesus Christ, for furthsetting of his Glorie, understanding naithing mair necessar for the sam, than to keip ane constant Amitie, Unitie and Fellowshipe togither, according as thay ar commandit be God, ar confidderat, and becume bundin and obleist, in the Presens of God, to concurre and assist togither, in doing all Thingis required of God in his Scripture, that may be to his Glorie; and at thair baill Powers to distroy, and away put all Things that dois Dishonour to his Name; so that God may be puirly and trewly worschipped. And in Cais, that ony Truble beis intendit against the saidis Congregatiounis, or ony Part, or Member thairof, the baill Congregatioun sall concurre, assist and convein togidder, to the Defence of the sam Congregatioun, or Persone trubled; and sall not spair Labouris, Guidis, Substances, Bodies, and Lyves in mantēning the Liberties of the baill Congregatioun, and everie Member thairof, against quatsoevir Power that sall intend the said Truble, for Caus of Religioun, or ony uther Caus depending thairupoun, or layed to thair Charge under Pretence thairof, althocht it happin to be culloured with ony uther outward Caus. In witnesing, and Testimonie of quilkis, the baill Congregatiounes foirsaides hes ordeyned, and apointit the Nobillmen, and Persones under writtin, to subscryve thir Presents.

Sic subscribitur,

ARCH. ARGYLL.
ROBERT Lord BOYD.
JAMES STEWART.

MATHEW CAMPBELL of Teringland.

GLENCAIRNE.
UCHILTRIE.

The

The 29th Day of *Maii* entred the Quein, the Duke, Monsieur *d'Osell*, and the *Frenchemen*, quho, in dischairging thair Volley of Hackbutes, did weill merk the Hous of *Patrik Murray*, a Man fervent in Religion, and that baldlie had susteinid all Dangeris in that Trubill; against quhois Stair they directed sex or seven Schot evin against the Faces of these that war thair lyand; all Man elchaipit, except the Sone of the said *Patrik*, a Boy of ten or twelf Yeirs of Age, who being slane, was had to the Queinis Presens. Bot sche understanding whois Sone he was, said in Mockage, *It is a Pittie it chancit one the Sone, and not one the Father; bot seing that so it chanced, me cannot be against Fortoun.* This was hir happie Intres in Sanct *Johnestown*, and the grit Zeill sche buir to Justice. The swarme of Papistis that entred with hir began straycht to mak Provisioun for thair Mes, and becaus the Alteris wer not so easilie to be repaired agane, they providit Tables, quhair of sum befoir usit to serv for Drunkardis, Dycearis, and Cairtaris, bot they war holie yneuche for the Preist and his Padgean. The Quein began to rage against all godlie and honest Men, thair Houses war oppreslit be the *Frenchmen*, the lawfull Magistrates, allweill Proveist as Baillyeis, war injustlie and without all Ordour depoisit from thair Authoritie. A wicked Man, voyd of Godis Feir, and destitute of all Vertew, the Laird of *Kynsanis* was intruissit by hir Proveist of the Toun, quhairat all honest Men war offendit, they left thair awin Houses, and with thair Wyvis and Childrein soucht amangst thair Brethren sum resting Place for a Tyme. Sche tuk Ordour that four Ensenyeis of the Souldiers sould remain in the Toun to mantein Idolatrie, and to resist the Congregatioun. Honest and indifferent Men askit quhy sche did so manifestlie violat hir Promeis? Sche answered, *That sche was bund to no Heretyikis to keip Promeis:* And moreover, *That sche promeisit onelie to leve the Toun voyde of Frenche Souldiors, quhilk sche said sche did, becaus that thes that war left within war Scottisfen.* Bot when it was ressonit in hir contrair, That all thois that tuk Wages of *France* war counted *Frenche* Souldiors: Sche answerit, *Princes must not straitlie be bund to keip thair Promeises. My self, said sche, wald mak litill Conscience to tak from all that sort thair Lyves and Heritages, gif I nicht do it with als honest an Excuis.* And then sche left the Toun in extreim Bondage, efter that hir ungodlie *Frenchemen* had most cruellie intreatit the most Parte of theis that remainit in the same: The Erle of *Argyll*, and Lord *James* foirsaid perceaving in the Quein nothing bot mere Tyrannie and Falsch, myndfull of thair former Promeis maid to thair Brethren, did secreitlie convoy thame selfis, and thair Companies off the Toun; and with thame departit the Lord *Ruthven* (of quhome befoir mentioun is maid) the Erle of *Monteith*, and the Laird of *Tullybardin*, quho in God's Presence did confiderat and bind thame selfis togither, saythfullie promising one to assist ane uther against all Personis that wald perfew thame for Religiounis Saik; and also that they, with thair hail Force and Power, wald defend the Brethren persecuted for the same Caus. The Quein heichlie offendit at the suddane Departure of the Personis foirsaid, send Chairges to thame to returne under the hiest Pain of hir Displeasour. Bot they answerit, That with safe Conscience they culd not be Partakeris of sa manifest Tirranie as by hir was committit, and of sa grit Iniquitie as they perceived devised be hir, and hir ungodlie Counsaill, the Prelatis.

This Answer was gevin to hir the first Day of *Junii*, and immediatly the Erle of *Argyll* and Lord *James* repaired towardis Sanct *Androis*, and in thair Jorney

gave Adverteisment by wrytting to the Laird of *Dun*, to the Laird of *Pettarro*, to the Proveist of *Dundie*, and uthers, Professours in *Angus*, to visite thame in *St. Androis* the fourt of *Junii*, for Reformatioun to be maid thair. Quhilk Day they keipit, and brocht in thair Cumpanie *Johne Knox*, quho the first Day, efter his cuming to *Fyfe*, did preiche in *Carrile*, the nixt Day in *Anstruther*, mynding the *Sonday*, quhilk was the thrid, to preiche in *Sanct Androis*. The Bischope heiring of Reformatioun to be maid in his Cathedrall Church, thocht Tyme to steir, or ellis nevir, and thairfoir assemblit his Colliges, and confederat Fellowis, besydis his uther Freindis, and cum to the Toun upoun the *Setterday* at Nicht, accompanied with a hundreth Speiris, of mynd to have stopped *Johne Knox* to have preiched. The Lords and Gentilmen foirsaid wer onlie accompanied with thair quiet Houshaldis, and thairfoir the suddane cuming of the Bischope was moir feirfull; for then was the Quein and hir *Frenchemen* departit from *St. Johnestoun*, and wer lyand in *Falkland*, within twell Myillis of *St. Androis*; and the Toun at that Tyme had not gevin Professioun of Christ, and thairfoir culd not the Lords be assured of thair Freindschip. Consultatioun being haid, mony war of mynd that the Preiching suld be delayed for that Day, and especiallie that *Johne Knox* sould not preiche, for that did the Bischope affirme that he wald not suffer, considdering that by his Comandment the Picture of the said *Johne* was befoir brunt. He wil- lit thairfoir ane honest Gentillman, *Robert Colveill* of *Cleish*, to say to the Lords, That in cais the said *Johne Knox* presentit himself to the Preicheing-pleice, in his Toun and principall Kirk, he sould gar him be saluted with a Dessoun of Culveringis, quhair of the most Parte sould licht on his Nois. Efter lang Deliberatioun had, the said *Johne* was callit, that his awin Jugement might be had: Quhen mony Persuasiouns wer mayd that he sould delay for that Tyme, and grit Terrors gevin in cais he sould interpryis suche a Thing as it war in Contempt of the Bischopes. He answered, *God is Witnes that I nevir preiched Christ Jesus in contempt of ony Man, nether mynd I to present my self to that Plai- ce, having ether respect to my awin private Comoditie, ether yit to the worldlie Hurt of ony Creature: Bot to delay to preiche To-morrow (unles the Bodie be violentlie with-haldin) I cannot of Conscience: For in this Toun and Kirk began God first to call me to the Dignitie of a Preicheour, from the whiche I was rest by the Tirramie of France, by Procurment of the Bischopis, as ye all weill yneuche know; how lang I continewit Prisoner, quhat Torment I susteinit in the Galayis, and quhat war the Sobis of my Hairt, is now no Tyme to recite. This onlie I cannot conceill, quhilk mae than ane have hard me say, quhen the Bodie was far absent fra Scotland, That my assurit Hope was, in opin Audience, to preiche in Sanct Androis, befoir I departit this Lyf. And thairfoir, said he, my Lordis, seing that God above the Expectatioun of manie hes brocht the Bodie to the sam Place quhair first I was callit to the Office of a Preicheour, and from the quhilk maist injustlie I was removit, I beseik your Honours not to stope me to present my self unto my Brethrein: And as for the feir of Danger that may cum to me, let no Man be solist, for my Lyf is in the Custodie of him quhois Glorie I seik; and thairfoir I cannot so feir thair Boist nor Tyrannie, that I will ceis from doing my Dewtie, quhen God of his Mercie offreth the Occasioun. I desyre the Hand nor Weapone of no Man to defend me; onlie I crave Audience; quhilk, gif it be denyed heir unto me at this Tyme, I must seik farther quhair I may have it. At these Wordis, quhilk he spak, war the Lordis fullie content that he sould occupie the Plai- ce, quhilk he did upoun *Sonday* the tent of *Junii*, and did in-*

treit

treit the Ejection of the Byers and the Sellers furthe of the Temple of Jerusalem ; as it is writtin in the Evangelists Matthew and Johne ; and so applyed the Corruptioun that was then, to the Corruptioun that is in the Papiſtrie : And Chriſtis Fact to the Dewtie of thois to quhome God givethe Power and Zeill thairto, that alſweill the Magiſtrates, the Proveiſt, and Bailyeis as the Comonalty, did agrie to remove all Monumentis of Idolatrie, quhilk alſo they did with Expedition. The Biſchope adverteiſit heirof, departit that ſam Day to the Quein, quha lay with hir *Frenchemen*, as ſaid is, in *Falkland*. The hole Furie of the Biſchopis did ſo kendill hir Choler (and yit the Luif was verie cauld betwix thame) that without farder Delay, Concluſioun was takin to invaid Sanct *Androis* and the two young Lordis, quho then wer verie ſclenderlie accompanied. Poſtis war ſend from the Quein with all Deligence to *Couper*, diſtant onclie ſex Myllis from Sanct *Androis*, to prepar Lugeingis and Victuells for the Quein and hir *Frenchemen*. Curriers wer ſend befor, and Lugeingis war aſſignit. Quhilk Thing underſtude, Counſaill was gevin to the Lordis to merche fordward, and to prevent thame befor they came to *Couper* : Quhilk they did, geving Adverteiſment to all Brethren with poſſibill Expedition to repair towards thame ; quhilk they alſo did, with ſick Diligence, that in thair Aſſembly the wondrous Work of God micht be eſpyed : For quhen at Nicht the Lordis came to *Couper*, thay war not ane hundreth Hors, and a certane Futeman quhome Lord *James* brocht from the Coaſt Syid ; and yit befor the next Day at 12 Hours (quhilk was *Tyſday* the 13th of *Junii*) the Number paſſit thre thouſand Men, quhilk be Godis Providence came unto the Lordis ; from *Louthane*, the Lairdis of *Ormiſioun*, *Calder*, *Haltoun*, *Reſſalrig*, and *Colſioun*, quho albeit they underſtude at thair departing from thair awin Houſ no ſuche Trouble, yit war they by thair gude Counſaill verie comfortable that Day. The Lord *Ruthven* came fra Sanct *Johneſioun* with ſum Horſmen with him : The Erle of *Rothois*, Sheref of *Fyfe*, came with ane honeſt Company. The Tounis of *Dundie* and Sanct *Androis* declairit thameſelfis bothe ſtout and tayhtull. *Couper*, becaus it ſtude in gritteſt Danger, aſſiſtit with thair haill Force. Finallie, God did ſo multiplie our Number, that it appeirit as Men had rained from the Cloudis. The Enemy underſtanding nothing of our Force, aſſured thameſelfis of Victorie. Quha had been in *Falkland* the Nicht befor, micht have ſeen embracing and kiſſing betwix the Quein, the Duke, and the Biſchope. Bot Maifter *Gawane Haumiltoun*, Gapper for the Biſchoprick of Sanct *Androis*, above all utheris was luſinglie embraced of the Quein ; for he maid his ſolemn Vow, That he wald ſecht, and that he ſould nevir returne till he had brocht theſe Traytouris to hir Graice, eyther quick or deid. And thus befor Midnight did they ſend fordward thair Ordinance, thameſelfis did follow be three Hours in the Morning. The Lords heirof adverteiſit, aſſembled thair Company airly in the Morning upoun *Couper Muir* ; quhair be the Advys of *James Halybourtoun* Proveiſt of *Dundie*, was choſen a Plaice of Ground convenient for our Defence ; for it was ſo choſen, that upoun all Sydis our Ordinance micht have bett the Enemy, and yit we to have ſtandin in ſaſſitie, if we had bein perſewed till we had cum to *Handſrai* is. The Lord *Ruthven* tuk the Chairge of the Horſmen, and ordered thame ſo, That the Enemy was nevir permitted to eſpye our Number ; the Day was dark, quhilk helpit thairto. The Enemy (as befor is ſaid) thinking to have fund no Reſiſtance, eſter that they had twyis or thryis practeiſit with us, as that they wald retyir, merched fordward with grit Expedition,

and approchit within a Mylle befor that evir thair Horsmen stayit, and yit they kept betwix us and thame a grit Watter for thair Strenthe. It appeired to us, that eyther they merched for *Couper* or Sanct *Andros*; and thairfoir our Horsmen in thair Troupe, and a Parte of the Futemen merched sumquhar alwayis befor thame for saistie of the Toun. The Lords, with the Gentlemen of *Fyif*, and so many of *Angus* and *Mernis* as wer present, keipit thamefelfis clois in a Knot, neir to the Number of a Thousand Speirs.

The Touns of *Dundie* and Sanct *Andros* war arrayed in ane uther Battell, quha came not to the Sicht of the Enemy, till that efter twell Hours, that the Mist began to evanische, and then passed sum of thair Horsmen to a Montane, from the Hicht quhairof they nicht discerne our Number, quhilk perceaved by thame, thair Horsmen and Footemen stayed incontinent. Postis ran to the Duke and Monsieur *Dosell*, to declair our Number, and quhat Ordour we keaped; and then war Mediatours sent to mak Apointment; but they war not suffered to approche neir the Lords, nether yit to the Vew of our Camp, whiche put thame to gritter Fear. Answer was given unto thame, *That as we had offended no Man, so wald we seik Apointment of no Man: Bot if ony wald seik our Lyves, (as we war informed they did) they suld find us if they plesed to make Diligence.* This Answer receaved, war sent agane the Lord *Lindesay*, and Laird of *Wachtoun*, quho earnestlie requested us to Concord, and that we wald not be the Occasioun that innocent Bloode sould be sched. We answered, *That nether had we Quarrell aganst ony Man, nether yet soucht we anie Manis Blude; onlie we wer convened for Defence of our awin Lyves, unjustlie socht by uthers.* We added farder, *That if they culd find the Meane that we and our Brethrein nicht be free from the Tirranny devised aganst us, that they suld ressonable desire nothing quhilk sould be denyed for our Parte.* This Answer receaved, the Duke and Monsieur *d'Ossell*, having Comissioun of the Quein Regent, requyred, that Assurance nicht be takin for aucht Dayis, to the End that indifferent Men in the mean Tyme nicht comone upoun sum finall Agreement of those Thingis quhilk then war in Controversie. Heirto did we fullie consent, albeit that in Number and Force we war far Superiours; and for Testificatioun heirof, we sent unto thame our Hand-writtis, and we lykeways receaved thairs, with Promeis that within two or thre Dayis sum descreit Men suld be sent unto us to Sanct *Andros*, with farder Knowlege of the Queinis Mynd. The Tenour of the Assurance was this.

The Assurance.

WE, James Duke of Chatterault, Erle of Arrane, Lord Haumiltoun, &c. and my Lord *Dosell*, Lieutenant for the King in thir Partis, for ourselfis, Assisteris and Partakeris, being presently with us in Cumpanie, be the Tenour heirof promiseis faithfully of Honour to my Lordis Archibald Erle of Argyll, and James Comendatour of the Priorie of Sanct *Andros*, to thair Assisteris and Partakeris, being presentlie with thame in Cumpanie, *That we, and our Cumpanie foirsaid, sall reteir incontinent to Falkland; and sall, with Diligence, transport the Frenchmen and our uther Folkis now presentlie with us; and that na Frenchmen, or uther Soldiours of ours, sall remane within the Boundis of Fyif, bot sa many as befor the raising of the last Army lay in Dysart, Kirkcaldie and Kinghorne, and the same to ly in the same Places onlie, gif we sall think gude. And this to have Effect for the Space of aucht Dayis following the Dait beirof exclusive;*

five; that in the meane Tyme certane Nobill Men, be the Advise of the Queinis Grace, and rest of the Counsaill, may convene to talk of sick Thingis, as may make gude Ordour and Quietnes amongis the Queinis Leiges. And farder, We nor name of our Assisieres, being present with us, shall invade, trubill, or unquiet the said Lordis, nor thair Assisieris, during the said Spaice. And this we bind and obles us, upoun our lautie Fidelitie and Honour, to observe and keip in every Point above-written, bot Fraud or Gyll. In Witnes quhair of we have subscriyvit thir Presents with our Hands, at Gartabanks the 13th of Junii, 1559.

JAMES DUCKE.
L. L. ENNEN J.

And this received, we departed first, becaus we war thareto requist by the Duke, and so returned to Coupar, lauding and praying God for his Mercie schewed; and tharefter everie Man departed to his dwelling Plaice. The Lordis, and a grit Parte of the Gentilmen passed to Sanct Androis, quho thare abaid certane Dayis, still looking for those that war promised to come from the Quein, for Appointment to be maid. But we perceaving hir Craft and Deceat (for under that Assurance sche meinit nothing els, but to convoy herself, hir Ordinance, hir Frenchemen over the Water of Forthe) tuk Consultatioun for Deliverence of Sanct Johnestoun from these ungodlie Soldiours, and how our Brethrein, exylled from thair awin Houses, might be restoi red agane.

It was concluded, that the Brethrein of Fyif, Angus, Mernis and Stratherne, sould conveyin at Sanct Johnestoun the 24th Day of Junii for that Purpose; and, in the mean Tyme, wer these Letteris written be the Erle of Argyll and Lord James, to the Quein then Regent.

Madame,

EFter the hartie Comendatiounes of Service, this sall be to schaw your Graice, That upoun the 13th Day of Junii we war informed be thame that war Commoners betwix my Lord Duke, Monsieur Dofell, and us, that we sould have spokin irreverentlie of your Grace, whiche we beseik your Grace, for the trew Service we have maid, and ar redy to make at all Tymes to your Grace, that of your Goodnes you will lat us know the Sayeris thareof, and we sall do the Dewtie of trew Subjectis, to defend our awin Innocencie, as we tak God to witnes, of the gude Zeall and Love we heir towards you, to serve you with trew Hartis, and all that we have, alsweall Landis as Gudis, desyring na uther Thing for our Service bot the Libertie of our Conscience, to serve the Lord our God as we will answer to him, quhilk your Grace auckt and suld give to us frelie unrequyred. Moreover, pleis your Grace, that my Lord Duke, and the Nobill Men being in Striveling for the Tyme, be your Grace's Advyse, solistid us to pas to the Congregatioun convened at the Toun of Perth, to comoun of Concord, quhair we did our exact Diligence, and brocht it to pas as your Grace knowis; and thare is one Point that we plaint is not observed to us, quhilk is, that na Soldiour suld remane in the Toun efter your Graces departing; and suppois it may be inferred, it was spokin of Frenche Soldiours allanerlie, yit we tuk it utherways, lyk as we do yit, that Scottis men, or ony uther Natioun takand the King of Fraunce's Ages, ar repute and baiden Frenche Soldiours: Tharefoir, sen we of gud Will ana Mynd broucht that Mater to your Graces Contentment, it will pleis your Grace, of your Goodnes, to remove the Soldiours and thair Captanis, with utheris that have gottin Chairge of

the Toun, that the sam may be guidit and reullit frelie, as it was befoir be the Baileis and Counsaill, conforme to thair Infestmentis gevin to thame be the ancient and most excellent Kingis of this Realme, to elect and chuse thair Officiaris at Michelmas, and they to indure for the Spacie of an Yeir, conforme to the auld Ryte and Consuetude of this Realme; quhilk being done be your Grace, we trust the better Succes fall follow thareupon to your Graces Contentment, as the Bearar will declar at mair Lenth to your Grace; quhome God preserve.

To Sanct Johnestoun, with the Gentilmen befoir expressit, did convene the Erle of Monteith, the Laird of Glenurquhare, and divers others quho befoir had not presentit thame selfis for Defence of thair Brethrein. Quhen the haill Multitude was convened, a Trumpet was sent be the Lordis, comandng the Captanes and thair Bandis, to avoyde the Toun, and to leave it to the ancient Libertie and just Inhabitantis of the sam: Also comandng the Laird of Kynfanis, infett Provest be the Quein, with the Captanes foirsaidis, to cast up the Portis of the Toun, and mak the sam patent to all our Soveranes Leiges, to the Effect that alweill trew Religioun now anes begun tharein, may be mainteained, and Idolatrie utterly suppressed; as also that the said Toun micht joyse and bruick thair ancient Lawis and Liberties unopressed by Men of War, according to thair auld Privileges granted to thame be the ancient Princes of the Realme, and according to the Provisioun conteined in the Contract of Mariage maid be the Nobility and Parliament of this Realme, with the King of France, beirand, That nane of our auld Lawis nor Liberteis sould be altered. Adding thareto, Gif they foolischlie resisted, and tharein happened to comit Murther, that they sould be entreated as Murtherers. To the quhilk they answered prouddie, *That they wald keap and defend that Toun, according to thair Promeis maid to the Quein Regent.*

This Answer receaved, Preparatioun was maid for the Siege and Assault. For amonges all it was concludit, that the Toun sould be set at Libertie, to quhat Danger soevir thair Bodies sould be exponed. Quhill Preparatioun was in making, came the Erle of Huntlie, the Lord Erskin, and Maister Johne Bannatyn Justice Clerk, requiring, that the Pursuit of the Toun sould be delayed. To speik thame war apointit the Erle of Argyll, Lord James, and Lord Ruthven, quho perceaving nothing in thame bot a Drift of Time, without ony Assurance that the former Wrangis sould be redressed, gave unto thame schorte and plain Answeres, *That thay wald not delay thair Purpois ane Hour: And thairfoir willit thame to certifie the Captanes in the Toun, that if by Pryd and Folischnes, they wald keip the Toun, and in so doing slay ony of thair Brethrein, that thay everie ane sould die as Murtheraris.* The Erle of Huntlie displeisit at this Answer departit, as hichelie offendit, that he could not dres suche an Appointment, as sould have contentit the Quein and the Preistis. Efter thair departing, the Toun was agane sumondit: Bot the Captanes, supposing that na suddane Pursuit sould be maid, and luing for Relief to have bein sent from the Quein, abode in thair former Opinioun: And so upoun Saturday, the 25th of Junii, at ten Hours at Nicht, comandit the Lord Ruthven, quha beseigat the West Quarter, to schute the first Voley, quhilk being done, the Toun of Dundie did the lyk, quhois Ordinance lay upoun the East Side of the Brig.

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The Captanes and Souldiours within the Toun perceaving, that they war unabill lang to resist, required Assurance, till twelf Hours upoun the Morne, promising, *That if or that Hour there came na Relief unto thame fra the Quein Regent, that they wald rander the Toun, providing, that they sould be suffered to depart the Toun with Ensenyeis displayit.* We thrifing the Blude of no Man, and seiking onelie the Libertie of our Brethrein, condescendit to thair Desyris, albeit we micht have executed against thame Jugement without Mercie, for that they had refusit our former Favours, and had slane ane of our Brethrein, and had hurt two in thair Assistance; and yit we sufferit thame freelie to departe without ony farther Molestation.

The Toun being deliverit from thair Thraldome, upoun *Sunday* the 26th of *Junii*, Thankis war gevin to God, for his grit Benefitis receaved, and Consultatioun was taikin, quhat was farder to be done. In this mein Tyme, four zealous Men, considering how obstinate, proude and despytfull the Bischope of *Murray* had bein befor, how he had threatnit the Toun be his Souldiours and Freindis, quho lay in the Abay of *Scone*, thocht gud that sum Ordour sould be taikin with him, and with that Plaice, quhilk lay neir to the Toun End. The Lordis wrote unto him (for he lay in the said Abbay, quhilk was within two Myllis to Sanct *Joknestoun*) *That unles he wald cum and assist thame, they nether wald spair nor save his plaice.* He answered by his Writting, *That he wald cum, and do as thay thocht expedient; that he wald assist thame with his Force, and wald voit with thame aguinist the rest of the Clergie in Parliament.* Bot becaus his Answer was slow in cuming, the Toun of *Dundie*, partely offendit for the Slauchter of thair Man, and specially beiring no gude Favour to the said Bischope, for that he was and is cheif Enemie to Christ Jesus, and that by his Counsaill allone was *Walter Mylle* our Brother put to Deyth, they merched fordward. To stay thame was first sent the Proveist of *Dundie*, and his Brother *Alexander Halybourtoun* Captain, quha litill prevaillit, was sent unto thame *Johne Knox*, bot befor his cuming they war enterit to the pulling down of the Idollis and *Dortour*. And albeit the said Mr. *James Halybourtoun*, *Alexander* his Brother, and the said *Johne* did quhat in thame lay to have stayed the Furie of the Multitude; yit war thay not abill to put Ordour universallie: And thairfor they sent for the Lordis, Erle of *Argyll* and Lord *James*, quho cuming with all Diligence, labored to have saved the Plaice, and the Kirk. Bot becaus the Multitude had found, buryed in the Kirk, a grit Number of Idollis hid, of Purpois to have preserved thame to a better Day (as the Papistis spak) the Touns of *Dundie* and Sanct *Joknestoun* could not be satisfied, till that the hail Reparatioun and Ornamentis of the Kirk (as they tearmit it) wer destroyed. And yit did the Lords so travell, that they savit the Bischopis Palaice, with the Church and Plaice for that Nicht: For the two Lordis did not departe, till thay brocht with thame the hail Number of these that maist socht the Bischopis Displefour. The Bischope gritlie offendit that ony Thing sould have bein interprysit, in Reformatioun of his Plaice, askit of the Lords his Band and Hand-writting, quhilk not two Hours befor he had sent unto thame, quhilk deliverit to his Messinger *Adam Broun*, Adverteisment was gevin, that gif ony farder Displefour chanced unto him, that he sould not blame thame.

The Bischopis Servandis that same Nicht began to fortifie the Plaice again, and began to do Violence to sum that war carying away such Baggage, as they culd cum be. The Bischopis Girnell was kept the first Nicht be the Lauboris of *Johne Knox*, quho by Exhortatioun removed suche, as wald violentlie have
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maid Irruption. That sam Nicht departit from Sanct *Johnestown* the Erle of *Argyll*, and Lord *James*, as efter fall be declaired. The Morrow following sum of the Pure, in Hoip of Spoille, and sum of *Dundie*, to consider quhat was done, passit up to the said Abbay of *Scone*; quhairat the Bischopis Servands offendit, began to threattin and speik proudelie: And, as it was constantlie affirmit, ane of Bischopis Sones stoggit through with a Rapper one of *Dundie*, for becaus he was luing in at the Girnell Dure. The Brute heir-of noysit abroad, the Toun of *Dundie* was more intraged than befoir, quho putting thamefelfis in Armor, sent Word to the Inhabitants of Sanct *Johnestown*, *That unles they suld supporte thame, to avenge that Injurie, that they suld nevir efter that Day, concurre with thame in ony Actioun.* The Multitude easelie inflamed, gave the Allarm: And so was that Abbay and Plaice apointed to Sackage; in doing quhair of they tuk no lang Deliberatioun, bot comitted the holle to the Merciment of Fyre, quhairat no small Number of us war offendit, that patientlie we could not speik till ony that war of *Dundie* or Sanct *Johnestown*. A pure agit Matrone, seing the Flame of Fyre pas up so michtelie, and perceaving that monie war thairat offendit, in plane and sober Maner of speiking, said, *Now I sie and understand, that Godis Jugementis ar just, and that no Man is abill to save quhare he will punishe. Sen my Remembrance, this Plaice hes bein nothing ellis bot a Den of Hurmongeris. It is incredibill to beleve, how mony Wyfis has bein adulterat, and Virgins deflowrit be the filthie Beistis, whicke have bein fostered in this Den; bot especiallie be that wikit Man, quho is callit the Bischope. Gif all Men knew alsmeikill as I, they wald prais God, and no Man wald be offendit.* This Woman dwelt in the Toun, neir unto the Abbay, at quhois Wordis war many pacifeit; affirming with hir that it was Godis just Jugementis. And assuredlie gif the Labours or Travellis of ony Man could have savit that Plaice, it had not bein at that Tyme destroyed; for Men of grit Estimatioun labourit with all Diligence for the Saistie of it.

Quhill thir Thingis war done at Sanct *Johnestown*, the Quein feiring quhat sould follow, determined to send certane Bandis of *Frenche* Souldiours to *Stirling*, of Purpois to stoppe the Passage to us, that then wer upoun the northe Syid of *Forthe*, quhilk understude, the Erle of *Argyll* and Lord *James* departit secreitlie upoun the Nicht, and with grit Expeditioun preventing the *Frenche* Souldiours, they tuke the Toun (befoir quhois cuming the rascall Multitude put Hands in the Theiffis, I suld say Freiris Plaices, and utterlie destroyed them) quhairat the Quein and hir Faction, not a litill affrayed, with all Deligence departit from *Edinburghe* to *Dunbar*. And so we with reasonable Diligence merched foward to *Edinburghe*, for Reformatioun to be maid thair, quhair we arryved the 29th of *Junii*. The Proveist for that Tyme, the Lord *Seytoun*, (a Man without God, without Honestie, and oftentimes without Reson) had befoir gritlie trublit and molestit the Brethren; for he had taikin upoun him the Protectioun and Defence of the Black and Gray Freirs; for that Purpois did not onelie ly himself in the one everie Nicht, bot also constraynit the most honest in the Toun to watche these Monstures, to thair grit Greif and Trubill. But he heiring of our suddante cuming, abandoned his Chairge, and left the Spoill to the Pure, quho had maid Havock of all suche Thingis, as wer moveabill in these Places, befoir our cuming, and had left nothing but bair Wallis, yea not so muche as Duire or Window, quhairthrow we wer the les trublit in putting Ordour in suche Plaices.

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Efter that certane Days we had deliberated quhat was to be done, and that Ordour was taikin for suppressing of all Monumentis of Idolatrie within that Toun, and the Places nixt adjacent, Determinatioun was takin, to send sum Messengers to the Quein than Regent, for sicke had bruited (as hir accustomed Maner was, and yit hir Dochteris is, evir to forge Lies) that we sought nothing bot hir Lyif, and a plain Revoltment from the lawfull Obedience dew to our Soverane hir Authoritie, as by the Tenour of these Letteris may be sein.

FRANCIS and MARY, be the Graice of God, King and Quein of Scotis, Dauphine and Dauphines of Viennoys, to our Lovits, Lyoun King of Armes, &c. our Sherefs, in that Parte, conjunctlie and severallie, speciallie constitute, greitting. For samekille as our dearist Mother Marie Quein Dowager Regent of our Realme, and Lordis of our secreit Counsaill, perceaving the seditious Tumult rayffit be ane Parte of our Liegis, naming thameselfis, The Congregation, quho under Pretence of Religion, have put thameselfis in Armour; and that bir Grace, for satisfeing everie Manis Conscience, and pacifeing the saidis Trubillis, had offred unto thame, to affix ane Parliament to be haldin in Januar nixt to cum, (this was a manifest Lie, for this was nether offerit, nor by hir was ance thocht upoun, till we requirit it) or soner, if they had pleisit it, for establisching of ane universall Ordour in Maters of Religion, be our Advyis, and Estaittis of our Realme; and in the mein Tyme, to suffer everie Man to leif at Libertie of Conscience, without Truble, unto the Tyme the said Ordour war takin, be Advys of our foirsaid States. And at last, becaus it appeired mekill to stand, upoun our Burghe of Edinburghe, offerit in lyke maner to lat the Inhabitantis thairof chuis quhat Maner of Religion they wald set up, and uss for that Time; so that na Man micht allege, that he was forced to do against his Conscience: Quhilk Offer the Queins Grace, our said deirest Mother, was at that Tyme, and yit is readie to fulfille: Nottheles the said Congregation, being to ressave no ressonabill Offeris, hes sensyne, be oppin Deid, declarit, that it is no Religion, nor ony Thing thairto belonging that they seik, but onelie the Subversiou of our Authoritie, and Usurpation of our Crown; in manifest witnessing quhair of they daylie receive Inglische Men, with Messages unto thame, and sendis sicklyk in Ingland. And last of all, some violentlie intromettit, withtaken and yit uphaldis the Yronis of our Cunyekous, quhilk is ane of the cheif Pointis that concernis our Crown; and sicklyke hes intromettit with our Palice of Halyrudhous. Our Will is hairfoir, that ye pas to the said Mercat Croce of our said Bruch of Edinburghe, or ony uther publict Plaice within the sam, and thair be oppin Proclamatioun, in our Names and Authoritie, comand and chaarge all and sundrie Personis of the said Congregation, or yit being present within our said Burghe, uther then the Inhabitantis thairof, that thay within sex Hours nixt efter our said Chaarge, departe furtke of the same, under the Pane of Tressoun; and also, that ye comand and chaarge all and sundrie Personis, to leive thair Cumpanye, and adhere to our Authoritie, with Certificatioun to suche, as do the contrarie, sall be reput and haldin as manifest Tratours to our Crown, &c.

These Letteris did not a little greave us, who most injustlie war accused; for thare is never a Sentence of the Narrative trew, except that we stayed the Yrones, and that for most just Caus, to wit, becaus that dailie thare war such Numbers of Lions (alias called Hardheids) prented, that the Basenes thareof maid all Thingis exceiding dear; and tharefoir we war counsailled by the wysselt to stay the Irons, quhill farder Ordour micht be takin. Sche

with all possibill Diligence postit for hir Factioun. Mr. *James Balfour* was not idill in the mean Tyme. The Lordis, to purge thame of those odious Crymes wrait to hir a Letter in Form as efter followis.

PLeas your Grace be advertesit, it is cum to our Knowlege, that your Grace has set furthe, by your Letteris openlie proclaimed, That we, called by Name, the Congregatioun, under Pretence and Collour of Religioun, convene together to na uther Purpois bot to usurpe our Soveranes Authoritie, and to invaid your Persone representand thairis at this present; quhilk Thingis appeir to have proceded of sinister Informatioun maid be our Enemies to your Grace, considdering that we nevir mynded sick Thing, but onlie our Purpois and Mynd was and is to promote and set furthe the Glorie of God, manteane and defend the trew Preichours of his Word; and according to the sam, abolishe and put away Idolatrie and fals Abusses whiche may not stand with the said Word of God; beseiking your Grace to bear patiently tharewith, and interpone your Authoritie to the Futherance of the sam, as is the Dewtie of everie Christiane Prince, and gud Magistrate: For as to the Obedience of our Soverane Authoritie in all Civill and Politick Maters, we ar and fall be als obedient as ony other your Graces Subjectis within the Realme, and that our Conventioun is for no uther Purpois but to save our Preichours and thair Auditours from the Violence and Injury of our Enemies, quhilk suld be mair amplie declarit, be sum of us in your Graces Presens, gif ye war not accompanied with suche as have persewed our Lyses, and socht our Blude. Thus we pray Almichtie God to have your Heines in his Eternell Tuition. At Edenburghe, the 2d of Julii 1559.

And for farder Purgatioun hareof, it was thought necessarie, that we sould simplie expone, alsweill to hir Grace as to the haill Pepill, quhat war our Requeastis and just Petitiounes; and for that Purpois, efter that save Conduct was purchessit and grantit, we directit unto hir two grave Men of our Counsaill, to wit, the Lairds of *Pettarro* and *Cuninghameheid*, to quhome we gave Comissioun and Power, first to expone our hole Purpose and Intent, quhilk was none uther than befoir at all Tymes we have required, to wit, that we micht injoy the Liberty of Conscience. Secundlie, That *Jesus Christ* micht be trulie preiched, and his holie Sacramentis richtly ministrat unto us. That unabill Ministers micht be removed from Ecclesiasticall Administratioun; and that our Preichours micht be relaxed fra the Horne, and permitted to execute thair Chargis without Molestatioun, unto such Tyme as eyther be a generall Counsaill, lawfully convened, or be a Parliament within the Realme, the Contraverfies in Religioun war decyded. And for Declaratioun that hir Grace was heirto willing, that the Bands of *Frenchemen*, who then war a Burdein untollerable to the Countrey, and to us so feirfull, that we durst not in peacible and queit Maner hant the Places quhair they did ly, suld be sent to *France* thair native Countrey. Quhilk Thingis granted, her Grace sould have Experience of our accustomed Obedience.

To these Headis sche did answer at the first so plesandlie, that sche put both our Comissiouneris in full Esperance, that all sould be granted; and for that Purpose sche desired to speak with sum of gritter Authoritie, promising, that gif they wald assuir hir of thair dewtifull Obedience, that sche wald deny nothing of that whiche was requyred. For Satisfactioun of hir Mynd we sent agane the Erle of *Glencairne*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Lord *Uchiltrie*, and the said Laird of *Pettarro*, with the sam Comissioun as of befoir. Bot then
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sche began to handill the Mater more craftelie, complaining, that sche was not socht in a gentill Maner; and that they in quhome sche had put maist singular Confidence, had left hir in hir greatest Neid; and suche uther Thingis pertaining nothing to their Comissioun, proponed sche to spend and dryve the Tyme. They answered, *That by unjust Tyranny devoyed aganst thame and thair Brethrein, (as hir Grace did weill know) they war compelled to seek the extrem Remedie; and tharefoir that hir Grace aucht not to wonder thocht godlie Men left the Cumpanie quhair they nether fand Fidelitie nor Truthe.* In the End of this Comuning, quhilk was the 12th of July 1559, sche desyred to have talked privylie with the Erle of Argyll and Lord James Pryour of Sanct Andros; for els (as sche alledged) sche culd not bot suspect, that they pretended to sum uther hier Purpois nor Religion. Sche and her craftie Counsaill had abusit the Duke, perswading unto him, and unto his Friends, that the saidis Erle and Pryour had conspyred, first to depryve our Soverane hir Dochter of hir Authoritie, and thareafter the Duke and his Successioun of thair Title to the Croun of Scotland. By these invented Lyes sche inflamed the Hartis of many aganst us, insomuch that sum of our awin Number began to murmur, whiche perceaved, alsweill the Preichours in thair publict Sermons, as we ourselfis by our publict Proclamatiouns gave Purgatioun and Satisfactioun to the Peopel, plainlie and simplie declaring quhat was our Purpois, taking God to witnes, that no such Crymes ever entered in our Hartis, as most injustlie was layd to our Charge. The Counsaill, after Consultatioun, thocht not expedient that the saidis Erle and Pryour sould talk with the Quein in ony Sorte: For hir former Practises put all Men in Suspicioun, that some Deceit lurked under suche culloured Comoning. Sche had befoir said, that gif sche culd be ony Meane sunder those two from the rest, sche was assured schortlie to cum by hir hale Purpois; and ane of hir chief Counsaill in these Days, (and we fear bot over inward with hir yit) said, *That or Michaelmefs Day they two sould leaf thair Headis;* and tharefoir all Men feared to commit two such young Plantis to hir Mercie and Fidelitie. It was tharefoir finallie denyed, that they sould talk with the Quein, or ony to hir appertaining, bot in Plaices void of all Suspicioun, quhare they sould be equall in Number with those that sould talk with thame.

The Quein perceaving that hir Craft culd not prevaill, was content that the Duke's Grace, and the Erle of Huntlie, with utheris by hir appointed, sould convene at Prestoun to comune with the saids Erle and Pryour, and suche utheris as the Lordis of the Congregatioun wald appoint, to the Number of ane hundred on the Syde, of the whiche Number aucht Personis onlie sould meit for Conference. The Principalls for thair Partie war the Duke, the Erle Huntlie, the Lordis Erskin and Somervell, Mr. Gawne Haumiltoun, and the Justice-clerk. From us war directed the Erles of Argyll and Glencairne, the Lordis Ruthven, Lord James, Boyd and Uchiltrie, the Lairds Dun and Pittarro, quho convened at Prestoun, spak the hole Day without ony certane Conclusioun; for this was the Practise of the Quein, and of hir Factioun, by Drift of Tyme to weary our Company, quho, for the most Parte, had bein upoun the Fields from the Tenth Day of Mai, that we being disperfed, sche micht cum to hir Purpose, in which sche was not altother deceaved; for our Comunis war compelled to skail for Laik of Expenses, and our Gentilmen partlie constrayned be Laik of Furnishing, and partlie hoiping sum finall Apointment, efter so mony Comunings, returned for the most Part to thair Dwelling-plaices, for

reposing of thamefelfis. The Quein in all these Conventiouns seemed that sche wald give Libertie to Religioun, provided that quhairfoevir sche was our Preichours sould cease, and the Mess sould be mainteaned. We perceaving hir malitious Craft, answered, *That as we wald compell hir Grace to no Religioun, so culd we not of Conscience, for the Plessour of ony earthly Creature, put Sylence to Gods trew Messengeris; nether could we suffer that the richt Administratioun of Christis trew Sacramentis sould give Plaice to manifest Idolatrie: For in so doing, we sould declair ourselfis Enemies to God, to Jesus Christ, his Eternell Veritie, and to the Libertie and Establischement of his Kirk within this Realme: For your Request being granted, thare can no Kirk within the sam be so establisched, but at your Plesour, and by your Residence and remaining thare, ye nicht overthrow the samyn.* This our last Answer we sent to hir with the Lord Ruthven and Laird of Pittarro, requyring of hir Grace, in plain Wordis, to signifie unto us quhat Hoipe we nicht have of hir Favours toward the outsetting of Religioun. We also requyred that sche wald remove hir *Frenchemen*, quho war a Fear to us, and a Burdean most greavous to the Cuntrey. And that sche wald promise to us, in the Word of a Princes, that sche wald procure na ma to be sent in, and then sould we not only support, to the uttermost of our Poweris, to furnishe Schippis and Victuallis for thair transporting, bot also, upoun our Honours, sould we tak her Bodie in our Protectioun; and sould promise, in the Presens of God and the hole Realme, to serve our Soverane hir Dochter, and hir Grace's Regent, als faythfullie and as obedientlie, as evir we did Kingis within *Scotland*. That moreover we sould caus our Preichours give Reson of thair Doctrin in hir Audience, till ony that pleased to impugn any Thing that they did or taught. Finallie, that we sould submit ourselfis to a lawfull Parliament, provyded that the Bischopes, as the Party accused, and our plane Enemies, sould be removed from Judgement.

To no Point wald sche answer directlie, bot in all Thingis sche was so generall and so ambiguous, that hir Craft apeired till all Men. Sche had gottin sure Knowlege that our Cumpanie was scailled (for hir *Frenchemen* war daylie amangis us without ony Molestatioun or Hurt done unto thame) and thairfoir sche began to disclois hir Mynd, and said, 'The Congregatioun had rung these two Monethis bypast, Me myself wald ring now uther two.' The Malice of hir Hairt being plainlie perceaved, Deliberatioun was had what was to be done. It was concludit, That the Lordis, Barrones, and Gentilmen, with thare substantious Houshaldis, sould remane in *Edinburgh* that haill Winter, for the establisching of the Kirk thare. And becaus it was fund, That by the Corruptioun of our Money, the Quein made to hirself immoderat Gaines, for mantaining of hir Suldiours, to the Destruction of the hail Comoun Welth, it was thocht expedient and necessarie, that the Prenting Yronis, and all Thingis to thame perteining sould be stayit, for feir sche suld privelie caus transporte thame to *Dunbar*. In this mein Tyme cam the assurit Word, first, That *Harie* King of *France* was hurt, and efter that he was deid. Quhilk albeit that it aucht to have put hir in Mynd of hir awin Estait and wickit Interpryis: For he that same Tyme in the Fulnes of his Glorie, as sche hirself usit to speik, had determined maist cruell Persecutioun againsts the Sanctis of God in *France*, evin as sche hirself was heir persecutand in *Scotland*: And yit he so perished in his Pryde, That all Men mycht sie that God's just Vengeance did stryke him, evin quhen his Iniquitie was cuming to full Rypnes. Albeit we say, That this wondrous Work of God in his suddane Deyth, aucht

to have daunted hir Furie, and gevin unto hir Admonitioun, that the same God could not suffer hir obstinate Malice against his Treuth, lang to be unpunished: Yit could hir indurat Hairt nothing be movit to Repentance; for heiring the staying of the Prenting Yronis, sche raged more outragiousslie nor oft befor, and sending for all siche as war of hir Factioun, exponit hir greavous Complaint, aggreging the sam with mony Lies, *to witte*, That we had declairit that quhilk befor sche had suspectit: For quhat could we mein ellis, bot Usurpation of the Croun, quhen we durst put Hand to the Cunye Hous, quhilk was a Portioun of the Patrimonye of the Croun. Sche farder allegit, *That we had spoillit the Cunye Hous of grit Soumes of Money*. To the quhilk we answerit, Bothe by our Letteris send to hir, and to hir Counsaill, and by publick Proclamatioun to the Pepill, that we, without Usurpation of any Thing justlie apertaining to the Croun of *Scotland*, did stay the Prenting Ironis, in Consideration that the Comoun Welthe was gritlie hurt, by corrupting of our Mony. And becaus that we wer borne Counsaillours of this Realme, and sworne to procure the Profeit of the same, we could do no les of Dewtie and of Conscience, then to stay that for a Tyme, quhilk we saw so abused, that unles Remedie war found, sould turne to the Detriment of the haill Bodie of this Realme. And as to hir fals Accusation of Spoilye, we did remit us to the Conscience of Mr. *Robert Richartsfoun* Maister of the Cunye Hous, quha from our Handis receaved Gold, Silver, and Mettall, alsweill cunyeit as uncunyeit; so that with us thare did not remane the Valow of a Babie.

This our Purgation and Declaratioun, notwithstanding, sche, partlie be hir Craft and Politie, and partlie be the Labours of the Bischopis of *St. Androis* and *Glasgow*, procurit the haill Number that wer with hir, to consent to persew us with all Crueltie and Expedition, befor that we could have our Cumpanie (quhilk then was disperfed for new Furneishing) assembled agane. The Certantie heirof cuming to our Knowlege the *Satterday* at Nicht, the 25. *July*, we did quhat in us lay to geve Adverteisment to our Brethrein: Bot impossibill it was that thos of the West, *Angus, Mernis, Stratherne* or *Fyif*, in any Number could cum to us. For the Enemie marched from *Dunbar* upoun the *Sunday*, and approched within two Mylles of us before the Sun-rysing upoun the *Monday*. For they verelie suppoisit to have found no Resistance, being assurit that the Lordis onlie with certane Gentilmen remainit with thare private Hous. Calling upoun God for Counsaill in that Strait, we socht quhat was the nixt Defence. We might have left the Toun, and might have retein ourselfis without any Danger, bot then we sould have abandonit our Brethrein of *Edinburgh*, and sufferit the Ministrie thareof to have decayit, quhilk to our Hairtis was so doldrous, that we thocht better to hasard the Extremitie then so to do. For then the most Part of the Toun appeired rather to favour us rather then the Quenis Factioun, and did offer unto us the uttermost of thare Support, quhilk for the most Parte they saythfullie did keip. The sam did the Toun of *Leyth*, bot they kepit not the lyk Fidelitie. For quhan we war upoun the Feild, merchand fordward for thare Support (for the *Frenchemen* merched neir to thame) they randerit thameselfis without farder Resistance. And this they did, as is supposed, by the Tresson of sum within thameselfis, and by Perswasion of the Laird of *Restalrig*, quha of befor declarit himself to have bein one of us, and yit notwithstanding that sam Day randerit himself undesyred to *Monfieur d'Osell*. Thare unprovvydit and suddane Defectioun

aftonifchit mony, and yit we reteirit quietlie to the Syid of *Craigingate*, quhilk Place we tuk for refifting of the *Enemie*.

In the mein Tyme divers Mediators paff betwix, among quhome my Lord *Ruthven* for our Parte was Principall. *Alexander Erskin* did much travell to ftay us and our Souldiours, that we fould no joyne with thame of *Leyth*, till that they, as faid is, had randerit thamefelfis to the *Frenchemen*. The faid *Alexander* did promeis that the *Frenchemen* wald ftay, provyding, That we wald not joyne with thofe of *Leyth*. Bot efter that they war randerit, we hard nothing of him bot threatning and difcomfortable Wordis. Befoir aucht Hours in the Morning, God had gevin unto us bothe Curage, and a reffonable Number to withftand thare Furie. The Toun of *Edinburgh*, fo mony as had fubjectit thamefelfis to Difciplin, and divers uthers befyd is thame, did behave thamefelfis bothe faythfullie and ftoutelie. The Gentilmen of *Lothiane*, efpeciallie *Calder*, *Ormiftoun*, and *Hatton*, war verie comfortable, alſweill for thare Counfaills as for thare haill Affiftance. Sum Gentilmen of *Fyfe* prevented the *Frenchemen*, uthers wer ftopped be Reffon that the *Frenchemen* had poffeffed *Leyth*. Alwayis the *Enemie* tuk fuche a Feir, that they determined not to invade us quhare we ftude, but tuk Purpois to have paffit to *Edinburgh*, by the uther Syid of the Water of *Leyth*, and that becaus they had the Caftell to thair Freind, quhilk was to us unknowin; for we fuppoifit the Lord *Erskin*, Captane of the fame, eyther to have bein our Freind, or at leift to have bein indifferent. Bot quhen we had determined to fecht, he fend Word to the Erle of *Argyll*, to Lord *James*, his Sisters Sone, and to the uther Nobillmen that war with us, That he wald declair himſelf both *Enemie* to thame and to the Toun, and wald ſchute at bothe, if they maid ony Reſiſtance to the *Frenchemen* to enter in the Toun. This his treffonabill Deſiance ſent unto us be the Laird of *Ricartoun*, did abate the Curage of manie, for we culd not fechte nor ſtoppe the *Enemie*, bot under the Mercie of the Caftell and quholle Ordinance thareof. Heirupoun was Conſultatioun takin, and in Concluſioun, it was found les Damage to tak ane Apointment, albeit the Condiitiouns war not ſick as we defyrit, then to hafard Battell betwix two fuche *Enemies*. Etter lang talking, certane Heidis wer drawin be us, quhilk we defyrit to be grantit.

I. That no Member of the Congregatioun ſuld be trublit, in Lyf, Landis, Gudis or Poſſeſſiounis be the Quein hir Authoritie, or ony uther Juſtice within the Realme, for ony Thing done in the laite Innovatioun, till a Parliament (quhilk ſuld begin the tent of Januar nixt) had decydit Thingis in Contraverſie.

II. That Idolatrie ſuld not be erected, quhair it was at that Day ſuppreſſed.

III. That the Preicheours and Miniſters ſould not be troubled in thair Miniſtrie, quhair thay ar alreddie eſtabliſhed, nether yit ſtopped to preiche, quhair ſoevir they ſould chance to cum.

IV. That na Bandis of Men of Weir ſuld be laid in Garifoun within *Edinburgh*.

V. That the Frenche Men ſould be ſent away at a reffonabill Day, and that none uther ſuld be brocht in the Cuntrey without the Conſent of the haill Nobilitie and Parliament.

Bot theſe our Artickles wer altered, and in ane uther Forme diſpoſed as efter followis.

At the Lynkis of *Lyeth*, the 24 *Julii* 1559. it is apointed in Maner following.

IN the first the Congregation and thair Companie, utheris then the Inhabitantis of the said Town, sail remove thameselfis forth of the said Town, the Morne at ten Hours befor None, the 25th of *Julii*, and lerre the sam voyde and redd of thame and thair said Companie, conforme to the *Queinis* Graces Pleiure and Desyr.

Item. The said Congregation sail caus the Irons of the Gunne hous, taken away be thame, be vanderit and deliverit to Mr. Robert Richartoun; and in lyk wayis the *Queinis* Graces hir Palice of Halyrudhous to be left, and vanderit agane to Mr. Johne Balfour, or ony uther having hir Graces sufficient Power, in the same Maner as it was received, and that betwix the making of thir Artickles and the Morne at ten Hours. For observing and keiping of thir two Artickles above writtin, the Lord Ruthven and the Laird of Pittarro hes entered thameselfis Pleges.

Item. The saidis Lordis of the Congregation, and all the Members thair of, sail remain obedient Subjeftis to our Soverane Lord and Ladyis Authoritie, and to the *Queinis* Grace Regent in thair Plaiice; and sail obey all Lawis and lozeable Consuetuds of this Realme, as they war usit of befor the usng of this Tumult and Contraviesie, exceptand the Caus of Religion, quikik sail be benefier specifieit.

Item. The said Congregation, nor name of thame, sail trouble nor molet a Kirkman be Way of Deid, nor yit sail mak thame ony Impediment in the peacibill bruiking, joyning and uptaking of thair Rentis, Proseits and Duties of thair Benefices, bot that thay may frelie us and dispone upoun the sam, according to the Lawis and Consuetudes of this Realme, to the tent Day of Januar nixt to cum.

Item. The said Congregation, nor name of thame, sail in na wayis fra thencefurthe uss ony Force or Violence, in casting down of Kirks, religious Places, or Reparralling thair of, bot the sam sail stand skaythles of thame, unto the said tent Day of Januar.

Item. The Town of Edinburghe sail without Compulsion use and chuse quhat Religion and Maner thair of they pleis, to the said Day; so that everie Man may have Fredome to uss his awin Conscience to the Day foirsaid.

Item. The *Queinis* Grace sail not interpone hir Authoritie, to molest or troubill the Preicheours of the Congregation, nor thair Ministrie (to thame that pleise to uss the sam) nor na uther of the said Congregation in thair Bodies, Landis, Guidis, or Posseshounis, Penshounis, or quhatsumevir uther Kynd of Guidis they possess, nor yit thoill the Clergie, or ony uther haveand temporall or spirituel Jurisdiction, to trouble thame, in ony Maner of sorte, pricelie or opintie, for the Caus of Religion, or ony uther Actioun depending thairupoun, to the said tent Day of Januar within writtin, and that everie Man in particular leise in the mein Tyme according to his awin Conscience.

Item. That na Man of Weir Frenche nor Scottis be layd in daylie Garresounis, within the Town of Edinburghe, bot repair thairto, to do thair lesum Busines, and thairefter to retire thame to thair Garisounis.

This Alteratioun in Wordis and Ordour was maid without Knowlege and Consent of thois, quhois Counsail we had used in all suche Caisis befor; for sum of thame perceaving we began to faint, and that we wald apoint with urequall Conditionis, said, God hes wonderfullie assistit us in our grittest Dangeris: He bes strickin Feir in the Hairtis of our Enemies, quhen they supposed thameselfis most

assured of Victorie: Our Case is not yit so desperate, that we neid to grant to Thingis unressonabill and ungodlie; quhilk if we do, it is to be feirit, that Thingis sall not so prosperously succed, as they have done keirtofoir.

Quhen all Thingis wer comonit and agreit upoun be myd Personis, the Duke, and the Erle of *Huntelie*, quho that Day wer against us, desyrit to speik the Erles *Argyll* and *Glencairne*, the Lord *James*, and utheris of our Partie, quho obeying thair Requeist, met thame at the *Quarrell Hoillis* betwix *Leyth* and *Edinburghe*, quho in Conclusioun promiseit to our Lordis, "That if the Quein brak to us any ane Jote of the Appointment then maid, that they sould declair thameselvis plain Enemies to hir, and Freindis to us." Als muche promiseit the Duke to do, in cais that sche wald not remove hir *Frenche* Men at ane reffonabill Day; for the Oppressioun quhilk they did was manifest to all Men. This Apointment maid, and subscryvit by the Duke, *Monsieur d'Osell*, and the Erle of *Huntelie*, the 25th Day of *Julii*, we returnit to the Toun of *Edinburghe*, quhair we remainit till the nixt Day at None; quhen efter Sermones, Denner, and Proclamatioun maid at the *Mercat Croce*, in Forme as followis, we departit.

The Forme of the Proclamatioun.

FOR alsinuche as it hath pleisit God, that Apointment is maid betwix the Quein Regent and us the Lordis and baill Protestantis of this Realme, we have thocht gud to signifie unto yow the cheif Heidis of the sam, quibilke be these.

First, That no Member of the Congregatioun sall be trubled in Life, Lands, Guds, or Possessiounis be the Quein, or be hir Authoritie, nor be ony uther Justice within this Realme, for ony Thing done in this laite Innovatioun, till that a Parliament hath desydit Things that be in Contraversie.

Secoundlie, That Idolatrie sall not be erected, quhair it is now at this Day suppressed.

Thirdlie, That the Preicheours and Ministeris sall not be troubled in the Ministratioun, quhair they ar already establisched, neyther yit stopped to preiche quhairsoevir they sall happin to travell within this Realme.

Fortlie, That na Bands of Men of Weir sall be laid in Garisonis within the Toun of *Edinburghe*.

"These cheif Heidis of Apointment, concerning the Libertie of Religion, and Conservatioun of our Brethrein, we thocht gude to notifie unto yow, by this our Proclamatioun, that in cais Wrang or Injurie be done, be ony of the contrair Factioun, to ony Member of our Bodie, Complaint may be maid to us, to quhome we promise, as we will answer to God, our faythfull Supporte to the uttermost of our Powers."

At this Proclamatioun maid with Sound of Trumpet, war offendit all the Papistis: For first, They allegit, it was done in Contempt of the Authoritie. Secoundlie, That we had proclaimed mair than was contained in the Apointment. And last, That we, in our Proclamatioun, had maid no Mentoun of ony Thing promiseit unto thame. To suche Murmuirs we answerit, That no just Authoritie culd think it self contemned, becaus that the Treuthe was by us maid manifest unto all, quho utherwayis nicht have pretendit Ignorance. Secoundlie, That we had proclaimed nothing, quhilk was not finallie aggreit upoun in Word and Promiseis betwix us and thois with quhome the Apointment was maid

maid, quhatsoever thair Scrybis had efter writtin, quho in verie deid had altered, bothe in Wordis and Sentences, our Artickles as they war first conceived. And yit gif thair awin Wryttingis war diligentlie examined the self same Thing sall be found in Substance. And last, To proclame any Thing in thair Favours, we thocht it not necessarie, knowing, that in that behalf they thame-selvis wald be diligent yneuche. And in this we wer not deceived; for within fyftein Dayis efter, thair was not a Schaveling in *Scotland*, to quhom Teynd, or any uther Rent pertained, bot he had that Artickle of the Apointment be Haire, *That the Kirkmen should be answered of Teyndis, Rentis, and all uther Dew-teis, and that no Man should trouble nor molest thame.*

We departit from *Edinburghe*, the 26th of *Julii*, came first to *Linlythgow*, and efter to *Stirling*, quhair efter Consultatioun, the Band of Defence, and Mentenance of Religion, and for mutuell Defence everie ane of uther was subscrivit of all that war thair present.

The Tenour of the Band was this.

WE forseing the Craft and Slyckt of our Adversaries, tending all Maner of Wayes to circumvene us, and be privie Meanis intendis to assaill every ane of us particularlie, be fair Hechtis and Promises, tharethrow to separate ane of us from ane uther, to our utter Ruin and Distructioun: For Remedy thareof, we saythfully and treulie binde us, in the Presens of God, and as we tender the Maintenance of trew Religion, That nane of us sall in Tymes cuning pas to the Queinis Grace Douager, to talk or comoun with hir for ony Letter or Message sent by hir unto us, or yit to be sent without Consent of the rest, and comoun Consultatioun thare-upon. And how sone that ether Message or Writ sall cum fra hir to us, with utter Diligence we sall notifie the sam ane unto ane uther, sae that nothing sall proceed heirin without comoun Consent of us all. At *Stirling* the first Day of *August*, 1559.

This Band subscrivit, and we forseing that the Quein and Bischopis ment nothing but Deceat, thocht gude to seik Ayde and Support of all Christiane Princes against hir and hir Tyranny, in cais we sould be mair scharplie persewed; and becaus that *England* was of the same Religion, and lay nixt unto us, it was juged expedient first to prove thame, quhilk we did by ane or twa Messengeris, as hereafter in the awin Place more amplie sall be declared.

Efter we had abiddin certane Dayes in *Stirling*, the Erle of *Argyll* departed to *Glasgow*; and becaus he was to depart to his awin Cuntrey, (with quhome also past Lord *James*) to pacifie sum Trubill quhilk be the Craft of the Quein was raysit in his Absens, he requyred the Erle of *Glencairne*, Lord *Boyd*, Lord *Uckiltrie*, and utheris of *Kyll*, to meit thare for sum Ordour to be takin, that the Brethrein tould not be oppressit, whiche with ane Consent they did, and appointed the Tenth of *September* for the nixt Conventioun at *Stirling*.

Quhillis these Thingis war in doing at *Glasgow*, Letteris and ane Servant cam fra the Erle of *Arrane* to the Duke his Father, signifeing unto him, that by the Providence of God, he had eschaiped the *Frenche* Kingis Handis, quho most treffonablie and most cruellie had socht his Lyif, or at leist to have comitted him to perpetuall Prissoun: For the same Tyme the said *Frenche* King, seing he culd not have the Erle himself, gart put his younger Brother (a Bairne

of suche Age as culd not offend) in strait Presson, quhair he yit remanes, to wit, in the Moneth of *October*, the Yeir of God 1559; quhilk Thingis war done by the Craft and Policie of the Quein Dowager, quhat Tyme the Duke and his Freyndis war most frack to set fordward hir Caus. These Letteris received, and the Estait of his two Sones knawin, of quhome the ane was eschaiped, and the uther cast in vyle Pressoun, the Duke desyred comuning with the Erle of *Argyll*, quho, partlie against the Will of sum that luist him, raid to the Duke from *Glasgow* to *Haumiltoun*, quhair abyding all Nicht, he declaired his Jugement to the Duke, and to his Freyndis, especiallie to Mr. *Gurwane Haumiltoun*. The Duke requyred him and the Lord *James* to wryte thair freyndlie and comfortable Letters to his Sone, quhilk they both most willingly did, and efter addressit thame to thair Journey; but the veray Day of thair departing cam ane *Butonecourt* from the Quein Regent, with Letters, as was alleged, from the King and Quein of *France* to Lord *James*, quhilk he delivered with a bragging Cuntenance, and mony threatning Wordis. The Tenour of his Letters was this.

Le ROY.

MY Cousing, I have bene gritlie astonisched, having understude the Troubles that ar happenned in these Partis; and yit do mor mervell, that ye of quhome I had an holle Confidence, and also bes this Honour to be sa neir the Queinis Grace my Wyif, and had received of unquibille the Kingis Grace my Father, hir Grace and me, suche Graces and Favours, that ye sould be so forgetfull as to mak your self the Heid, and one of the principall Beginnaris and Nurischaris of the Tumultis and Seditiounis that are sein thare, the quibilk becaus it is so strange as it is, and syne against the Professioun that ye at all Tymes have maid, I cannot gudly beleve it. And it be so, I cannot think, bot ye have bein intysed and led thairto, be sum Personis that have seduced, and causit yow commit sick ane Fault, as I am assuirit ye repent of alreddie, quhilk will be a grit Plesour to me, to the Effect that I nicht loise ane Parte of the Occasioun I have to be discontent with yow, as I will yow to understand I am, seing ye have sa far deceaved the Esperance I had of yow, and your Affectioun towardis God, and the Weill of our Service, unto the quibilk ye know ye ar alsmeikill and mair obleist, than ony uther of the Lordis thair. For this Caus desyrand, that the Matteris may be duetifullie amended, and knowand what ye may thairuntill; I thocht gude one this Maner to wryte unto yow, and pray yow to tak Heid to returne to the gude Way, from quibilk ye have declynit, and caus me know the sam by Effectis, that ye have ane uther Intentioun then this quibilk the Foleis bypast makis me now to beleive; doing all that evir ye can, to reduce all Thingis to thair first Estait, and put the sam to the rycht and gude Obedience, that ye know to be dew unto God and unto me. Utherwayis ye may be weill assuirit, I will put to my Hand, and that in gude ernest, that yow and all they that bes done, and dois as ye do, sall feill, throw thair awin Falt, that quhilk they have deservit and merited, evin as I have gevin Charge to this Gentilman, present Beirer, to mak yow know mair larglie of my Parte: For quibilk Caus, I pray yow credite him as ye wald do myself. Prayand God, my Cousing, to have yow in his holie and worthie Protectioun.

Writtin at *Parische*, the 17th *Julii* 1559.

The

The sam Messinger brocht also Letters from the Quein our Soverane, more schairpe and threatning then the former; for hir Conclusioun was, *Vous en sentez as la poinsure d J. mais.*

This Credite was, that the King wald spend the Croun of *France*, or that he wer not revengit upoun sick seditious Personis; that he wald nevir have suspectit such Inobedience and such Defectioun from his awin Sister in him. To the quhilk the said Lord *James* answerit, first by Word and syn by Writing, as followes.

S I R,

M^Y Dewtie remembred. Your Majesties Letter, from *Paris* the 17th of *Julii* last, I reslawed, proporting in Effect, That your Majestie sould mervell that I being forgetfull of the Graces and Favours schawin me, be the King, of blissit *Memorie*, your Majesties Father, and the *Queinis* Grace my Soverane, sould declare myself Heia, and ane of the principall *Begineres* of the illegit *Tumultis* and *Seditiounis* in thir Partis, deceaving thareby your Majisties Expectatioun at all Tymes had of me, with Assurance, that if I did not declare by contrarie Effectis my Repentance, I, with the Rest that had put, or yit puttis Hana to that Wark, sould reslawe the Rewaird that we had deserved and merited. Sir, it greavis me beavelie that the Cryme of Ingratitude sould be laid to my Charge be your Heines, and the rather that I perceive the sam to have proceded of finisler Informatioun of thame, quhois Parte it was not so to have reported, if trew Service bygane had bein requirded. And as tuitching the Repentance, and Declaratioun of the sam be certane Effectis, that your Majestie desyris I schaw, my Conscience perswadis me in thir Proceedings to have done nothing against God, nor the dewtiesfull Obedience towardis your Heines, and the *Queinis* Grace my Soverane, utherwayis it sould have bein to repent, and also amended according to your Majesties Expectatioun of me: But your Hienes being trewlie informed, and perswaded that the Thing quhilk we have done makis for the Advancement of Godis Gloris (as it dois indeed) without ony Derogatioun to your Majesties deu Obedience, we doubt not but your Majestie sall be weill contented with our Proceedings, quhilk being grounded upoun the Comandment of the Eternall God, we dar not leif the sam unaccomplisht, onlie wisching and desyring your Majestie did know the sam, and Truthe thareof, as it is perswadit to our Consciences, and all thame that ar trewle instructed in the Eternall Word of our God, upoun quhome we cast our Cair for all Dangeris that may follow the Accomplisckement of his Eternall Will, and to quhome we commend your Hienes, beseikand him to illuminat your Hairt with the Evangell of his Eternall Truthe, to know your Majesties Dewtie towards us your poor Subjectis, Godis chosin *Pepell*, and qukat ye aucht to crave justlie of thame agane; for then we sould have no Occasioun to feir your Majesties Wrathe and Indignatioun, nor your Hienes Suspicioun in our Inobedience. The same God have your Majestie in his Eternall Saifgaird. At *Dumbartane* the 12th of *August* 1559.

This Answer directed to the Quein our Soverane, and to *Francis* hir Husband, the Quein Dowager receavit it, and was bauld upoun it, as sche micht weill yneuche, for it was suppoisit, That the former Letteris war forgit heir at Home in *Scotland*. The Answer red be hir, sche said, "That so proud ane Answer was nevir gevin to King, Prince, or Princess." And yit indifferent Men thocht that he micht have answered mair schairplie, and not have transgressit Modestie nor Treuth. For quhair they burding him with the grit

Benefites quhilk of thame he had receaved, gif in plain Wordis he had purgit himself, affirming, That the grittest Benefite that evir he receavit of thame, was to spend in thare Service, that quhilk God by uthers had providit for him; no honest Man wald have accusit him, and no Man wald have bein abill to have convictit him of a Lie; *Bot Princes must be pardoned to speik quhat they pleis.*

For the Comforte of the Brethrein, and Continowance of the Kirk in *Edinburgh*, was left thare our deir Brother *Jobne Willock*, quho, for his faythfull Labours and bauld Courage in that Battell, deserved immortall Prays. For quhen it was found dangerous that *Jobne Knox*, quho befor was elected Minister to that Church, sould continow thare, the Brethrein requeisit the said *Jobne Willock* to remane with thame, leist that, for Laik of Ministeris, Idolatrie sould be erected upe agane. To the quhilk he so gladlie consentit, that it micht evidentlie appeir, that he preferred the Comfort of his Brethrein, and the Continuance of the Church thare, to his awin Lyfe. One Parte of the *Frenchemen* war appointit to ly in Garisoun at *Leyth*, (that was the first Benefite they gat for thare Confederacie with thame) the uther Parte war appointit to ly in the *Canongait*, the Quein and hir Trane abydding in the Abbay. Our Brother *Jobne Willock*, the Day efter our Departure, preiched in Sanct *Gilles* Kirk, and ferventlie exhortit the Brethrein to stand constant in the Treuthe quhilk they had professed. At this, and sum uther Sermones, was the Duck and divers uthers of the Queins Factioun. This Libertie of Preicheing, with resorting of all Pepill thareto, did heichlie offend the Quein and the uther Papiſtis. And first they began to give Terroures to the Duck, affirming, That he wald be reput as one of the Congregatioun, gif he gave his Presens at the Sermonis. Thairefter they began to requir that Mes sould be set up agane in Sanct *Gyle's* Kirk, and that the Pepill sould be set at Libertie to chuis quhat Religioun they wald; for that (said thay) was contened in the Apointment, that the Toun of *Edinburgh* sould chuis quhat Religioun they list; for obteneing heiros, war send to the Tolbuythe the Duke, the Erle of *Huntelie*, and the Lord *Seytoun*, to soleist all Men to condiscend to the Quenis Mynd; quharein the two last did labour that they could, the Duk not so, bot as a Behalder, of quhome the Brethrein had gude Esperance, and esfer many Perswasioniis and Threatningis maid be the saids Erle and Lord, the Brethrein stoutlie and valiantlie, in the Lord Jesus, gainſaid thare maist injust Petitiounes, reſſoning, that as of Conscience they micht not suffer Idolatrie to be erected, quhare Christ Jesus was trewlie preichit, so culd not the Quein nor they require ony sick Thing, unles sche and thay wald plainlie violat thare Fayth and cheif Artickles of the Apointment; for it is plainlie apointed, That na Member of the Congregatioun sall be molested in ony Thing that (the Day of the Apointment) he peaceablie possessit; bot so it was that we the Brethrein and Protestantis of the Toun of *Edinburgh*, with our Ministeris, the Day of the Apointment, did peciablie possess St. *Gylles* Kirk, apointit for us for Preicheing of Christis trew Evangell, and richt Administratioun of his holie Sacramentis; thairfor, without manifest Violatioun of the Apointment, ye cannot remove us tharefrae, quhill a Parliament have decydit this Contraverſie. This Answer gevin, the hail Brethrein departed and left the foirsaid Erle and Lord *Seytoun*, then Proveist of *Edinburgh*, still in the Tolbuythe, quho perceaving that they could not prevaill in that Matter, began to intreate that they wald be quiet, and that thay wald so far condiscend to the

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Quenis Plesour, as that they wald chuse thame ane uther Kyrk within the Toun, or at the leist be contented that Mes sould be said eyther befor or efter thare Sermones. To the quhilk Answer was gevin, that to gif Place to the Devill, quha was the cheif Inventar of the Mes, for the Plesure of ony Creature, they culd not. They war in Possessioun of that Kyrk, quhilk they culd not abandone, neyther culd they suffer Idolatrie to be erected in the sam, unles by Violence they sould be constrayned so to do. And than they war determined to seik the nix Remedie. Quhilk Answer receaved, the Erle of *Huntlie* did lovinglie intreit thame to Quietnes, saythfullie promising, That in no Sort they sould be molested, sa that they wald be quiet, and mak no farther Uproare. To the quhilk they war most willing, for they socht onelie to serve God, as he had comandit, and to keip thair Possessioun, according to the Apointment: Quhilk be God's Grace they did, till the Moneth of *November*, notwithstanding the grit boasting of the Enemie. For they did not onelie conveyn to the Preiching, daylie Supplications and Administration of Baptisme, bot also the Lordis Tabill was ministerit, evin in the Eyis of the verie Enemie, to the grit Comforte of mony afflicted Consciencis: And as God did potentlie worke with his trew Minister, and with his troubled Kirk, so did nocht the Devill ceis to inflame the Malice of the Quein, and of the Papistis with hir. For schort efter hir cuming to the Abbay of *Halyrudhous*, sche caused Mes to be said first in hir awin Chapell, and efter in the Abbay, quhare the Alters befor war castin down. Sche dischairgit the Comoun Prayeris, and forbad to gif ony Portioun to siche as war the principall young Men quho red thame. Hir Malice extendit in lyk maner to *Cambuskenneth*, for thare sche discharged the Portiouns of als mony of the Chanonis as had forsakin Papistrie: Sche gave Comand and Inhibitioun, that the Abbote of *Lindores* sould not be answerit of ony Part of his leving in the Northe, becaus he had submitted himself to the Congregatioun, and had put sum Reformatioun to his Place. By hir Consent and Procurement was the Preiching Stool brokin in the Kyrk of *Leyth*, and Idolatrie was erected in the sam, quhare it was befor suppressed. Hir *Frenche* Captanes, with thair Suldours in grit Companies, in Tyme of Preicheing and Prayers resortit to Sanct *Gyles* Kirk in *Edinburgh*, and made thair comoun Deambulatours tharein, with siche loud talking, as no perfyte Audience culd be had. And althocht the Minister was ostentymis thairthrow compelled to cry out one thame, praying God to rid thame of sick Locustis, they nevirtheless continewit still in thair wickit Purpois devysit and ordeynit be the Quein, to have drawin our Brethrein of *Edinburgh*, and thame in Cummer, sua that sche micht had ony coloured Occasioun to have brokin the League with thame. Yit be God's Grace they behavit thamefelfis sa, that sche culd find no Fault with thame, albeit in all these Thingis befor named, and in everie ane of thame, sche is worthelie counted to have contravenit the said Apointment. We pas over the oppressing of our Brethrein in particular, quhilk had bein sufficient to have provin the Apointment to have bein violated plainlie. For the Lord *Seytoun*, without ony Occasioun offered unto him, brak a Chase upoun *Alexander Quhytlaw*, as they came from *Prestoun*, accompanied with *William Knox*, towardis *Edinburgh*, and ceissit not to persew him, till he came to the Toun of *Ormistoun*. And this he did, supposing that the said *Alexander Quhytlaw* had bein *Johne Knox*. In all this mein Tyme, and quhill that ma *Frenchemen* arrayved, they ar not abill to prove that we brak the Apointment in ane Joit, except

that a hornit Cap was takin of a proude Preiftis Heid, and cut in four Peices, becaus he said, He wald weir it in despyte of the Congregatioun. In this mein Tyme, the Quein than Regent, knawing assuredlie quhat Force was schortlie to cum unto hir, ceassit not, be all Meanis possibill, to cloke the Incoming of the *Frenchemen*, and to inflam the Hairtis of our Cuntreymen against us. And for that Purpois sche wrote first unto my Lord Duck, in Form as followis.

The Quein Regentis fals flattering Letter to the Duck.

My Lord and Cousing,

EFter haintie Comendatioun, We ar informit that the Lords of the *Westland* Congregatioun intends to mak a Conventioun and Assemblie of thair Kin and Freindis upoun Gowane Mure, besyde Glasgow, one Mononday cum aucht Dayis, the 28th August instant, for sum hie Purpois against us, quibilk we can skairslie beleve, considdering they have no Occasioun upoun our Part sa to do. And albeit ye knaw that the Apointment was maid against, or without our Advys, yit we accepit the sam at your Desyre, and bes seinsyn maid na Caus, quhairby they nicht be moved to cum in the contrair thairof. Lyk as we ar myndit yit to keip firme and stabill all Thingis promised by yow in our Behalf. We think one the uther Parte, it is your Dewtie to requir thame, that thay contravein not thair Parte thairof in na Cais. And in cais they mein any Evil towardis us, and sa will brek thair Promeis, We beleve that ye will, to the uttermost of your Power conveyin with us, and compell thame to do that Thing quibilk thay aucht, gif thay will not; praying yow to have your self, your Kin and Freindis in Redines to cum to us, as ye sall be adverteisit be Proclamatioun, in cais the Congregatioun assemblie thame selfis for ony Purpois against us, or against the Tenour of the said Apointment: Assurand yow, without they gather, and mak first Occasioun, we sall not put yow to ony Painis in that Behalf. And that yow will adverteis us in Writ, quhat we may lippin to heirin with this Beirar, quha will schaw yow the fervent Mynd we heir to have Concorde with the said Congregatioun, quhat Offeris we have maid to thame, and how desyrous we ar to draw thame to the Obedience of our Soveranis Authoritie, to quhome ye sall gif Credite: And God keip yow. At Edinburgh the tent Day of August 1559.

The lyk Letter sche wrait to everie Lord, Barrone and Gentilman, of this Tennour.

Hir Letter to the Barronis.

Trustie Freindis,

EFter haintie Comendatioun, we dout not bot ye have hard of the Apointment maid besyd Leyth, betwix my Lord Duke, the Erle of Huntelie, and Monsieur d'Osell, one the ane Parte, and the Lords of the Congregatioun, one the uther Syd, quibilk Apointment we have approvit in all Pointis, albeit it was taikin without our Advys, and is myndit to observe and keip all the Contentis thairof, for our Parte. Not the les, as we ar informed, the saidis Lordis of the Congregatioun intendis schortlie to conveyin all suche Personis als will assist to thame, for interprysing of suche beiche Purpois against us, our Authoritie and Tennour of the said Apointment, quibilk

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we cannot beleve, seing they nether have, nor sall have any Occasioun gevin thairto one our Parte, and yit thinkis not ressonabill, in cais they think any sick Thing: And thairfor have thocht it gude to give Warning unto our speciall Friendis of the Adverteisment we have gotten, and amongst the rest to yow, quhom we esteim of that Number, praying yow to have yourselfis, your Kin and Folks in Redines to cum to us. And so furthe, as in the uthir Letter above sent to the Duke, Word efter Word.

Efter that, by these Letteris, and by the deceatfull Surmysing of hir Solistaris, sche had sumquhat styrit up the Hairtis of the Pepill against us, then sche began opinlie to complaine, that we wer of Mynd to invaid hir Persone, that we wald keip na Parte of the Apointment: And thairfor sche was compellit to crave the Assistance of all Men against our unjust Persuite. And this Practis sche usit (as befoir is said) to abuse the Simplicity of the Pepill, that they suld not suddanelie espie for quhat Purpois sche brocht in hir new Bandis of Men of Weir, quho did arryve about the Middest of *August*, to the Number of a thousand Men; the rest war apointit to cum efter with *Monsieur de la Broche*, and with the Bischope of *Amians*, quho arryved the nyntein of *September* following, as if they had bein Ambassadouris. Bot quhat was thair Negotiatioun the Effect did declair, and thay thamefelfis culd not lang conceill; for bothe be Pen and Tounge they uttered, that they war sent for the utter Exterminatioun of all thes that wald not profes the Papistcall Religion in all Points. The Queinis Practis nor Craft could not blind the Evis of all Men, neyther yit could hir Subtilitie hyde hir awin Schame, bot that mony did espy hir Deceate; and sum spairit not to speik thair Jugements liberallie, quho forseing the Danger, gave Adverteisment, requiring that Provisioun might be found, befoir that the Evill sould exceid our Wisdome and Strenthe to put Remedie to the sam; for prudent Men toirfaw, that sche pretendit a plain Conqueis: Bot to the End, that the Pepill sould not suddantlie sturre, sche wald not bring in hir full Force at ones (as befoir is said) bot by continuall Traffique purpoisit to agment hir Armie, so that in the End we sould not be abill to resist. Bot the grittest Parte of the Nobilitie, and mony of the Pepill, war so enchanted by hir tressonabill Solistaris, that they culd not heir, nor credite the Treuthe plainlie spokin. The *Frenche* then, efter the arryving of thir new Men, began to brage; then began they to divyde the Landis and Lordschapis according to thair awin Fantasies; for one was styllit *Monsieur d'Argyll*, ane uthir *Monsieur le Pryour*, the thrid *Monsieur de Ruthven*; yea, they war assurit in thair awin Opinioun, to possess quhatsoever they list; so that sum askit the Rentallis and Reveneus of divers Menis Landis, to the End that they might chuis the best. And yit in this mein Tyme, sche eschamit not to set furthe a Proclamatioun on this Forme.

A Proclamatioun set furthe by the Quein Regent, to blinde the vulgar Pepill.

FOR sa mekill as we understand, that certane seditious Personis hes of Malice invented, and blawin abroad divers Rumours, and evill Bruites, tending thairby to steir up the Hairtis of the Pepill, and sa to stoppe all Reconciliatiounis betwix us and our Subjectis, being of the Number of the Congregatioun, and consequentlie to kendill and nurische a continewall Stryfe and Devisioun in this Realme, to the manifest Subversioun of the haill Estaits thair-

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of. And among uther Purpoises, hes maliciouſlie devy ſit for that Effect, and hes perſuaidit too many, that we have violated the Apointment laitlie tane, in ſo far as ony ma *Frenche* Men ar ſince cumed in, and that we are myndit to draw in grit Forces of Men of Weir furthe of *France*, to ſuppreſche the Libertie of this Realme, opreſs the Inhabitantis thair of, and mak up Strangearis, with thair Landis and Gudis; quhilk Reportis (God knawis) ar maiſt vane, ſeinyeit and untrew: For it is of Treuthe, that nathing hes bein done one our Parte, ſen the ſaid Apointment, quhairby it may be allegit, that ony Point thair of hes bein contravenit, nether yit war at that Tyme any Thing comouned or concluded, to ſtope the ſending in of *Frenche* Men; as may cleirly appeir by Inſpectioun of the ſaid Apointment, quhilk the Beirar heirof hes preſent to ſchaw. Quhatevir Number of Men of Weir be arryved, we have ſick Regaird to our Honour, and Quietnes of this Realme, that in cais, in the Roum of everie ane *Frenche* Man that is in *Scotland*, thare war ane hundreth at our Comand, yit ſould not for that anie Jote of quhat is promeiſit be brokin, or ony Alteratioun be maid be our Provocatioun; bot the ſaid Apointment treulie and ſurelie obſerved in everie Point, if the ſaid Congregatioun will in lykmaner faythfullie keip thair Pairte thareof. Nor yit meine we to trubill ony Man in the peciable Poſſeſſioun of thair Gudis and Roumis, nor yit to inriche the Croun, and ſar les ony Stranger, with your Subſtances; for our deareſt Son and Dauchter, the King and Quein, ar by God's Proviſioun placed in the Roum, quhair all Men of Jugement may weill conſider, they have na Neid of ony Manis Gudis; and for ourſelf, we ſeik nothing bot detfull Obedeareſt unto thame, ſick as gude Subjectis aucht to give to thair Soveranes, without Diminutioun of our Liberties, and Privilegis, or Alteratioun of our Laws. Thairfor we have thocht gude, to notiſie unto yow our gude Mynd foirſaid, and deſyre yow not to gif Eir nor Credite to ſuche vane Imaginatiouns, quhair of (befoir God) no Parte evir entrit in our Conceate, nor ſuffer not yourſelfis to be thairby led from your dew Obedience, aſſuring yow ye ſall evir find with us Treuthe in Promeis, and a motherlie Love towardis all yow, behaveand yourſelfis as obedient Subjectis. Bot of ane Thing we gif yow Wairning, that quhairas ſum Preicheours of the Congregatioun, in their publick Sermones, ſpeickis irreverentlie and ſclanderouſlie, alſweill of Princes in general, as of ourſelfis in particular, and of the Obedience to the hier Poweris, induceing the Pepill, be that Parte of the Doctrine, to Deſectioun from thair Dewtie, quhilk perteinis nothing to Religioun, bot rather to Seditioun and Tumult, Thingis direct contrair to Religioun: Thairfor we deſyre yow to tak Ordour in your Tounis and Boundis, that quhen the Preicheours repaires rhare, they uſe thameſelfis mair modeſtly in thay behalfis, and in thair Preiching not to mell ſo mekill with civill Policie, and publick Government, nor yit name us, nor uther Princes, bot with Honour and Reverence, utherwayis it will not be ſufferit. And ſeing ye have preſently the Declaratioun of our Intentioun, we deſyre lykwayis to knaw quhat ſall be your Parte to us, that we may underſtand quhat to lippin for at your Handis; quhair of we deſyre an plane Declaratioun in Writ, with this Beirer, without Excus or Delay. At *Edinburghe*, the 28th of *Auguſt* 1559.

This Proclamatioun ſche ſent by hir Meſſingeris, throuche all the Countrey, and had hir Soliſtaris in all Partis, quha painfully travellit to bring Men to hir Opinioun; amongis quhome thoſe war the Principallis, Sir *Johne Ballandine*.
Juſtice

Justice Clerk, Mr. *James Balfour* Officiall of *Lanarkshire*, Mr. *Thomas* and Mr. *William Scottis* Sonis to the Laird of *Balwerie*, Sir *Robert Carnegie*, and Mr. *Gawane Hamilton*, quho for tainting of the Brethreinis Hairts, and drawing thame to the Queinis Factioun, againis thair native Countrey, have declared thame selfis Enemis to God, and Tratours to thair Comoun wealth. Bot above all utheris Mr. *James Balfour*, Officiall for the Tyme, aucht to be abhorrit; for he of ane auld Protestour is becom ane new Denyer of Christ Jesus, and manifest Blaiphemer of his eternell Veritie, against his Knowlege and Conscience, seeking to betray his Brethrein and native Countrey, into the Hands of ane unfaythfull Natioun.

The Answer to this former Proclamatioun, was maid in Forme as followis.

To the Nobilitie, Burgis, and Communalitie of this Realme of Scotland, the Lordis, Baronis, and utheris, Brethrein of the Christiane Congregation, wische Incres of all Wisdome, with the Advancement of the Glorie of God, and of the Comoun-welthe.

THE Love of our native Countrey cravethe, the Defence of your Honours requyres, and the Sinceritie of our Consciences compellethe us (deirest Brethrein) to answer sum Parte to the last Writingis and Proclamatiounis set furthe be the Queinis Graces Regent, no les to mak us and our Caus odious, than to abuse your Simpliciteis to your finall Distructioun, conspyred of auld, and now alreddie put to Wark. And first, quhair sche allegis that certane seditious Personis have, of Malice invented and blawin abroad divers Rumours, tending thareby (as sche allegis) to stir up the Hartes of the Pepell to Seditioun, be Ressoun that the *Frenchemen* ar creipt in of lait in our Countrey. Trew it is, (deir Brethrein) that all suche as beare naturall Love to thair Countrey, to you thair Brethrein Inhabitants thareof, to our Houesses, Wyffis, Bairnes, the Esperance of your Posteritie, and schortlie to your Comoun-welthe, and the ancient Lawes and Liberteis thareof, cannot bot in Hairt lament, and with Mouthe and Tears complain, the most crafty Assaultis devyffit and practessit, to the utter Ruine of all those Thingis foirnamed; and that sa manifestlie is gane to Wark, that evin in our Eyis, our deirest Brethrein, trew Memberis of our Comoun-welthe, are most cruellie oppressit by Strangers, in sa far as sum are banished thair awin Houses, sum robbed and spoilled of thair Substances conquest be thair just Labours, in the Sweit of thair Browis; sum cruellie murdered at the Plessour of these inhumane Soldiours, and altogether have their Lyves in sick Feir and Dredour, as if the Enemies war in the middes of thame; so that nothing can seim plesand unto thame, quhilk they possess in the Bowels of thair native Countrey; so neer juges everie Man (and not but just Caus) the Practeis used upoun thair Brethrein to approche nixt unto thairselfis, Wyffis, Bairnes, Houles and Substances, quhilk altogether are castin at the Feit of Strangers, Men of Weir, to be by thame thus abused at thair unbrydilled Lustis Desyre. Now if it be Seditioun (deir Brethrein) to complain, lament, and pour furthe befor God the Sorowis and Sobis of our dolorus Hairts, crying to him for Redres of thair Inormities, (quhilk ells quhair is not to be found, and thay altogether do proceid of the unlawfull Holding of strange Souldiours over the Heids of our Brethrein;) gif thus to complain be Seditioun, then indeed (deir Brethrein)

can nane of us be purged of that Cryme ; for as in verie Hairt we condemne sick inhumane Crueltie, with the wickir and crafty Pretence thareof, so can we, nor dar we not, nether be Mouthe speiking, nor yit be keiping of Syllence, justifie the sam : Nether do we heir aggrege the breking of the Apointment maid at *Leyth*, (quhilk alwayes hes manifestlie bein done) but quhen we remember quhat Ayt he we have maid to our Comoun-welthe, and how the Dewtie we aucht to the sam compelles us to cry out, that hir Grace, by wicked and ungodlie Counsaill, goethe most craftelie about utterlie to suppress the sam, and the ancient Lawes and Liberteis thareof, alsweill aganst the King of *France's* Promeis, or hir awin Dewtie, in Respect of the hiche Promotiounis that sche hes refflaved thareby, quhilk Justice sould have causit hir to have bein indeed that quhilk sche wald be called, (and is nothing les in Veritie) *to wit*, ane cairfull Mother over this Comoun-welthe. But quhat motherlie Care sche hes used towards you, ye cannot be ignorant. Have ye not bein, evin from the first Entrie of hir Rigne, evir suited and oppressed with unaccustomed and exorbitant Taxatiounis, more than ever war used within this Realme ? Yea, and how far was it sought heir to have bein brocht in upoun you and your Posterity, under Cullour to have bene layd up in Stoir for the Weirs. The Inquisitioun tane of all your Gudes, movabill and unmovabill, be Way of Testament ; the seiking of the haille Coill and Salt of this Realme, to have bene layd up in Stoir and Girnell, and sche allone to have bene Merchand thareof, dothe teche you by Experience sum of hir motherlie Care. Agane, quhat Care over your Comoun-welthe doethe hir Grace instantly bear, quhen evin now presentlie, and of a lang Tyme bygane, by the Ministry of sum, (quho better deserved the Gallows than ever did *Cochran*) sche doeth so corrupte the layit Mony, and hes brocht it to suche Basenes, and to sick Quantitie of Scrufe, that all Men that hes thair Eyis oppin may persave ane extreame Beggare to be brocht tharethrow upoun the wholle Realme : Sa that the haille Exchange and Traffique to be had with foreyne Nations, (a Thing most necessarie in all Comoun welthes) fall thareby be utterlie extinguished, and all the Gaynes received thareby is, that sche tharewith interteines Strangears upoun our Heidis: For, Brethrein, ye know, that hir Mony has served for no uther Purpose in our Comoun-welthe this lang Tyme bygane, and the Impunitie of the wicked Ministers, (quhome lairly we spak of) hes brocht the Matter to sick ane licentious Inormitie, and plane Contempte of the Comoun welthe, that now they spair not panielie to brek down and convert gud and stark Mony, cunyit in our Cunye house, in our Soveranes les Aige, into this thair corrupted Scruef and Baggages of Hard heidis and Non-sounts, most lyke as if sche and they had conspyred to destroy all the haille gude Cunye of this Realme, and consequently that Parte of the Comoun-welthe. Befydis all this, thair clipped and ronged Sollis, quhilk had na Passagis thir thre Years bygane in the Realme of *France*, ar comanded to have Cours in this Realme, to gratifie thareby hir new comed in Souldiours: And all those Thingis ar done without the Advys or Consent of the Nobilitie and Counsaill of this Realme, and manifestlie tharethrow againes our ancient Lawis and Liberteis.

Thridlie, Hir last and most wechtie Proceeding more fullie declares hir motherlie Care hir Grace beares to our Comoun-welthe and us, quhen in Tyme of Peace, bot ony Occasioun of forane Weirs, thousands of Strangears ar layd heir and thare upoun the Neckis of our pur Memberis of this Comoun-welth ; thair idell Belleis fed upoun the pur Substance of the Comunaltie, conquest
be

be the iust Labours in their panefull Sweit of thair Brows, quhilk to be trew *Dunbar*, *Northberwick*, *Tranent*, *Prestounpanis*, *Mussilburgh*, *Leyth*, *Caunongate*, *Kinghorne*, *Kirkcaldie*, *Dysert*, with the depauperat Saullis that this Day dwell tharein can testifie, quhose Oppressioun, as doutles it hes entered in befoir the Justice-seit of God, sa aucht it iustlie to move our Hartis to have Pitty and Compassioun upoun these our puir Brethren, and at our Poweris to provyde Remedie for the sam. And albeit hir Strangers had bene garnished with Mony, (as ye know weill they ar not) yit can thair heir lying be no wayes but most hurtfull to our Comoun-welthe, seing that the Fertilitie of this Realme hes nevir bene sa plentious, that it was abill of ony Continewance to sustein the self, and the Inhabitantis thareof, without Support of forane Cuntreys; far les abill, besydis the sam, to sustein Thousands of Strangers quhairwith it is burdened, to the derthning of all Victuillis, as the Murmur and Complaint of *Edinburghe* this Day dothe testifie. Bot to what Effect the Comoun-welthe is this Way burdened the End doethe declair; for schortly efter war there brocht to the Feild against our Soveranes trew Liegis, evin us your Brethren, quho (God knawis) socht nocht ellis but Peace of Conscience under Protectioun of our Soverane, and for Reformatioun of these Inormiteis, for no uther Caus bot that we wald not renunce the Evangel of Jesus Christ, and subdew our Neckis under the Tyranny of that *Man of Sin*, the *Roman* Antichrist, and his foirsworne Schavelingis, quho at all Tymes most tyrranouslie oppresit our Saullis with Hunger of Gods trew Worde, and rest our Gudes and Substances, to waist the sam upoun thair soull Lusts and stinking Harlots. Bot (O deir Brethren) this was not the chief Pretence, and finall Scope of hir Proceidings, as these Dayis do weill declare; for had not God gevin in our Hairts to withstand that Oppressioun with Weapouns of most iust Defence, you, O Sanct *Johnestoun* and *Dundie*, had bene in no better Estait, nor your Sister of *Leyth* is this Day. For thocht in verie deid (God is Witnes) we meaned then nothing bot in the Symplicitie of our Hairts the Mentenance of trew Religion, and Saifty of our Brethren Professours of the sam; yit lay thare ane uther Serpent lurking in the Breist of our Adversareis, as this Day (prays to God) is plainlie opened to all that list, to behold, to wit, to bring you and us bothe under the perpetual Servitude of Strangers; for we being apointed, as ye know, twiching Religion to be resounded with in the Counsaill at the Day apointed, and no Occasioun made to brek the same one our Syd, (as is weill knawn) yit come thare furthe Wryttings and Complaentis, that this Day and that Day we war prepared to invaid hir Graces Persone; (quhen in verie Treuthe thare war nevir sick Thing thocht, as the verie Deid did declare) but becaus sche was befoir deliberat to bring in *Frenchemen* to bothe our Distructiounis, that ye suld not stur tharewith, sche maid you to understand, that thay Bandis come onlie for Saiftie of hir awin Persone. O Craft! (Brethren) O Subtelitie! Bot behald the End! They are cum, (yit not so mony, no, not the sixt Parte that sche desyred and loked for) and how are they cum? Not onlie with Weapouns to defend hir Graces Persoun, but with Wyfis and Bairnes to plant in your native Tounes, as they have alreddy begune in the Toun of *Leyth*, the principall Porte and Stapill of all this Realme, the Gernell and Furniture of the Councel and Seate of Justice: And heir will they dwell till they may reinforce thame with gritter Number of their Fallow-souldiours, to subdew then the rest, gif God withstand not; and yir hir Grace feared nor eschamed not to wrytte, that if thare war ane hundreth

Frenchemen for every ane that is in *Scotland*, yit they sould harme no Man. Tell thou now, O *Leyth*! if that be trew; gif this be not a craftie Entrie to a manifest Conqueist foir-thocht of auld, juge ye, dear Brethren; thus to forte our Tounes, and evin the principall Parte of our Realme, and to lay so strang Garifouns of Strangers tharein, without ony Consent of the Nobility and Counsaill of this Realme, bot expresse aganst thair Mynd, (as our Wryttings sent to hir Grace bears Record) gif this be not to opose the ancient Lawis and Liberteis of our Realme, lat all wys Men say to it. And further, To tak the Barneyairdes new gathered, the Girmells replenished, the Houses garnished, and to sit down tharein, and be Force to put the just Possessours and ancient Inhabitants tharefrae, with thair Wyfis, Children, and Servandis, to schift for thame selfis, in begging, gif they have no uther Meanis, they being trew *Scottishemen*, Memberis of our Comoun-welthe, and our dear Brethren and Sisteris, borne, fostered, and brocht up in the Bowellis of our native Cuntrey: Gif this be not the manifest Declaratioun of thair auld Pretence and Mynd to our haill *Scottis* Natioun, lat your awin Consciences (Brethren) be Juge heirin. Was all *Leyth* of the Congregatioun? No, I think not; yit war all alyk served. Let this motherlie Cair then be tryed be the Fruits thareof: First, Be the grit and exorbitant Taxatiouns used upoun you, and yit ten Tymes griter preassed at, as ye know. *Secundlie*, The utter Depravatioun of our Cunye, to conqueis thareby Mony to intertein strange *Frenche* Souldiours upoun you, and to mak thame stronge Haldis, leif ye sould sumtymes expell thame out of your native Realme. *Thirddie*, Be the daylie reinforcing of the said *Frenche* Souldiours in Strengthe and Number, with Wyfis and Bairnes, planting in your Brethrens Houses and Possessiouns. Indeid hir Grace is, and has bene at all Tymes cairfull to procure by hir Craft of fair Wordis, fair Promeses, and sum Tyme Buddis, to allure your Simplicite to that Paint, to joyne yourselfis with hir Souldiours, to dantone and oppres us, that you the remanent (we being cut off) may be an easie Pray to hir Slichtis, quhilk God, of his infinite Gudeness, hes now discovered to the Eyes of all that list to behald. But credite the Warkis (dear Brethren) gif ye will not credite us, and lay the Example of forane Natiounis, yea, evin of your awin Brethren befor your Evis, and procure not your awin Ruine willinglie: If ye tender trew Religión, ye sie how hir Grace beireth hir plaine Enemie thareto, and manteinis the Tyranny of those idill Bellies, the Bischopis, aganst Godis Kirk. Gif Religión be not perswaded unto you, yit cast not away the Cair ye aucht to have over the Comoun-welthe, quhilk ye sie manifestlie and violentlie ruyned befor your Evis. Gif this will not move you, remember your dear Wyfis, Children, and Posteritie, your ancient Heritages and Houses, and think weill these Strangers will regard na mair your Richt thareto, more than they have done your Brethren of *Leyth*, quhenevir Occasioun fall serve. But if ye purpose (as we dout not bot that all those that eyther have Wit or Manheid will declair and prove indeid) to bruck your ancient Roumes and Heritages, conquered most valiantlie, and defended by your most nobill Progenitors aganst all Strangers, Invaiders of the sam, as the *Frenches* pretendeth this Day planelie, gif ye will not be Slaives unto thame, and have your Lyves, your Wyfis, your Bairnes, your Substance, and quhatsoever is dear unto you, castin at thair Feit, to be usit and abusit at the Plefour of strange Souldiours, as you sie your Brethren at this Day befor your Evis: Gif you wald not have Experience sum Day heirof in your awn Personis, (as we suppose the leif of you all wald

wald not gladlie have, bot rather wald chuse with Honour to die in Defence of his awin native Roun, than leve and serve so schamefull a Servitude) then, Brethrein, let us joyne our Forces, and bothe with Wit and Manheid resist those Beginings, or els our Liberteis hereafter fall be dearer bocht. Lat us further be perswaded, quhen our Nychbours Hous be one Fyre, that we dwell not without Danger. Let no Man withdraw himself herefra; and if ony will be so unhappy and mischevous, (as we suppose nane to be) lat us altogether reput, hald, and use him (as he is indede) for ane Enemie unto us, to himself, and to his Comoun-weill. *The Eternall and Omnipotent God, the trew and onlie Revengear of the Oppressed, be our Comfort and Protectour aganist the Rage and Furie of the Tyrantis of this World; and especiallie from the unsatiabill Covetousnes of the Guysonian Generatioun.* Amen.

Besides this our publick Letter, sum Men answered certane Heidis of hir said Proclamatioun on this Maner.

Gif it be Seditioun to speik the Treuth in all Sobrietie, and to complain quhen they ar wounded, or to call for Helpe against unjust Tirranie befor that thare Throattis be cut, then can we not deny, bot we ar criminall and gilty of Tumult and Seditioun. For we have said, That our comoun Welth is oppressed, that we and our Brethrein ar hurt by the Tirranie of Strangeris, and that we feir Bondage and Slaverie, seing that Multitudes of cruell Murderaris ar daylie brocht in our Cuntrey without our Counsaill, or Knowlege and Consent. We dispute not so mekill quhider the bringing in of ma *Frenchmen* be violating of the Apointment (quhilk the Quein nor hir Factioun cannot deny to be manifestlie brokin be thame in ma Causes then one) as that we wald know, gif that the keeping of Strangers upoun Strangers, above us, without our Consent or Counsaill, be a Thing that may stand with the Libertie of our Realme, and with the Profeit of our comoun Welthe. It is not unknowin to all Men of Jugement, that the Fruitis of our Cuntrey, in the most comoun Yeirs, be no more then sufficient ressonabill to nurische the borne Inhabitantis within the same. But now seing that we have bein vexed with Weirs, taikin upoun us, at the Plesour of *France*, by the quhilk the most fruitfull Portioun of our Cuntrey in Cornis hes bein waisted; Quhat Man is so blinde, bot that he may sie, that suche Bandis of ungodlie and idill Souldiors can be nothing ellis bot ane Occasioun to fameish our puir Brethrein. And in this Point we refus not (quhilk is the cheif) the Jugement of all naturall *Scottis*men.

The Quein Regent allegit, That althocht thare war ane hundreth *Frenchmen* for one in *Scotland*, yit sche is not myndit to trubill any in his just Possessioun. Quhairunto we answer, That we dispute not quhat sche intends (quhilk not the les by probabill Conjectures is to be suspectit) bot alwayis we affirme, that sick a Multitude of *Frenchmen* is a Burding, not onelie unprofitable, bot also intolerabill to this puir Realme, especially being intreatit as they ar by hir and Monsieur *d'Osell*: For gif thare Waiges be payit out of *France*, than ar they bothe (the Quein Regent, we say, and Monsieur *d'Osell*) Traytors to the King and Counsaill; for the puir Comounis of this Realme have susteined thame with the Sweit of thare Browis, since the Contractioun of the Peice, and sumquhat befor.

Quhat motherlie Affectioun sche hes declaired to this Realme, and to the Inhabitantis of the sam, hir Warkis have evidentlie declaired, even sen the first Hour that sche hes borne Authoritie: And albeit Men this Day will not sie quhat Danger hingis over thare Heidis, yit feir we that or it be lang, Experience fall teiche sum, that we feir not without Caus. The cruell Murther, and Oppressioun used be thame quhom now sche fosterit, is to us a sufficient Argument, quhat is to be luiked for, quhen hir Number is so multiplied, that our Force fall not be abill to ganestand thare Tyranie.

Quhair sche complainis of our Preicheours, affirming, That unreverentlie they speik of Princes in generall, and of hir in particular, inducing the Pepill thairby to Defectioun from thair Dewtie, &c. and thairfoir that suche Thing cannot be suffered. Becaus this Accusatioun is layd against God's trew Ministeris, we cannot bot Witnes quhat Trede and Ordour of Doctrin they have kept, and yit keip in that Point.

In publick Prayeris they comend to God all Prencis in generall, and the Magistrates of this our native Realme in particular. In oppin Audiance they declair the Authoritie of Prencis and Magistrates to be of God; and thairfoir they affirm that thay aucht to be honoured, feired, and obeyed, evin for Conscience Saik; provyding that thay comand or requir nothing expresse repugning to Godis Comandment and plain Will reveilled in his holie Word. Moreover they affirme, That if wicked Personis, abusing the Authoritie establisched be God, comand Thingis manifestlie wicked, that suche as may and do brydill these inordinate Appetytis of Princes, cannot be accuisit as Resisters of the Authoritie, quhilk is God's gude Ordinance. To brydill the Furie and Rage of Princes in frie Kingdomes and Realmes, they affirme it apertinethe to the Nobilitie, borne and sborne Counsaillours of the sam, and also to the Barronis and Pepill, quhois Votes and Consents ar to be required in all grit and wechtie Matteris of the Comoun Welthe; quhilk gif they do not, they declair thameselfis criminall with thair Prencis, and so subject to the sam Vengeance of God, quhilk they deserve, for that they pollute the Sait of Justice, and do, as it war, mak God the Author of Iniquitie. They proclame and cry, That the sam God quho plagued Pharao, repulst Sennacherib, straik Herode with Wormis, and maid the Bellies of Dogis the Graves and Sepultures of despytfull Jesabell, will not spair the cruell Princes, murtherers of Christ Jesus Memberis in this our Tyme. On this maner they spak of Princes in generall, and of your Grace in particular. This onelie we have hard one of our Preicheours say, Rebuking the vain Excuis of sick as flatter thameselfis be resoun of the Authoritie; Monie now adays (said he) will have na uther Religioun nor Fayth, nor the Quein and Authoritie baldis: Bot is it not possible that the Quein be so far blindit, that sche will have no uther Religioun, nor no uther Fayth, than may content the Cardinall of Loraine? And may it not lyikwayis be abill that the Cardinall be so corrupt, that he will admit no Religioun quhilk dois not establische the Pape in his Kingdome? Bot plain it is, That the Paip is Lieutenant of Satban, and Enemie to Christ Jesus, and to his perfyte Religioun. Lat Men thairfoir considder what Danger they stand in, gif thair Salvatioun fall depend upoun the Queinis Fayth and Religioun. Farder, we nevir hard ony of our Preicheours speik of the Quein Regent, nether publickly nor privatly. Quhair hir Grace declaired, it will not be suffered that our Preicheours mell with Pollicie, nor speik of hir, nor of uther Princes, bot with Reverence: We answer, That as we will justifie and defend nothing in our Preicheours, quhilk we find not God to have justified and allowed in his Messingeris befor thame;

thame; sa dar we not forbid thame opinlie to reprehend that quhilk the Spirit of God, speiking in the Prophetis and Apostles, hes reproved befor thame. Helias did personallie reprove Ahab and Jesabell of Idolatrie, of Avarice, of Murther, and sicklyk: Etais the Propheet callit the Magistrates of Jerusalem, in his Tyme, Companiounis to Thersis, Princes of Sodom, Brytakers, and Murtheraris; he complainit that thair Silver was turnit unto Dros, that thair Wyne was mingled with Water, and that Justice was bocht and sauld. Jeremias said, That the Bones of King Jehoiakim sould widder with the Sone. Christ Jesus callit Herode a Fox, and Paull callit the he Preist ane painted Wall, and prayed unto God that he sould straik him, becaus against Justice he causit him to be smittin. Now if the lyk or gritter Corruptiounis be in the World this Day, quha dar interpryis to put Sylence to the Spirit of God, quhilk will not be subject to the Appetytis of wicked Princes.

We have befor said, that the tent Day of September was apointit for a Conventioun to be haldin at Stirling, to the quhilk repairit the maist Parte of the Lordis of the Congregatioun. At that sam Tyme arryvit the Erle of Arran, quho, efter that he had saluted his Father, came, with the Erle of Argyll and Lord James, to Stirling to the said Conventioun, in the quhilk divers godlie Men complainit upoun the Tyrannie usit against thair Brethrein, and especillie that ma Frenche Men war brocht in, to oppres thair Cuntrey. Efter the Consultatioun of certane Dayis, the principall Lordis, with my Lord of Arrane, and the Erle of Argyll, past to Haumiltoun, for Consultatioun to be taikin with my Lord Duikis Grace. And in this mein Tyme came the suir Word, that the Frenche Men wer begun to fortifie Leyth, quhilk Thing, as it did more evidentlie discover the Queinis Craft, so did it deiplie greve Hairts of the haill Nobilitie thair, quha with an Consent agreed to wryt to the Quein, in Forme as followis.

At Haumiltoun the 19th Day of September 1559.

Pleis your Grace,

WE ar crediblie informed, that your Armie of Frenche Men sould instantlie begin to plant in Leyth, to fortifie the sam, of Mynd to expell the ancient Inhabitantis thair of, our Brethrein of the Congregatioun, quhair of we mervell not a litle, that your Grace sould sa manifestlie brek the Apointment maid at Lyeth, but ony Provocatioun maid be us and our Brethrein: And seing the sam is done without ony Maner of Consent of the Nobilitie and Counsaill of this Realme, we esteim the sam not onelie Opressioun of our puir Brethrein, In-dwellers of the said Toun, bot also verie prejudicial to the Comoun-welthe, and plain contrarie to our ancient Lawis and Liberties: Heirfor desyris your Grace, to caus the samyn Work interprysit, to be stayit; and not to attemp so raschelie and manifestlie againis your Grace's Promeis, againis the Comoun-walthe, the ancient Lawis and Liberties thair of (quhilk Thingis besyid the Glorie of God ar most deir and tender unto us, and onlie our Pretence) utherways, assuiring your Grace we will complain to the haill Nobilitie and Comonaltie of this Realme, and maist erneslie seik for Redres thair of. And thus recomending our humbill Service unto your Hieness, your Answer maist erneslie we desyre, quhom we comit to the eternell Protectioun of God. At Haumiltoun, Day and Yeir foirsaid, be your Grace's humbill and obedient Servitors, &c.

This Letter was subscriyvit with the Hands of my Lord Duke, the Erles of Arrane, Argyll, Glencairne and Menteithe, by the Lordis Ruthven, Uchiltrie, Boyd, and by divers utheris Barronis and Gentilmen. To this Requeist sche wald not answer by Writ, bot, with a Letter of Credite, sche sent Sir Robert Carnegie, and Mr. David Borthwick, two, quhome amongis monie utheris, sche abusit, and by quhome sche corruptit the Hairts of the sempill; they travell t with the Duk, to bring him agane to the Queinis Factioun. *La Broche* and the Bischope of *Amians* war schortlie befor arryved, and, as it was bruitted, war directit as Ambassadours, bot thay keipt clois thair haille Comissioun: They onlie maid larg Promes to thame that wald be thairis, and leive the Congregation. The Quein did greavouslie complain, that we had Intelligence with *England*. The Conclusioun of thair Comissioun was to solist my Lord Duik, to put all in the Queinis Will, and than wald sche be gracious ynouche. It was answerit, *That no honest Men durst comitt thameselfis to the Mercie of suthe Cutthroattis, as sche had about hir, quhome gif sche wald remove, and joyne to hir a Counsaill of naturall Scottis Men, permitting the Religioun to have frie Passage, than sould nane in Scotland be mair willing to serve hir Grace, then suld the Lordis and Brethrein of the Congregation be.*

At the sam Tyme, the Duikis Grace and the Lordis wrote to my Lord Erskin, Captain of the Castell of *Edinburghe*, in Forme as followis.

A Letter to the Lord Erskine.

My Lord and Cousing,

EFter our haintie Comendatioun, this present is to adverteis yow, that we are credibillie informed, the Army of Frenche Men constanthe in this Realme, bot ony Aavys of the Counsaill or Nobilitie, ar fortiseand, or else schortlie intends to fortifie the Toun of *Leyth*, and expell the ancient Inhabitantis thair of; quhairby they proclame to all that will oppin their Earis to heir, or Evis to sie, quhat is thair Pretence: And seing the Faythfulnes of our Antecessours, and speciallie of your Father, of honorabill Memorie, was sa recommendit and experimented to the Etaitis and Counsaill of this Realme, throuch Affection they perceaved in him towardis the Comoun-welthe thair of, that they doutit not to gif in his Keiping the Key (as it war) of the Counsaill, the Justice, and Pollicie of this Realme, the Castellis of *Edinburghe* and *Stirling*; we cannot bot beleve ye will rather augment the honorabill Favour of your Hous, be steidfast Favour and Lautie to your Comoun-welthe, then throuch the subtil Persuasioun of sum (quhilk cairis not quhat efter sall cum of yow and your Hous, at the present wald abuis yow, to the Performance of thair wickit Interpryis and Pretencis againis our Comoun welthe) utterlie destroy the sam: And heirfor, seing we have writtin to the Queinis Grace, to desist fra that Interpryis, utherways that we will complain, to the Nobilitie and Comounalitie of the Realme, and seik Redres thair of; we lykwayis beseik yow, as our tender Freind, Brother, and a Member of the sam Comoun-welthe with us, that ye one na Wayis mell nor assent to that ungodlie Interpryis againis the Comoun-welthe; and lykwayis, that ye wald save your Bodie, and the Jewellis of this Contrey, comittit to yow and your Predicessours, Lautie and Fidelitie towardis your native Cuntrey, and Comoun-welthe, if ye think to be reput heirefter ane of the same, and wald rather be Brother to us nor to Strangers; For we gather be the Effectis the Se-
creits

creits of Menis Hairts, utbirwayis unſearchcabill unto us. This we wryte, not that we ar in dout of yow, bot rather to warne yow of the Danger, in cais ye thoill yourſelf to be inchantit with fair Promeiſes and craftie Counſailleris. For lat na Man flatter himſelf; we deſyre all may knaw, that thoct ye war our Father (ſen God hes opinit our Eyis to ſie his Will) be he Enemie to the Comoun welthe, quhilk now is aſſailyeit, and we with it, and all trew Memberis thair of, he ſall be knawin (and as he is indeid) Enemie to us, to our Lyves, our Houſes, Batis, Heritages, and quhatſoevir is containit within the ſam. For as the Schip perifſching, quhat can be ſaif that is within it? So the Comoun-welth being betrayit, quhat particular Member can live in Quietnes? And thairfoir, in ſo far as the ſaidis Caſtellis ar comittit to your Credite, we deſyre yow to ſchaw your Faythfulnes and Stoutnes, as ye tender us, and quhatſoevir aperteinis to us; and ſeing we ar aſſurit, ye will be aſſailyeit bothe with Craft and Force; as now be warning we help yow againis the firſt, ſo againis the laſt ye ſall not mis, in all poſſibill Haiſt, to have our Aſſiſtance; onely ſchaw yourſelf the Man. Save your Perſone by Wiſdome, ſtrengthen yourſelf againis Force, and the Almychtie God aſſit yow in bothe the one and the uther, and oppin your Eyis, underſtanding, to ſie and perceave the Craft of Sathan and his Suppoſitis. At Haumiltoun, the 19th of September 1559.

Be your Brethren, the Duke, &c.

The Duke and Lordis underſtanding, that the Fortificatioun of *Leythe* proceidethe, apointit thair hail Forces to conveyin at *Stirling* the 15th Day of *October*, that from thence they might merche forward to *Edinburghe*, for Redres of the grit Enormities, quhilk the *Frenche* Men did to the hail Cuntrey, quhilk be thame was oppreſſit, that the Lyf of all honeſt Men was bitter unto him.

In this mein Tyme, the Lordis direct thair Letters to divers Partis of the Cuntrey, makand mentioun quhat Danger did hing over all Men, if the *Frenche* Men ſuld be ſuffered to plant in this Cuntrey at thair Pleſour. They maid Mentioun farder, how humillie they had ſocht the Quein Regent, that ſche wald ſend away to *France* hir *Frenche* Men, quha war a Burding unprofitable and greavous to thair Comoun-welthe: And how that ſche notwithstanding did dayly augment hir Number, bringing Wyfis and Bairnis, a Declariation of a plain Conqueiſt, &c.

The Quein then Regent perceaving, that hir Craft began to be eſpyed, by all Meanis poſſibill travellit to blind the Pepill. And firſt, ſche ſent furth hir peſtilent Poiſtis ſoirnemed, in all Partes of the Countrey, to perſuaid all Men, that ſche offerit all Thingis reſſonabill to the Congregatioun; and that thay reuſing all Reſoun, pretendit no Religioun, bot a plain Revolt from the Authority. She temptit everie Man in particular, alſweill thois that war of the Congregatioun, as thoſe that war Newtrallis. Sche aſſaultit everie Man, as ſche thoicht maiſt eaſelie he might have bein overcum. To the Lord *Ruthven*, ſche ſent the Juſtice Clerk and his Wyif, quha was Dochter to the Wyf of the ſaid Lord. Quhat was thair Comiſſioun and Credit is na farder knawin, than the ſaid Lord hes confeſſit, quhilk is, that lairge Promeiſes of Profeit war offerit, gif that he wald leive the Congregatioun, and be the Quein's. To Lord *James* Prior of Sanct *Androis* was ſent Mr. *Johne Spens* of *Condie*, with a Letter and Credit, as followis.

The Memoriall to Mr. Jobne Spens of Condie, the 30th Day of September.

YE sall say, That the Queinis Grace's Favour, whiche is towardis you, movis hir to this, &c.

That sche well knawis, that the Occasioun of your Departur frome hir was the Favour of the Word and of the Religioun, with the qubilk, albeit that sche was offend- ed, yit knawing your Hairt, and the Hairts of the uther Lords firmlic fixed thareupoun, sche will bear with you in that Behalf, and at your awin Sichts sche will set foward that Caus at hir Power, as may stand with Gods Word, the comoun Pollicie of this Realme, and the Princes Honour. Note, gude Reader, quhat Venome lurked heir; for plane it is, that the Pollicie quhilk sche pre- tenderthe, and the Princes Honour, will nevir suffer Christ Jesus to rigne in this Realme.

To say, That the Occasioun of the assembling of these Men of Weir, and forti- fying of Leyth, is, That it was gevin hir to understand be sum about hir, that it is not the Advancement of the Word and Religioun quhilk is socht at this Tyme, bot rather a Pretence to overthrow, or alter the Authority o^f your Sister, of the quhilk sche beleves still that ye ar not participant; and considering the Tender- nes that is betwix you and your Sister, sche trustis moir in you in that Behalf than in ony levying. But befor the Erle of Arrane arryved, and that the Duck departed from hir Factioun, sche ceased not continuallie to cry, that the Pry- our socht to mak himself King, and sa not only to depryve his Sister to mak himself King, bot also to defraud the Lordis Duckis Grace and his House; bot forseing an Storme, sche begane to seik ane new Wynd.

Sche farder willed to offer the away sending of the Men of Weir, if the for- mer Suspicioun could be removed. Sche lamented the Truble that appeired to fol- low, if the Mater sould lang stand in Debait. Sche promeisit hir faythfull Labour's for Reconcilioun, and required the sam of him, requyring farther Fayth, Fa- vour, and Kyndnes towardis his Sister, and to adverteis for his Parte qubat he desyred, with Promeis, that he nicht obtain qubat he pleisis to desire, &c.

To this Letter and Credite the said Lord James answered as followes.

Pleis your Grace,

I Have receaved your Heines Wrytting, and have hard the Credite of the Bearer; and finding the Besines of suche Importance, that dangerous it war to give hastilie Answer; and also your Petitiounis ar suche, that with my Honour I can not an- swer thame privatelie by myself, I have thocht gude to delay the same till that I may have the Jugement of the baill Counsaill: For this Poynt I will not conceill from your Grace, that amongis us thare is is ane solempnyt Ayth, That nane of us sall traffique with your Grace secretlie; nether yit that any of us sall mak an Atres for himself particularlie; quhilk Oath, for my Parte, I purpois to keip inviolated un- to the End: But quhen the rest of the Nobillmen sall convene, I sall leve nothing that lyes in my Power undone, that may mak for the Quietnes of this pure Re- alme, provyding that the Glorie of Christ Jesus be not hindered be our Concord. And if your Grace sall be found so traftabill, as now ye offer, I dout not to ob- tein of the rest of my Brethrein suche Favours towardis your Service as your Grace sall have just Occasioun to stand content: For God I tak to recorde, that in this
Actioun

Althoun I have nether socht, nor yit seiks ony Thing els than Gods Glorie to increas, and the Libertie of this pure Realme to be mantened. Farder, I have schawin to your Messinger quhat Thingis have mislyked me in your Proceedings, evin from such a Hairt as I wald wische to God you and all Men suld know. And this with bairtie Comendatioun of Service to your Grace, I hairtilie comit your Heines to the Eternall Protectioun of the Omnipotent. At Sanct Androis, the first of October.

Sic subscribitur,

Your Graces most humbill and obedient Serviture,

JAMES STEWART.

This Answer receaved, sche raged as Hypocrisie useth quhen it is pricked; and perceaving that sche culd not work quhat sche wald at the Handis of Men particularlie, sche set furthe a Proclamatioun universallie to be proclaimed, in the Tenour as followes.

FOrfamekill as it is understude to the Queinis Grace, That the Duck of *Chatterlerault* hes laitlie directed his Missives in all Partes of this Realme, making Mentioun, that the *Frenchemen* laitly arryved with thair Wyfis and Bairnes, ar begune to plant in *Leyth*, to the Ruyne of the Comoun-welth, quhilk he and his Partaikers will not pas over with patient behalding, desyring to know quhat will be every Mans Parte; and that the Fortificatioun of *Leyth* is a Purpose devyfit in *France*, and that tharefor *Monsieur de la Broche*, and the Bischope of *Amianis* ar cum into this Cuntrey; ane Thing so vane and untrew, that the contrarie thareof is notour to all Men of fre Jugement: Tharefor hir Grace willing, that the Occasioun quhareby hir Grace was moved so to do, be maid patent, and quhat hes bene hir Proceidings sen the Appointment last maid in the Linkis besyd *Leyth*, to the Effect that the Treuthe of all Thingis may be maid manifest, every Man may understand how injustly that will be to suppres the Libertie of this Realme, is layd to hir Charge, hes thocht expedient to mak this Discourse following.

First, Althocht efter the said Apointment, divers of the said Congregatioun, and that not of the meanest Sort, had violentlie contravened the Points thareof, and had maid sundrie Occasiouns of new Cummer, the samyn was in a Parte winked at and over-luiked, in hope that they with Tyme wald remember thair Dewtie, and abstein fra sick evill Behaviours, quhilk Conversioun hir Grace evir socht, rather than ony Punischement, with sick Cair and Solicitude be all Means, quhill in the mean Tyme nothing was provyded for hir awin Securitie; bot at last be thair frequent Messages to and fra *England*, thair Intelligence was then persaved: Yit hir Grace trustis the Quene of *England* (lat thame siek as they pleis) will do the Office of a Christiane Princes in Tyme of ane sworne Peace, throw quhilk Force was to hir Grace, seand so grit Defectioun of grit Personages, to have Recourse to the Law of Nature; and lyk as ane small Bird being pesewed, will provyd sum Nest, so hir Grace culd do les in cais of Pursuit, than to provyd sum sure Retreate for himself and hir Cumpanie; and to that Effect chusit the Toun of *Leyth*, as Place convenient tharefor, becaus it was first hir dearest Dochters Property, and no uther Person could claim Tytle or Entres thareto; and also becaus ane Tyme befor it had

bene fortified. About the sam Tyme that we seeking Support of *England* was maid manifest, arryved the Erle of *Arrane*, and adjoynd himself to the Congregatioun, upoun farder Promeis than the pretended Quarrell of Religioun, that was to be set up by thame in Authoritie, and sa to pervert the haille Obedience. And as sum of the Congregatioun at that Tyme had put to thair Handis, and takin the Castell of *Brochtie*, and put furthe the Keipars thareof: Immediatly came from the said Duck to hir Grace, unluiked for, a Wrytting, besyde mony uther Thingis, complainand of the Fortificatioun of the saids Toun of *Leyth*, in Hurt of the auld Inhabitants thareof, Brethrein to the said Congregatioun, quhareof he then professit himself ane Member; and albeit that the Beirer of the said Wrytting was ane unmeit Messinger, in ane Matter of sick Consequencé, yit hir Grace directed to him two Persones of gude Credite and Reputatioun with Answer, offerand, if he wald caus Amendes be maid for that whiche was comitted aganst the Lawis of the Realme, to do farder than culd be craved of Ressoun, and to that Effect to draw sum Conference, quhill for lake of him and his Collegis, tuck no End: Not the les they continewallie sensyne continews in thair Doingis, usurping the Authoritie, comandng and chairging fre Borrowis to chois Provests, and Officiars of thair naming, and to assist thame in the Porpose they wald be at; and that they will not suffer Provisioun to be brocht for Sustentatioun of hir Graces Hous. And grit Parte sa planelie hes set asyde all Reverence and Humanitie, quhareby evary Man may know, that it is no Matter of Religioun, but ane plane usurping of the Authoritie, and na dout bot simple Men, of gude Zeill in Tyme bygane, tharewith falselie hes bene dessaved; bot as to the Queins Graces Parte, God quha knows the Secrettis of all Hairts, weill kenis, and the Warld sall sie by Experience, that the Fortificatioun of *Leyth* was devyssit for na uther Purpose bot for Recours to hir Heines and hir Cumpanie, in case they war persewed: Quharefor, all gude Subjectis, that have the Feir of God in thair Hairts, will not suffer thameiselfis be sick vane Perswasions to be led away from thair dew Obedience, bot will assist in Defence of thair Soveranes Quarrell, aganst all sick as will persew the sam wrangouslie: Tharefor hir Grace ordains the Officiars of Armes to pas to the Mercat-croces of all Heid Borrowes of this Realme, and thare be oppen Proclamatioun, to comand and charge all and sundrie the Lieges thareof, that nane of thame tak upoun Hand to put thameiselfis in Armes, nor tak Parté with the said Duck or his Assistaris, under the Pain of Tressoun.

These Lettér being divulgate, the Hairts of mony war stirred; for they juged the Narratioun of the Quein Regent to have bene trew; utheris understude the same to be utterlie fals. But becaus the Lordis desyred all Men juge in thair Caus, they set out this Declaratioun subsequent, &c.

The DECLARATION of the Lordis agains the former Proclamatioun.

WE ar compellit unwillinglie to answer the greavous Accusatiounis most unjustlie laid to our Chairgis by the Quein Regent and hir pervers Counsaill; quha ceis not be all Craft and Malice to mak us odious to our deirest Brethrein, naturall *Scottismen*, as that we pretendit na uther Thing bot the Subversiou and Overthrow of all just Authoritie, quhen God knowis that we thoicht nothing bot that suche Authoritie, as God approved be his Word, be establisched, honourit and obeyit among us. Trewe it is that we have

have complainit (and continewallie muist complain, till God send Redres) that our comoun Cuntrey is oppressit with Strangearis, that this inbringing of Souldiours, with thair Wyfis and Childrein, and planting of Men of Weir in our frie Tounis, appeired to us a reddie Way to Conqueist; and we most earnestlie require all indifferent Personis to judge betwix us and the Quein Regent in this Cais, *to wit*, quhiddir our Complaint be just or not? For, for quhat uther Purpois suld sche this multiplie Strangers upon us, bot onelie in respect of Conqueist: Quhilk is a Thing not of lait devysit by hir and hir avaritious Hous. We ar not ignorant, that sex Yeirs ago, the Questiuon was demandit of a Man of honest Reputatioun, quhat Number of Men was abill to dantoun *Scotland*, and bring it to the full Obedience of *France*? Sche allegit, That to say that the Fortificatioun of *Leyth* was a Purpois devysit in *France*, and that for that Purpois was Monsieur *de la Brocke*, and the Bischope of *Amians* sent to this Cuntrey, is a Thing so vain and untrew, that the contrarie thair of is notour to all Men of frie Jugement. Bot evident it is, quhatsoevir sche alledgis, That since thair Arryvall, *Leyth* was begun to be fortified. Sche allegis, That sche seing the Defectioun of grit Personages, was compellit to have Recours to the Law of Nature, and, lyk ane small Bird persewed, to provyde for sum fuir Retreat to hirself and hir Cumpanie. Bot quhy dois sche not answer for what Purpois did sche bring in hir new Bandis of Men of Weir? Was thair ony Defectioun espyit befor thair Arryvall? Was not the Congregatioun under Apointment with hir? Quhilk quhatsoevir sche allegit, sche is not abill to prove that we had contraveinit in ony cheif Point, befor that hir new Throit-cutteris arryvit, yea, befor that they began to fortifie *Leyth*, a Plaice, said sche, most convenient for hir Purpois, as in verie Deid it is, for the ressavng of Strangers at hir Plesour: For if sche had feired the Pursuit of hir Body, sche had the *Inche*, *Dunbar*, *Blaknes*, *Fortis* and *Strenthis* alreddie made, yea but these culd not serve hir Turne so weill as *Leithe*, becaus it was hir Dochters Propertie, and none uther culd have Tytill to it, and becaus it had bene fortyfied oft befor. That all Men may knaw the just Tytill hir Dochter and sche had to the Toun of *Leyth*, we fall in few Words declayre the Treuthe. It is not unknowin to the most Part of this Realme, that thare hes bene ane auld Hatrent and Contentioun betwix *Edinburgh* and *Leyth*; *Edinburgh* continually seiking to posses that Liberty, quhilk be Donatioun of ancient Kings they have lang injoyed; and *Leyth*, be the contrary aspyring to a Libertie and Fredome in Prejudice of *Edinburgh*. The Quein Regent, a Woman that culd mak hir Profeit at all Handis, was not ignorant how to compas hir awin Matter, and tharefoir secretly sche gave Adverteisment to sum of *Leyth*, that sche wald mak thair Toun frie, gif that sche micht do it with ony Cullour of Justice. By quhilk Promeis, the principall Men of thame did travell with the Laird of *Restalrig* (a Man nether prudent nor fortunate) to quhom the Superiority of *Leyth* aperteinit, that he suld sell his haill Tytill and Rycht to our Soverane, for certane Soumis of Money, quhilk the Inhabitants of *Leyth* payit with a lairge Taxatioun more to the Quein Regent, in hope to be maid frie in despyte and defraude of *Edinburghe*. Quhilk Rycht and Superiority, quhen sche had gotten, and quhen the Money was payed, the first Fruittis of thare Liberty they now eit with Bitternes, *to wit*, that Strangers fall posses thair Toun. This is the just Tytill that hir Dochter and sche may clame to that Toun. And quhare sche allegis that it was fortyfeit befor, we ask, gif that was done

without Conſent of the Nobility and Eſtates of the Realme, as now ſche and hir crafty Counſaill do in deſpyit and hie Contempt of us the lawfull Heirs and borne Counſaillers of this Realme.

How far we have ſocht Supporte of *England*, or of ony uther Prince, and how juſt Cauſe we had, and have ſo to do, we ſhall ſhortely mak manifeſt unto the Warld, to the Prays of God's holie Name, and to the Confuſioun of all thoſe that ſlander us for ſo doing: For this we feir not to confeſſe, that as in this our Interpryis againſt the Devill, Idolatry, and the Manteinance of the ſamyn, we cheaſly and onely ſeik God's Glorie to be notyfeit unto Men, ſine to be puniſhed, and Vertew to be maintained: So quhare Power faillethe of our ſelfis we will ſeik it, quhareſoevir God ſhall offer the ſame, and yit in ſo doing, we are aſſured, nether to offend God, nether yit to do ony Thing repugnand to our Dewties. We hairely prays God quho movet the Haire of the Erle of *Arrane* to joyne himſelf with us his persecuted Brethren. Bot how malicious a Lie it is, that we have promeiſed to ſet him up in Authority, the Iſchew ſhall declaire. God we tak to Recorde, that no ſuche Thing hes to this Day entered in our Haire, neyther yit hes, he the ſaid Erle, neyther ony to him aperteining moved to us ony ſick Matter, quhilk, if they ſould do, yit are we not ſo ſclender of Jugement, that inconfideratly we wald promeiſe that, quhilk efter we might repent; we ſpeik and wryte to the Prays of God's Glory, the leiſt of us knowis better quhat Obedience is dew unto a lawfull Authority, then ſche or hir Counſaill doethe praectis the Office of ſuche as worthely may ſit upoun the Sait of Juſtice, for we offer and we performe all Obedience quhilk God had comandit, for we neyther deny Tolle, Tribute, Honour, nor Feir to hir and hir Officers; we onely brydill hir blind Rage, in the quhilk ſche wald erect and mantein Idolatrie, and wald murther our Brethren quho refuſis the ſame. Bot ſche doethe utterly abuiſe the Authority eſtabliſhed be God, ſche prophanes the Throne of his Maieſty in Earthe, making the Sait of Juſtice, quhilk aught be the Sanctuary and Refuge of all godly and verteous Perſonis injuſtly afflicted, to be a Den and Receptacle to Thevis, Murthereris, Idolateris, Whormungers, Adultereris, and of Blaſphemeris of God, and all Godlines. This is more then evident quhat Men they are, and lang have bene, quhome ſche be hir Power manteanis and defendis; and alſo what hes been our Converſatioun, ſince it hes pleaſed God to call us to his Knowlege, quhome now in hir Furie ſche cruelly perfecutis. We deny not the taking of the Houſe of *Brochtie*, and the Cauſe being conſiderat, we think that no naturall *Scottiſman* will be offended at our Fact. Quhen the aſſured Knowlege come to us that the Fortificatioun of *Leyth* was begun, every Man begun to inquire, quhat Danger might inſew to the reſt of the Realme, if the *Frenche* ſuld plant in divers Partis, and quhat wer the Places that might moſt noy us. In Concluſioun it was found, That the taikin of the ſaid Houſe be *Frenchemen*, ſuld be Diſtruction to *Dundie*, and hurtfull to Sanct *Jobneſtown*, and to the hail Cuntrey; and tharefoir it was thocht expedient to prevent the Danger, as that we did, for Prefervatioun of our Brethren and comoun Cuntrey. It is not unknownn quhat Enemies thoſe two Tounis have, and how glaidly wald ſum have all gude Order and Policy overthrawn in thame. The Conjecturis that the *Frenche* war of Mynd ſhortly to have taken the ſame Place, wer not obſcure: Bot quhatſoevir they pretended we cannot repent, that we, as ſaid is, have prevented the Danger; and wald to God that our Power had bene in the ſame

Man.

Manner to have foircloised thare Entres to the Toun of *Leyth*: For quhat Trubill this puir Realme fall indure before that thay Murtherers and injust Possessours be removed from the same, the Ischew will declair. Gif thir Accusatiounis against my Lord Duckis Grace, and that we refused Conference, be trewlie and simplie spokin, we will not refus the Jugement of these verie Men, quhom sche allegit to be of so honest Reputatioun. They know that the Duckis Grace did answer, That if the Realme might be set at Libertie, from the Bondage of these Men of Weir, quhilk presentlie did oppress it, and was so feirfull to him, and to his Brethrein, that they war compellit to absent thameselfis from the Places quhare sche and they maid Residence, that he and all the Congregatioun suld cum and gif all detfull Obedience to our Soverane hir Dochter, and to hir Grace, as Regent for the Tyme: Bot to enter in Conference so lang as sche kepit above him and his Brethrein, that feirful scourge of cruelli Strangearis, he thocht no wys Man wald counsaill him. And this Answer we approve, adding farther, *That sche can mak us no Promeis, quhilk sche can keip, nor we can credite, so lang as sche is forced with the Frenchemen, and reullit with be the Counsaill of France. We ar not ignorant that Princes think it gude Pollicie to betray thair Subjectis by breking of Promeis, be thay nevir so solempnitlie maid.* We have not forgottin quhat Counsaill sche and Monsieur d'Osell gave to the Duke, against those that slew the Cardinall, and kept the Castell of Sanct Androis, and it was this, That quhat Promeis they list to require suld be maid unto theme, bot how sone the Castell was randered, and Thinges brocht to such Pas as was expedient, that he sould chope the Heides from every one of thame.

To the quhilk, quhen the Duke answerit, *That he wald nevir consent to so tressonabill ane Act, bot if he promiseit Fidelitie, he wald saythfullie keip it.* Messieur d'Osell said in Mockage to the Quein in *Freneche*, That is a gude simple Nature, bot I know no uther Prince that wald so do. Gif this was his Jugement in sa small a Matter, quhat have we to suspect in this our Caus; for now the Question is not of the Slauchter of ane Cardinall, bot of the just abolisching of all that Tyrannie, quhilk that *Romane* Antichrist hes usurped above us, of the Suppressing of Idolatry, and of the Reformatioun of the haill Religioun, by that Verming of Schavelingis utterly corrupted. Now if the Slauchter of a Cardinall be a *Sine irremissable*, as they thameselfis affirme; and if Fayth aucht not to be bot with Heretykes, as thair awin Law speks, quhat Promeis can sche, that is reulled by the Counsaill and Comandment of a Cardinall, mak to us, that can be sure? Quhair sche accusis us, that we usurpe the Authority to comand, and chaarge frie Burghis to chuse Proveist and Officieris of our nameing, &c. we will that the haill Burghis of *Scotland* testifie in that Cais, quhider that we have ussit ony Kynd of Violence, bot lovinglie exhortit sick as askit Supporte, to chuse suche in Office, as had the Feir of God befor thair Eyis, lovit Equity and Justice, and wer not noted with Avarice and Brybing. Bot Wonder it is, with quhat Faice sche can accusis us of that quhair of we ar innocent, and sche so opinly criminall, that the haill Realme knawis hir Iniquitie. In that Cais hes sche not compelled the Toun of *Edinburghe*, to retein a Man to be thair Proveist most unworthie of ony Regiment, in a weill reulled Comoun-welthe? Hes sche not inforced thame to tak Bailies of hir Apointment, and sum of thame so meit for their Office in this troublesum Tyme, as a Souter is to steir a Schip in a stormie Day? Sche complainis, That we will not suffer Provisioun to be maid for hir Hous. In verie

deid we repent unfaynedlie, that befoir this we tuk not better Ordour, that these Murthereris and Oppresuris, quhom sche pretends to nureish (for our Disfructioun) had not bein disapointed of that grit Provisioun of Victuellis, quhilk sche and they have gatherit, to the grit Hurt of the haille Cuntrey. Bot as God fall assist us in Tymes cuming, we fall do Deligence sumquhat to frustrate their devilische Purpois. Quhat bothe sche and we pretendis, we dout not bot God (quha cannot suffer the Abuis of his awin Name lang to be unpunished) fall one Day declare ; and unto him we feir not to comitt our Caus, nether yit feir we in this present to say, that against us sche makis a most malicious Ley, quhare sche says, That it is no Religioun that we go about, but a plain Usurpatioun of the Authority. God forbid that suche Impietie shold enter in our Hairts, that we shuld mak his holie Religioun a Cloik and Covertour of our Iniquitie. From the Beginning of this Contraverfie, it is evidentlie knawn quhat have bene our Requeistes, quhilk if the rest of the Nobility and Comunaltie of *Scotland* will caus to be performed unto us, gif then in us appears ony Sygne of Rebellioun, lat us be reputed and punished as Traytours. But quhill Strangeares ar brocht in to suppres us, our Comoun-welthe and Posterites ; quhill Idolatry is manteined, and Christ Jesus his trew Religioun despyed ; quhille idill Bellies and bludie Tyrantes, the Bischopis, ar manteined, and Christ's trew Messingers persecuted ; quhill finally, Vertew is condempned and Vice extolled ; quhill that we, a grit Parte of the Nobility and Comunaltie of this Realme, ar most unjustly persecuted ; quhat godly Man fall be offended, that we fall seek Reformatioun of these Enormiteis ; yea, even be Force of Armes, seing it is utherwayes denyed unto us ? We are assured, that nether God, neither Nature, nether ony just Law forbides us. God hes maid us Counsellors by Birth of this Realme, Nature byndes us to love our awin Cuntrey, and just Law comands to support our Brethren injustly persecuted ; yea, the Aythe that we have maid, to be trew to this Comoun-welthe, compelles us to hazard quhatsoever God hes geven us, befoir that we sie the miserable Ruine of the same. Gif ony think, that it is not Religioun, quhilk we now seik ; we answer, that it is nothing ellis, bot the Zeall of the trew Religioun, quhilk moves us to this Interpryse : For as the Enemies do crasse lie foresie, that Idolatry cannot be universally manteined, unles that we be utterly suppressed ; so do we considder, that the trew Religioun (the Purity quhairof we onely require) cannot universally be erected, unles Strangeares be removed, and this pure Realme purged of these Pestilences, quhilk before hath infected it : And therefore, in the Name of the Eternell God, and of his Sone Jesus Christ, quhas Caus we susteane, we requyre all our Brethren, naturall *Scottis* Men, prudently to considder our Requeistes, and with Judgement to decerne betwix us and the Queen Regent and her Factioun, and not to suffer thameselves to be abusit by hir Crafte and Deceate, that ether they fall lift thair Weapones against us thair Brethren, quho seik nothing bot God's Glory, ether yit that they abstract from us thair just and debtfull Support, seing that we have sard our Lyves for the Preservatioun of thame and us, and of Posterity to cum, assuring sick as fall declare thameselves Favourares of hir Factioun, and Enemys to us, that we fall repute thame, quhensoever God fall put the Sworde of Justice in our Hands, worthy of sick Punishment, as is dew for sick as study to betray thair Countrey into the Handes of Strangeares.

This our Answer was formed, and divulgare in sum Pleaces, bot not universally, be Ressoun of our Day apoynted to meet at *Stirling*, as before is declared.

clared. In the mean Tyme, the Quein's Postes ran with all possible Expedition, to draw all Men to hir Devotioun; and in very deed sche fand ma Favourars of hir Iniquity than we suspected; for a Man that of long Tyme had been one of our Number in Professioun, offered his Service (as himself confessed) to the Quein Regent, to travell betwix hir Grace and the Congregation for Concord; sche refused not his Offer, bot knowing his Simplicity, sche was glaid to imploy him for hir Advantage: The Man is Mr. *Robert Lockard*, a Man of quhome many have had and still have a gude Opinioun, as tuicheing his Religioun; bot to enter in the Dres of suche Affaires not so convenient, as godly and wyfs Men wald requyre: He travelled not the les earnestly in the Quein Regent's Affaires, and culd not be perswaded bot that sche meined Sincerity, and that sche wald promote the Religioun to the uttermost of hir Power. He promiseit in hir Name, That sche wald put away hir *Frenche* Men, and wald be reulled be the Counsaill of naturall *Scottis* Men. Quhen it was reasouned in his contrare, that if sche war so mynded to do, sche culd have found Mediators a grit deal more convenient for that Purpois. He feired not to affirme, *That he knew moir of hir Mynd than all the Frenche or Scottis that wer in Scotland; yea moir, than hir awin Brethrein that war in France.* He travelled with the Erle of *Glencairne*, the Lords *Ochiltre* and *Boyd*, with the Laird of *Dun*, and with the *Preicheours*, to quhome he had sum secreit Letteris that he wald not deliver, unles that they wald mak a faythfull Promeis, that they suld never reveill the Things contened in the same. To the which it was answered, *That in no Wayis they culd mak suche a Promeis, be Ressoun they wer sworne ane to aneother, and altogidder in ane Bodie, that they sould have no secreit Dress, nor Intelligence with the Quein Regent, bot that they wald communicat with the grit Counsaill, quhatsoever that sche proponit unto thame, befoir they did answer unto hir; as be this Answer, writtin be Johne Knox unto hir Grace the Quein Regent may be understude.* The Tenour quhareof followis.

MADAME,

MY Dewtie maist humblie premissed: Your Graces Servant, Mr. *Robert Lockart*, maist instantlie kes required me and utheris to quhome your Graces Letteris (as be allegis) war directed, to ressave the same in secreit maner, and to gif to him Answer accordinglie; bot becaus sum of the Number that he required, wer, and ar upoun the grit Counsaill of this Realme, and thairfoir ar solempnitlie sworn to have nothing to do in secreit maner, nether with your Grace, nor with ony that cumis fra yow, or fra your Counsaill. And sa they culd not ressave your Graces Letters with sick Conditionis as the said Mr. *Robert* requirit, and thairfoir thocht be gude to bring to your Grace agane the said Letteris clois; and yit becaus, as be reportis, he kes maid to your Grace sum Promeis in my Name, at his Request, I ame content to testifie by my Letter and Subscription, the soun of that qubilk I did communicate with him. In Dondie, efter mony Wordis betwix him and me, I said, *That albeit divers sinister Reportis had bene maid of me, yit did I never declair ony evident Token of Hatred nor Inimie against your Grace.* For if it be the Office of a verie Freind to give trew and faythfull Counsaill to thame quhem he seis rin to Destruction for lack of the same, I culd not be proven Eneinie, bot rather an unfayned Freind to your Grace. For quhat Counsaill I had gevin to your Grace, my Wryttingis (alsweill my Letter and Additickn to the same, now prented, as divers uthers qubilk I wrot fra *St. Johnestoun*) may testifie. I

farder added, That sick ane *Enemie* was I unto yow, that my *Toung* did bothe perfwade, and obtain, That your *Authoritie* and *Regiment* suld be obeyed of us in all *Things* lawfull, till ye declair yourself opin *Enemie* to this *Comoun Welthe*, as now, allace, ye have done. This I willed him moreovir to say to your *Grace*, That if ye, following the *Counsaill* of flattering Men, having na *God* bot this *World* and thair *Bellies*, did proceid in your *Malice* against *Christ Jesus* his *Religioun*, and trew *Ministeris*, that ye sould do nothing els bot accelerat and haist *God's Plague* and *Vengeance* upoun yourself and upoun your *Posteritie*. And that (gif yow did not change your *Purpois* haistelie) yow sould bring yourself in sick extreim *Danger*, that quhen ye wald seik *Remedie*, it sould not be so easie to be found as it had bein befoir. This is the *Effect* and *Soum* of all that I said at that *Tyme*, and willit him gif he pleisit to comunicat the same to your *Grace*. And the sam yit agane I notifie unto your *Grace*, be this my *Letter*, writtin and subscrivut at *Edinburghe*, the 26th of *October* 1559.

Sic subscribitur,

Your *Graces* to comand in all *Godlines*,

JOHNE KNOX.

Postscriptum,

God move your *Graces* *Hairt* yit in *Tyme* to consider, That ye secht not against *Man*, bot against the eternall *God*, and against his *Sone Jesus Christ*, the onelie *Prince* of the *Kingis* of the *Erthe*.

At the quhilk Answer, the said *Mr. Robert* was so offendit, that he wald not deliver his *Letters*, saying, That we wer ungodlie and injurious to the *Quein Regent*, gif we suspectit ony *Craft* in hir. To the quhilk it was answered be one of the *Preicheours*, That *Tyme* sould declair quibidder he or they war deceaved, and gif sche suld not declair hirsell *Enemie* to the trew *Religioun* quhilk they professit, gif evir sche had the upper *Hand*, than they wald be content to confes that they had suspectit hir *Sinceritie* without just *Caus*. Bot and gif sche suld declair hir *Malice* no les in *Tymes* cuming, than sche had done befoir, thay required that he sould be more moderate, than to damn thame whose *Conscience* he knew not. And this was the *End* of his *Travell* for that *Tyme*, efter that he had trubled the *Conscience* of mony godlie and quiet *Personis*. For he and uthers quho war hir hyred *Postis*, ceassit not to blaw in the *Earis* of all Men, that the *Quein* was hevelie done to, that sche required nothing bot *Obedience* to hir *Dochter*; that sche was content that the trew *Religioun* sould be fordwardit, and that all *Abusses* sould be abolisched, and be this meane they brocht a *Grudge* and *Divisioun* amongs our selfis. For mony (and our *Brethrein* in *Lawthiane* especially) began to murmur, That we socht ane uther *Thing* than *Religioun*, and so ceassit to assist us certane *Dayis*, efter that we wer cumit to *Edinburgh*, quhilk we did according to the former *Dyet* the 16th *Day* of *October*. This *Grudge* and *Trubill* among our selfis wes not raysed be the foirsaid *Mr. Robert* onelie, bot be these *Pestilentis* quhom before we have exprest, and *Mr. James Balfour* especially, quhos venomous *Toungis*, agains *God* and his trew *Religioun*, as they deserve *Punishment* of Men, so fall they not eschaip *God's Vengeance*, unles that spedily they repent.

Esfer

Etter our cuming to *Edinburgh* the Day forenamed, we assembled in Counsaill, and determinat to give new Advertisment to the Queins Grace Regent, of our Conventioun, and in suche Sorte; and so with comoun Consent we send unto hir our Request, as follows.

The secound Admonitioun to the Quein Regent.

MADAME,

IT will pleis your Grace reduce to your Remembrance, how at our last Conventioun in *Haumiltoun*, we required your Hienes, in our maist humbill maner to desist from the sorteiseing of the Toun of *Leyth*, then interprysit and begun, quhilk appeared to us (and yit dois) ane *Entrie* to a Conqueist, and Overthrow to our *Liberteis*, and altogether agains the *Laws* and *Customes* of this Countrey, seing it was begun, and yit continewis without ony Consent and Advys of the Nobilitie and Counsaill of this Realme. Quhairfor now, as before, according to our Devotie to this our Comoun-welthe, we most humblie requir your Grace, to caus your Strangers and Souldiours quhatsumevir, to departe this said Toun of *Leyth*, and mak the sam patent, not onelie to the Inhabitanes, bot also to all Scottismen, our Soverane Ladyis Lieges; assuring your Hienes, That gif refusing the same, ye declare thareby your evill Mynd towards the Comoun-welthe, and Libertie of this Realme, we will (as of befor) mein and declar the Caus unto the baill Nobilitie and Comounis of this Realme. And according to the Aith quhilk we have sborne for the Maintenance of the Comoun-welthe, in all maner of Things to us possibill, we will provid Remedie tharefor, requiring most humblie your Graces Answer in haist with the Beirar, becaus in our Evis the Ait continewallie proceids, declaring a Determinatioun of Conqueist, quhilk is resumit of all Men, and not without Caus. And this efter a humbill Comendatioun of Service, we pray Almychtie God to have your Grace in his eternell Tuitioun.

These our Letters reffused, our Messinger was threatned and with-haldin a haill Day; tharefter he was demissit, without ony uther Answer, bot that sche wald send ane Answer, quhen sche thocht expedient.

In this mein Tyme, becaus the Rumour ceissit not, that the Duckis Grace usurpit the Authority, he was compelled with the Sound of Trumpet at the Mercat Cerce of *Edinburgh* to mak his Purgatioun in Forme, as follows, the 19th of *October*.

The Purgatioun of the Duck.

FOrasmekill as my Lord Duck of *Chattellarauld*, understanding the fals Report made be the Quene Regent agains him, that he and his Sone my Lord of *Arrane*, sould pretend Usurpatioun of the Croun and Authority of this Realme, quhen in very Deid he nor his Sone nevir anes mynded sick Things, bot allanerly in Simplicity of Hairt, moved partely be the violent Persute of the Religion and trew Professours thareof, partely be the Compassioun of the Comoun-welthe and pure Comunalty of this Realme, oppressit with Strangers, he joyned himself to the rest of the Nobility, with all Hazard, to support the comoun Caus of that ane and of that uther; hes thocht expedient to purge himself and his said Sone, in Presens of yow all (as he had done in Presens of the Counsaill) of that said Cryme of auld, evin be Summons

monds laid to his Charge the secund Year of the Reigne of our Soverane Lady: Quhilk Malice hes continewed evir against him, maist innocent of that Cryme, as your Experience beirs Witnes; and plainly protestis, That nether he nor his said Sone, seikes or sutes ony Pre-eminence, eyther to the Croun or Authority, bot as far as his Puissance may extend, is reddy, and ever fall be, to concurre with the rest of the Nobility his Brethrein, and all utheris, whos Hairts are tuitched to mantein the comoun Caus of Religiou, and Liberty of thare native Cuntrey, plainly invaided be the said Regent, and hir said Souldiours, quha onely do forge sick vane Reports, to withdraw the Hairts of trew *Scottismen* from the Succour they aucht of bound Dewtie to thair opprest Comoun-welthe. Quharefoir he exhortis all Men that will mantein the trew Religiou of God, or withstand this Oppressioun or plane Conqueist interprysit be Strangearis upoun native *Scottismen*, not to credite sick fals and untrew Reportis, bot rather concurre with us and the rest of the Nobilitie, to set your Cuntrey at Libertie, expelling Strangers thairfra; quhilk doing, ye fall schaw your selfis obedient to the Ordinance of God, quhilk was establischt for Manteinance of the Comoun-wealthe and trew Members of the same.

The 21st of *October*, came from the Quein then Regent Maister Robert *Fairman*, Lyoun King of Armes, quho brocht unto us ane Wrytting in this Tenour and Credite.

EFter Comendatioun, we have receaved your Letter, of *Edinburghe* the 19th of this Instant, quhilk appeires to us rather to have cumit fra ane Prince to his Subjectes, then fra Subjectis to thame that beiris Authoritie; for Answer quhareof, we have presentlie directit unto yow this Bearer, Lyoun *Herauld King of Armes*, sufficientlie instructed with our Mynd, to quhom ye fall give Credite.

At Leyth the 21st
of October 1559.

Sic subscribitur,

MARIE R.

His Credite is this.

THat sche wonderit how ony durst presume to comand her in that Realme, quhilk needit not to be conquest be ony Force, considering it was alreddie Conqueist be Marriage; that Frenche Men cannot justlie be called Strangearis, seing they war naturaliezed; and tharefoir that sche wald nether mak the Toun patent, nether yit send ony Man away, bot as sche thocht expedient. Sche accusit the Duke of violating his Promeis; sche maid lang Protestatioun of her Love towards the Comoun welthe of Scotland. And in the End comandit, that, under Pain of Tressoun, all Assistaris to the Duik, and unto us, sould departe from the Toun of *Edinburghe*.

This Answer receaved, Credit hard, preconceaved Malice sufficientlie espyed, Consultatioun was taikin, quhat was expedient to be done. And for the first it was concluded, That the *Herauld* sould be stayed, till farder Determinatioun sould be taikin.

The haill Nobilitie, Barrones and Burghes then present, war comanded to convene in the Tolbuith of *Edinburghe*, the same 21st Day of *October*, for Deliberatioun

liberation of thair Matters, quhare the haill Cais being expounded, be the Lord *Ruthe*, the Questiou was proponed, Quhether sche that so contemptuousslie resist the most humbill Requeist of the borne Counsaillours of the Realme, being alsò bot a Regent, quhais Pretences threatned the Bondage of the haill Comoun-welthe, aught to be suffered so tyranousslie to impyre above thame? And becaus that this Questiou had not bene befor disputed in opin Assemblie, it was thocht expedient, that the Jugement of the Preicheours sould be required; quho being called, and instructed in the Cais, *Johne Willock*, quho befor had susteined the Burdene of the Kirk of *Eduburghe*, being comandit to speik, maid Discourse as follows. Affirming,

First, That albeit Magistrates be God's Ordinance, having of him Power and Authoritie, yit is not thair Power so lairgly extended, bot that it is bound-ed and limitted be God in his Word. And

Secundlie, That as Subjectes ar comanded to obey thair Magistrates, so ar Magistrates comanded to give some Deutie to the Subjectes; so that God be his Word hes prescryved the Office of the one and of the uther.

Thirdlie, That albeit God hes apointed Magistrates his Lieutenents in Erthe, and hes honoured thame with his awin Titill, calling thame *Godis*, that yit he never did so establishe ony, bot that for just Causes they micht have bein deprieved.

Fourthlie, That in deposing of Princes, and those that had bene in Authoritie, God did not alwayes us his imediate Power, bot some Tymes he usit sìm uther Meanes, quhilk his Wisdome thocht gude and Justice approved, as by *Asa* he removed *Maacha* his awn Mother from Honour and Authoritie, whiche befor sche had bruiked; by *Jehu* he destroyed *Jehoram*, and the haill Posteritie of *Ahab*; and by divers uthers he had deposite from Authoritie thois quhome befoire he had establisched by his awin Word: And heirupoun concluded he, That since the Quein Regent denyed hir cheif Dewtie to the Subjectes of this Realme, quhilk was to minister Justice unto thame indifferently, to preserve thair Liberties from Invasioun of Strangers, and to suffer thame to have God's Word frely and oppenlie preiched amongis thame. Seing moreover, that the Quein Regent was ane opin and obstinate Idolatress, a vehement Manteiner of all Superstitioun and Idolatry; and final-lie, that sche utterly despyt the Counsaill and Requeistes of the Nobility, he culd sie no Ressoun, quhy they, the borne Counsaillers, Nobility and Bar-rones of the Realme, micht not justlie depryve hir frome all Regiment and Authoritie amongis thame.

Heirefter was the Jugement of *Johne Knox* required, quho approving the Sentence of his Brother, added, *First*, That the Iniquitie of the Quein Regent and Misfordour aucht in no Wayis to withdraw nether our Hairts, nether yit the Hairtes of uther Subjectes from the Obedience dew unto our Soveranes.

Secundarlie, That and gif we deposite the said Quein Regent rather of Malice and private Invy, then for the Preservatioun of the Comoun-welthe, and that for hir Synes apeired incurable, that we sould not escaipe God's just Punischement, howsoever that sche had deserved Ejectioun from Honours. And

Thirdlie, He required, That no suche Sentence sould be pronounced against her, bot that upoun hir knawin and opin Repentance, and upoun her Con-versioun to the Comoun-wealthe, and Submissioun to the Nobility, Place suld be granted unto hir of Regres to the same Honours, from the quhilk, for just Causes sche, justlie micht be deprieved.

The Votes of every Man particularly be himself required, and every Man comanded to speik, as he will answer to God, what his Conscience juged in that Matter, thare was none found amonges the haill Number, quha did not be his awin Tounge consent to her Depravatioun; tharefter was thair Protest comitted to Wrytt and registrate, as followeth.

At Edinburgh the 21st of October 1559.

THE Nobility, Barones, and Burghes conveyed to advyse upoun the Affairs of the Comoun-welth, and to ayd, support, and succour the samen, perceaving and lamenting the interpryfit Destruction of thair Comoun-welth, and Overthraw of the Liberty of thair native Cuntry, by the Meanes of the Quein Regent, and certane Strangers, hir privy Counsaillours, plane contrary to our Soverane Lord and Ladys Mynd, and direct aganst the Counsaill of the Nobility, to procede by litill and litill evin to the uttermost, sua that the urgent Necessity of the Comoun-welthe may suffer na langer Delay, and earnestly cravis our Supportes: Seing heirfor, that the said Quein Regent (abusing and ovirpassing our Soverane Lord and Ladys Commissioun gevin and granted to hir) hes in all hir Proceedings, persewed the Barones and Burghes of this Realme, with Weapouns and Armour of Strangers, bot ony Proces or Ordour of Law, they being our Soverane Lord and Lady's true Leigis, and never called nor convict of ony Cryme be ony Jugment lawfull; as first at Sanct *Johnestoun*, in the Moneth of *Maii*, sche assembled hir Army aganst the Toun and Inhabitantis thareof, nevir called nor convict of ony Cryme, bot that they professit the trew Worschip of God, conforme to his most sacred Word. And lykwyse in the Monthe of *Junii* last, without ony lawfull Ordour or Calling going befor, invadit the Persones of sundry Nobillmen and Barones with Force of Armes conveyed at Sanct *Androis*, only for the Caus of Religion, as is notoriously knawn, they never being called nor convict of ony Cryme. Attour layd Garisouns the sam Monethe upoun the Inhabitantis of the said Toun of Sanct *Johnestoun*, oppressing the Liberteis of the Queins trew Leigis; for Feir of quhilk hir Garisouns a grit Parte of the Inhabitantis thareof fled off the Toun, and durst not resort agane into thair Houses and Heritages quhill they wer restorit be Armes, they notwithstanding never being called nor convict of ony Cryme. And farder, That sam Tyme did thrust in upoun the Heids of the Inhabitantis of the said Toun Provest and Balyes aganst all Ordour of Electioun. And lairly in this last Monthe of *September*, hes sche done the lyke in the Touns of *Edinburghe* and *Jedburghe*, and divers uther Places, in Sygne of manifest Oppressioun of our Liberteis. And last of all, declaring of hir eveill Mynd towards the Nobility, Comounality, and haill Natioun, hes brocht in Strangers, and daily pretends to bring in gritter Force of the sam; pretending ane manifest Conqueist of our native Rouns and Cuntry, as the Dede itself declares: In sa far as sche having brocht in the said Strangers bot ony Advys of the Counsaill or Nobility, and contrary to thair expres Mynd sent to hir Grace in Wrytte, hes placed and planted hir said Strangers in ane of the principall Touns and Portes of this Realme, sending continewally for gritter Forces, willing thareby to suppres our Comoun-weill, and the Liberty of our native Cuntry, to mak us and our Posterity Slaves to Strangers for evir: Quhilk, as it is intollerabill in Comoun-welthes and fre Cuntres, so it is veray prejudiciall to our Soverane Lady, and hir Aires quhatsumever, in cais our Soverane Lord deceis but Aires of hir
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Graces Perfoun ; and to Performance of thir hir wicked Interpryses, conceived, as appears, of inveterate Malice, aganst our wholle Cuntry and Natioun, causes (bot ony Consent or Advyis of the Counsaill or Nobility) cunye layit Mony, so base, and of sick Quantity, that the haill Realme fall be depauperate, and all Traffique with foraine Natiouns everted thareby ; and attour, hir Grace places and manteanes, contrary the Plcflour of the Counsaill of this Realme, an Strangear in ane of the gritest Offices of Credite within this Realme, that is, in keiping of the Grit Seill thareof, quhareuntill grit Perrilles may be engendred to the Comoun-welthe and Liberteis thareof ; and farder laityly sent the said Greit Seill furthe of this Realme be the said Strangear, contrary the Advyse of the said Counsaill, to quhat Effect God knaws, and hes els be his Meanes altered the auld Lawis and Consuetude of our Realme, ever observed in the Graces and Pardones granted be our Soveranes to all thair Leigis beand repentand of thair Offences comitted aganst thair Heines, or the Liegis of the Realme, and hes introduced ane new captius Styll and Forme of the saids Pardones and Remissiouns, attending to the Practes of *France*, tending thareby to draw the saids Leigis of this Realme, be Proces of Tyme, in a deceavabill Snair. And farder fall creip in the holle Subversiou and Alteratioun of the remanent Lawis of this Realme, in contrairy the Contents of the Apointment of Mariage ; and all Peace being accorded amongs the Prencis, reteines the grit Army of Strangears efter comand sent be the King of *France* to retyre the same, making Excus that they wer reteaned for Suppressioun of the Attemptis of the Leigis of this Realme, albeit the hail Subjectis thareof, of all Estatis is and ever hes bene reddy to give all dewtefull Obedience to thair Soveranes, and thair lawfull Ministeris, proceeding be God's Ordinance: And the said Army of Strangears not being payed of Wages, was laid be hir Grace upoun the Neckes of the pure Comunalty of our native Countrey, quha was compelled be Force to defraud thamefelfis, thair Wyfis, and thair Bairnis, of that pure Substance, quhilk they micht conquais with the Sweit of thair Brows, to satisfie thair Hunger and Necessities, and quyte the sam to sustein the idill Bellies of thair Strangears. Throw the quhilk in all Partis rais sick heavy Lamentatioun, and Complaint of the Comunaltrie accusing the Counsaill, and Nobility of thair Slourthe, that as the same Oppressioun, we dout not, hes enterit in befor the Justice-sait of God, sa hes it moved our Hearts to Reuthe and Compassioun. And for Redres of the samyn, with uther grit Offences comitted aganst the publick Welthe of this Realme, we have conveyined here (as said is) and as oftentymes of befor hes maist humely and with all Reverence desyred, and required the said Quein Regent, to redres the saids Enormiteis, and specially to remove hir Strangears, from the Neckes of the puir Comunaltrie, and to desist fra interprysing or Fortificatioun of Strenthis within this Realme, aganst the expres Will of the Counsaill and Nobility of the sam ; Yit we being convened the mair stark, for Feir of hir Strangears, whom we saw presume no uther Thing, bot with Armes to persew our Lyves and Possessiounis, besocht hir Grace, to remove the Feir of the same, and mak the Toun patent to all our Soverane Lord and Lady's Lieges ; the same one no Wayis wald hir Grace grant unto, bot quhen sum of our Company in peacible Maner went to view the said Toun, thare was both small and grit Munitioun schote furth at thame. And seing tharefoir, that nether Access was granted to be usit, nor yit her Grace wald joyne herself to us, to consult upoun the Effaires of our Comoun-welth, as we that be borne Counsaillers of the

same, be the ancient Lawis of the Realme: Bot feiring the Jugement of the Counsaill wald reforme, as Necessitie required, the foirsaides Enormiteis, sche refusis all Maner of Assistance with us, and be Force and Violence intendis to suppres the Liberteis of our Comoun-welthe, and of us the Favourers of the same. We tharefor, so mony of the Nobility, Barrones, and Proveistis of Burrows, as ar tuitched with the Cair of the Comoun-wealthe (unto the quhilk we acknowlege ourselfis not onely borne, bot also sworne Protectoures and Defenders, against all quhatsoever Invaideris of the same) and moved be the foirsaidis Proceedings notorious, and with the lamentable Complaint of Oppressioun of our Comunalty, our Fellow-memberis of the same. Perceaving farder, That the present Necessity of our Comoun-welthe may suffer no Delay, being conveyned (as said is) presently in *Edinburghe*, for Support of our Comoun-welthe, and ryple consulted and advysed, taking the Feir of God befoir our Evis, for the Causes foirsaidis, quhilkis ar notorious, with one Consent, and comoun Vote, ilk Man in Ordour his Jugement being required; In Name and Authority of our Soverane Lord and Lady, suspendis the said Comissioun, granted be our said Soveranes to the said Quein Dowager, dischairging hir of all Administratioun or Authority sche hes or may have thareby, unto the nixt Parliament to be set be our Advyis and Consent; and that becaus the said Quein, be the foirsaidis Faultis notorious, declares himself Enemy to our Comoun-welthe, abusing the Power of the said Authorite, to the Destruction of the same: And lykwayis we dischairge all Members of hir said Authority fra thinfurth; and that na Cunye be cunyed fra thinfurth, without expres Consent of the said Counsaill and Nobility, conforme to the Laws of this Realme, quhilk we mantene. And ordaines this to be notified and proclaimed be Officiaris of Airmes, in all the Heid Burghs within the Realme of *Scotland*. In Witnes of the quhilk, our comoun Consent and frie Vote, we have subscryved this present Act of Suspensioun, with our Handis, Day, Yeir and Plaice foirsaidis.

Sic subscribitur,

By us, the Nobility and Comouns of the Protestants of the Church of Scotland.

Efter that this our Act of Suspensioun was be Sound of Trumpet divulgat at the Mercat Croce of *Edinburghe*, we demissit the Herauld with this Answer.

PLeis your Grace, we receavit your Answer, and hard the Credit of Lyoune King of Armes, quhairby we gatherit sufficientlie your Perseverance in evill Mynd towardis us, the Glorie of God, our Comoun-welthe, and the Libertie of our native Cuntrey. For Salvatie of the quhilkis, and according to our Dewties, we have in our Soverane Lord and Ladyis Name suspendit your Comissioun, and all Administratioun of the Policie your Grace may pretend thairby, being maist assuredlie perswaidit, Your Doings ar direct contrair our Soverane Lord and Ladyis Will, quhilk we evir esteim to be for the Wealthe, and not for the Hurt of this our Comoun-weill. And as your Grace will not acknowledge us our Soverane Lord and Ladyis Liegis, trew Barronis and Leigis, for your Subjectis and Counsaill, na mair will we acknow-
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lege you for our Regent, or lawfull Magistrate unto us, seing, if ony Authoritie ye have be Resoun of our Soveranes Comission granted unto your Grace, the sam for manie wechthe Resounis, is worthelie suspendit be us, in the Name and Authoritie of our Soveranes, quhais Counsaill we ar of in the Effairis of this our Comoun-welthe. And forasmuch as we ar determined with Hazard of our Lyves, to set that Toun at Libertie, quhairin ye have maist wrangouslie placed your Souldiors and Strangeers, for the Reverence quhilk we aucht to your Person, as Mother to our Soverane Lady, we requir your Grace to transport your Person thairfra, seing we ar constrayned* for the Necessitie of the Comoun-welthe, to sute the same be Armes, being denyed of the Libertie thairof, be sundrie Requeistiounis maid of befor; attour your Grace, wald caus departe with you out of the said Toun, ony Person haveand Comission in Ambassadrie, gif ony sick be, or in Lieuutenentschip of our Soveraneis, together with all Frenchemen, Souldiours, being within the same (quhais Bluid we thirst not, becaus of the auld and ancient Amitie and Freindschip betwix the Realme of France and us, quhilk Amitie, be Occasioun of Mariage of our Soverane Lady to the King of that Realme, sould rayther increse nor decrese;) and this we pray your Grace and thame both to do within the Spacie of 24 Hours, for the Reverence we aucht unto your Personis. And thus recommending our humbill Service to your Grace, we comitt your Hienes to the eternall Proteccioun of God. At Edinburgh the 23d of October 1559.

Your Graces humbill Servitours.

The Day following we summondit the Toun of *Leyth*, be Sound of Trumper, in Forme, as followis.

I Requir and chaarge in the Name of our Soverane Lord and Lady, and of the Counsaill presentlie in *Edinburgh*, That all *Scottis* and *Frenchemen*, of quhatsumevir Estait or Degrie they be, that they departe of this Toun of *Leyth*, within the Spacie of twelf Hours, and mak the sam patent to all and sundrie our Soverane Ladyis Liegis: For seing that we have not sick Hatred at ether the one or the uther, that we thirst for the Blude of ony of they twa, for that ane is our naturall Brother, borne, nurisched, and brocht up within the Bowellis of our comoun Cuntrey, and with that uther our Nation hes continewit in lang Amitie and Alyance, and hopis that sua sall do, sa lang as sa they list to use us, and not suit to mak Slaves of our Freinds, quhilk this strenthening of our Tounis portendis. And thairfoir maist hairtelie desyris the one and the uther to desist from fortefeing or manteining of this Toun; in our Soveranis and thair Counsaills Name, and to mak the sam frie within the Spacie of twelf Hours.

Defyance gevin, thair was skirmisching, without grit Slauchter, Preparatioun of Scales and Ledders was maid for the Assault, quhilk was concludit by the comoun Consent of the Nobilitie and Baronis. The Scales war apointed to be maid in Sanct Gyles Kirk, so that Preicheing was neglected, quhilk did not a little greve the Preicheours, and mony godlie with thame. The Preicheours spaired not opinlie to say, ' That they feirit the Succes of that ' Interpryse sould not be prosperous, becaus the Begynning appeirit to bring

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‘ with it sum Contempt of God and of his Word. Uther Plaices, said thay, ‘ had bein moir apt for suche Preparatiounis, than quhair the Pepill conveyit to comoun Prayers and unto Preicheing.’ In verie deid the Audieñce was wonderfullie trubled at that Tyme, quhilk (and uther Misfordour espyed among us) gave Occasioun to the Preicheours to affirme, ‘ That God culd not ‘ suffer sick Contempt of his Word and Abuses of his Grace, lang to be unpunished.’ The Quein had amongis us hir assured Espyellis, quho did not onelie signifie unto hir quhat was our Estait, bot also quhat was our Counsaill, Purpois, and Devyses. Sum of our awin Cumpanie war vehementlie suspectit to be the very Betrayeris of all our Secretis; for a Boy of the Officialis of *Lawthiane*, Maister *James Balfour*, was taikin carying a Wrytting, quhilk did opin the maist Secret Thingis war devyisit in the Counsaill; yea, these veray Thingis quhilk we thocht to have bein knawin bot to a verie few. By suche domesticall Enemies wer not onelie our Purpoises frustrate, bot also our Determinatiounis wer often overthrawn and changed. The Duikis Freindis gave unto him suche Terrours, that he was gritlie trubled, and by his Feir war trubled many utheris.

The Men of Weir (*for the maist Parte war Men without God or Honestie*) maid a Mutiney, becaus they lacked a Part of thair Wages: They had done the same in *Linlythgow* befoir, quhare they maid a Proclamatioun, *that they wald serve ony Man, to suppress the Congregatioun, and set up the Mes agane*. They maid a Fray upoun the Erle of *Argyllis* Heiland Men, and slew ane of the principall Children of his Chalmer, quho notwithstanding behaved himself so moderatlie, and so studious to paeisfe that Tumult, that mony wondered asweill of his prudent Counsaill and Stoutnes, as of the grit Obedience of his Cumpanie. The ungodly Souldiours notwithstanding maligned, and continewing in thair Misfordour, they boasted the Laird of *Tullybardyn* and uther Nobilmen, quho exhorted thame to Quietnes. All these Troubles war practisit by the Quein, and put in Executioun by the Traytours amongis ourselfis, quho, albeit they then lurked, and yit ar not manifestly noted, yit we dout not bot God fall utter thame to thair Confusion, and to the Exemple of utheris. To pacifie the Men of Weir, a Collectioun was devyisit: Bot becaus sum war pure, and sum war Nigardes and avaritious, thare culd no sufficient Soum be obtained. It was thocht expedient, that a Cunye suld be erected, that every Nobilman suld cunye his Silver Wark, to supply the present Necessitie; and tharefoir *David Forrest*, *Johne Hairt*, and utheris quho befoir had Chairge of the Cunye-hous, did promeis thair faythfull Laboures. Bot quhen the Matter came to the very Point, the said *Johne Hairt*, and uthers of his Factioun, stall away, and tuk with thame the Instruments apt for thair Purpose. Quhither this was done be the Falschoode and Febilnes of the said *Johne*, or the Practising of utheris, is yit uncertane. Rested than no Hoip amongs ourselfis, that ony Mony culd be furnished; and tharefoir it was concluded, by a few of those quhom we juged most secret, that Sir *Ralphe Saidlar* and Sir *James Croftes*, then haveing Chairge at *Berwik*, sould be tempted, gif ony wald support us with ony ressonable Soum, in that urgent Necessitie. And for that Purpois was the Laird of *Ormistoun* directed unto thame in so secret Maner, as we could devyse; bot yit our Counsaill was discloised to the Quein, quho appointing the Erle of *Bothwell* (as himself confessit) to await upoun the returning of the said Laird, as that he did with all Diligence; and so being assuredly informed, be quhat Way he came, the said Erle *Bothwell* beset his Way, and

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cuming upoun him at unawares, did tak him efter that he was evill woundit in the Heid, for nether culd he get his led Hors, nor yit his Steill-Bonet. With him was taiken the Soum of 4000 Crowns of the Sone, quhilk the said Sir *Rulphe* and Sir *James* most lovingly had sent for our Support. The Brute hereof cuming to our Eirs, our Dolour was doubled; not to mekill for Lois of the Money, as for the Tinsall of the Gentilman, quhom we suspected to have been slain, or at the leist, that he sould be delivered to the Queen's Handes: And so upoun the suddane, the Erle of *Arrane*, the Lord *James*, the Maister of *Maxwell*, with the maist Parte of the Horsmen, tuk Purpois to purslew the said Erle *Botbwell*, gif they micht appehend him in *Creichtoun* or *Morkume*, quhitherto (as they war informed) he had reteired himself etter his tressonable Facte, we call his Fact tressonable, becaus that thre Days befor he had sent his speciall Servant, Mr. *Michail Balfour*, to us to *Edinburgh*, to purches of the Lords of the Counsaill Licence, to cum and speik us; quhilk we granted, efter that he had promiseit, that in this mein Tyme he sould nether hurt us, nor yit ony to us aperteining, till that he sould wryte his Answer agane, quhidder that he wald joyne with us or not. He gave us farder to understand, That he wald dischairge himself of the Quein, and tha refter wald assistus: And yit in this mein time, he cruellie and traytorouslie hurt and spoylled the Nobilman foirsaid. Albeit that the Departure and Counsaill of the Erle of *Arrane* and Lord *James*, with thair Cumpanie foirsaid, was very suddane and secreit, yit was the Erle of *Botbwell*, then being in *Creichtoun*, advertesit; and so escaiped with the Money, quhilk he tuik with himself, as the Captane of his Hous, *Johnie Somervell* (quhilk was taiken without ony lang Pursuite) confessit and affirmed: Becaus the Nobilmen that soucht Redres, socht rather his Saifty and Reconciliation, than Distructioun and Hatred, they comited his Hous to the Custodie of a Captane, to wit, Captane *Forbes*, to quhom, and to all the Souldiours thare lest, was gevin a scharpe Comandment, that all Thingis found within the said Hous of *Creichtoun* (quhilk war put in Inventorie in the Presens of the Lordis) sould be keipit, till that the said Erle sould gif Answer, quhither he wald mak Restitutioun or not; Tyme of Adverteisement was grantit unto him the haill Day subsequent, till the going down of the Sone.

In Absence of the saidis Lordis and Horsmen (we mein the same Day that thay departed, quhilk was the last of *October*) the Proveist and Toun of *Dundie*, togither with sum Souldiours, past furth of the Toun of *Edinburgh*, and caryit with thame sum grit Ordinance to schute at *Leyth*. The Duk's Grace, the Erle of *Glencairne*, and the rest of the Nobilmen wer gone to the Preicheing, quhare they continewed till neir twell Hours. The *Frenche* being advertesit by ane named *Clerk* (quha etter was apprehended) that our Horsmen war absent, and that the haill Cumpany war at Denner, ischeit, and with grit Expeditioun cam to the Place, quhare our Ordinance was laid. The Toun of *Dundie* with a few urhers resisted a quhyll, asweill with thair Ordinance as Haqubuttris; but being lest of our ungodly and febell Souldiours, quha fled without Straik offered or gevin, they wer compelled to gif back, and so to leive the Ordinance to the Enemies, quho did further purslew the Fugitives, to wit, to the Middis of the *Canongait*, and to the Fute of *Leyth* Wynd. Thair Cruelty then began to discover the self; for the decreipid, the aged, Women and Children fand no gritter Favour in thair Fury, than did the strong Men, quha maid Resistance.

It was very apearand, that amongis outselfis thare was sum Tressoun; for quhen, upoun the first Allarme, all Men maid Haift for Relief of thair Brethren, quhom in very deid we micht have saved, or at leift we micht have saved the Ordinance, and have keipt the *Canongait* from Danger; for we war aneis marched fordwards with bauld Curage; bot than, we say, was a Schout rayfit among ourselfis (God will disclois the Traytours one Day) affirming, *That the baill Frenche Companie war enterit in at Leyth-wynd, upoun our Backs.* Quhat Clamour and Difordour did than sudanely arysis, we list not to expres, with Multiplicatioun of Words. The Horsmen, and sum of those that sould have put Ordour to utheris, overode thair pure Brethrein, at the Entres of the *Netherbow*. The Cry of Discomfitour arais in the Toun, the Wickit and Malignant blasphemed; the Febill (amongis quhom the Justice Clerk, Sir *Johne Balenden* was) fled without Mercie. With grit Difficulty could they be keipit in at the *West-port*. Mr. *Gawane Haumiltoun* Abbote of *Kilwyning* cryit with a loud Voice, *Drink now as ye have browne.* The *Frenche* perceaving, be the Clamour of our Fray, followed, as said is, to the Myddis of the *Canongait*, to no grit Number, bot a 20 or 30 of thair *Infantis perdus*; for in that mein Tyme, the rest reteirit thameselfis with our Ordinance. The Erle *Argyll* and his Men war the first that stopped the flying of our Men, and compelled the Port to be opined, efter that it was schute. Bot in very deid, Lord *Robert Stewart*, Abbot of *Halyrudhous*, was the first that isched out; efter him followed mony upoun the Backes of the *Frenche*. At last cum my Lord Duke, and than was no Man moir frank, than Mr. *Gawane Haumiltoun* feirsaid. The *Frenche* brunt a Baikhaus, and tuk some Spoille from the Pure of the *Canongait*: They slew a drunken Papist Preist, named Sir *Thomas Sklaitter*, ane aged Man, a Woman geiving Sucke and hir Child; and of Souldiours to the Number of ten. Certane war tane, amongis quhom Captane *Mowat* was ane, and Mr. *Charles Geddas*, Servitour to the Master of *Maxwell*. The Captane of the Castill that Day schote a Schot at the *Frenche*, declaring thame thareby Freindes to us, and Enemies to thame, bot he suddanely repentit of weill-doing. The Quein glaid of Victory sat upoun the Rampart to salute and welcome hir victorious Souldiours; ane brocht a Kirtill, ane uther ane Petticoat, a third a Pot or Pan; and of Envy more than womanly Lauchter, sche askit, *Quhair bought ye your Wair? Je pense que vous l'aves achete sans argent?* This was the grit and motherly Cair whilk sche tuik for the Trubill of the pure Subjectes of this Realme.

The Erle *Bothwell*, listid up in his awn Conceate, be Ressoun of this our Repuls and Discomfitour, utterly refusit ony Restitutioun; and so within two Days efter was his Hous spoylled, in quhilk was nothing of ony grit Importance, his Evidents and certane Clothing excepted. From that Day back, the Curage of mony was dejected; with grit Difficulty culd Men be retaned within the Toun; yea, sum of the grittest Estimatioun determined with thameselfis to leive the Interpryis; mony fled away secretly, and those that did abyde (a very few excepted) appeired destitute of Counsaill and Manheid. The Maister of *Maxwell*, a Man stout and witty, foirfeing the Danger, most gravely desyred, ether to tak suche Ordour, that they micht remain to the Terrour of the Enemy, or ellis that they sould reteir thameselfis, with thair Ordinances, and Baners displayed in Ordour; bot the Wittis of Men being dashed, na Counsaill could prevaill. Thus we continewed from *Wednesday*, the last of *October*, till *Monday*, the fifth of *November*; never two or thrie abyding firm in one Opinioun the Space of twenty four Hours. The pestilent Wittes
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of the Queinis Practiseours did then exercis thamefelfis (God fall recompence thair malicious Craft in thair awn Bosome, we dout not) for they had causit two godly and foward young Men, the Lairds of *Fernihert* and *Cesfurd*, quho ones had glaidly joynd thamefelfis with us, to withdraw thamefelfis, and thair Friendis: The same they did to the Erle of *Mortoun*, quha promesit to be ours, but did never planely joyne. They intyfit the Captane of the Castell, to deny us Supporte, in Cais we wer persewed. And finally, the Counsaill of sum was no les pestiferous aganst us, then was the Counsaill of *Archibald* aganst *David*, and his discomforted Souldiours. *Rander, O Lord, to the Wicked according to thair Malice.*

Upoun *Monday*, the fyft of *November*, did the *Frenche* ische out of *Leyth* betymes, for keiping of the Victuellis, quhilk suld have cum to us; we being trubled amongis ourselfis, and (as said is) devyded in Opinioun, wer nether circumspect, quhen they did ische, nether yit did we follow with sick Expeditioun, as had bein meate for Men that wald have socht our Advantage; our Souldiours culd be scairfly dung out of the Toun. The Erle of *Arrane*, Lord *James*, and certane with thame, maid Haist; mony honest Man than followed, and maid suche Diligence, that they causit the *Frenche* once to retyre sumquhat assrayedly. The rest that war in *Leyth*, perceaving the Danger of thait Fellows, isched out for thair Succours. The Erle of *Arrane*, and Lord *James* foirsaid, being more foward nor proudent and circumspect, did compell the Captanes, as is alleged, to bring thair Men so neir, that eyther they must neids have hasarded Battell with the haill *Frenche* Men (and that under the Mercie of thair Cannones also) or ellis they must neidis retyre in a very narrow Corner: For our Men wer approched neir to *Restalrig*. The one Parte of the *Frenche* Men wer upoun the North towards the Sey, the uther Part marched from *Leyth* to *Edinburghe*; and yit they marched sua, that we could have fochten with nether Companies, befoir they sould have joynd. We tuk Purpois tharefoir, to retyre towards the Toun, and that with Expeditioun, lest that the former Company of the *Frenche* sould eyther have invaded the Toun, befoir that we could have cumed to the Reskew thareof, or ellis have cutted us off from the Entres of the Abbay of *Halyrudhous*, as appeirandly they had done, gif the Laird of *Grainge* and *Alexander Quhytlare*, with a few Horsmen, had not stayed bothe thair Horsmen and Futemen. The Company that was nixt us perceaving, that we reteired with Speid, sent forth thair Skirmischaris, to the Number of thrie or four hundreth, quho tuk us at ane Disadvantage; befoir us having the Myre of *Restalrig* betwixt us and thame; so that one no Ways we could chairege thame; and we wer inclosed be the Park-dyke, so that in no Ways culd we avoyd thair Schote: Thair Horsmen followed upoun our Tailis, and slew divers, our Horsmen overraid our Futemen; and so be Resoun of the Narrownes of the Place, thare was no Resistance maid. The Erle of *Arrane* and Lord *James*, in grit Danger, lichted among the Futemen, exhorting thame to have sum Respect to Ordour, and to the Saifty of thair Brethren, whome, be thair flying, they exponit to Murther, and so wer criminall of thair Deithe. Captane *Alexander Halyburtoun*, a Man that feired God, taryed with certane of his Souldiours behind, and maid Resistance, till that he was first schote, and then taiken. Bot being knawn, these cruell Murtherers woundit him in divers Partis to the Deyth; and yit, as it war be the Power of God, he was brocht in to the Toun, quhare in few, bor yit maist plain Words, he gave Confessioun of his Fayth, testifeing, *That he doutet nothing of God's*

Mercie, purchased to him be the Blude of Christ Jesus, nether yit that he repented, that it pleisit God to mak him worthie to sched his Blude, and spend his Lyif in the Defence of so gude a Caus. And thus with Dolour of mony, he ended his Dolour within two Hours efter the Defate, and did enter, we dout not, in that blisfit Imortality, quhilk abydes all that beleve in Christ Jesus trewly. Thare was slain to the Number of 24 or 30 Men, the maist Part pure. Thare war taiken the Laird of *Pitmillie*, the Laird of *Fairnie* younger, the Master of *Buchan*, *George Lowell* of *Dundie*, and sum utheris of lower Estait. *Johne Dunbare* Lieutennent to Captane *Mowat*. Captane *David Murray* had his Hors slain, and himself schote in the Leg.

Few Dayis befor our first Defate, quhilk was upoun *Allhallow-even*, *William Maitland* of *Lethingtoun* younger, Secretair to the Quein, perceaving himself not onelie to be suspected, as one that favourit our Parte, bot also to stand in Danger of his Lyif, gif he sould remane among so ungodlie a Cumpanye; for quhensoevir Matteris come in Questiou, he spairit not to speik his Conscience, quhilk Libertie of Toun and Gravetie of Jugement the *Frenche* did hichelie disdane: Quhilk perceaved be him, he conveyed himself away in a Morning, and randerit himself to Mr. *Kirkcaldie* Laird of *Grange*, quho cuming to us, did exhort us to Constancie, assuring us, that in the Quein thair was nothing bot Craft and Deceait; he travellit exceidinglie to have reteined the Lordis togither, and maist prudentlie layed befor thair Eyis the Danger that micht ensue thair departing of the Toun, bot Feir and Dolour had so seasit the Hairtis of all that they culd admit no Consolatioun. The Erle of *Arrane* and Lord *James* offered to abyid, gif ony ressonabill Cumpanye wald abyde with thame; bot Men did so steill away, that the Wit of Men culd not stay thame, yea, sum of the grittest determined plainlie that they wald not abyid. The Captain of the Castell, then Lord *Erskin*, wald promeis unto us no Favours, bot said, He must neidis declair himself Freind to thois that wer abill to supporte and defend him. Quhilk Answer gevin to the Lord *James* his Sister Sone, discouragit thois that befor had determined to have biddin the uttermost, rather than to have abandoned the Toun, so that the Castell wald have stude thair Freind: Bot the contrair declaired, everie Man tuk Purpois for himself. The Complaints of the Brethrein within the Toun of *Edinburgh* was lamentabill and sore: The Wickit than began to spew out the Vennome quhilk befor lurked in thair cankerit Hairtis: The godlie, alsweill thois that wer departit, as the Inhabitantis of the Toun, war so troubled, that sum of thame wold have preferrit Deyth to Lyif at Godis Pleasure. For avoyding of Danger, it was concludit, That they suld departe at Midnicht. The Duik maid Provisioun for his Ordinance, and causit it to be sent befor, bot the rest was left to the Cair of the Captane of the Castell, quha receivit it, alsweill that quhilk perteinit to Lord *James*, as that of *Dundie*. The despytfull Tounis of the Wickit raylled upoun us, calling us Traytors and Heretyikis; everie ane provoked uther to cast Stones at us: One cryit, allace that I micht sie; an uther, Fy geve Adverteisment to the *Frenchemen*, that thay may cum, and we fall help to cut the Throts of thir Heretyikis. And this, as the Sword of Dolour passit throw our Hairts, so war the Cogitaciounis and former Determinatiounis of mony Hairtis then reveillit: For we wald nevir have belevit that our naturall Countreymen and Wemen could have wischit our Distructioun so unmercifullie, and have so rejoyced in our Adversitie, (God move thair Hairts to Repentance) for ellis we feir that he

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quhois Caus we sustein, fall lat thame teill the Wecht of the Yock of cruell Strangers, in quhois Handis they witchit us to have bein betrayit. We stayd not till we come to *Striveling*, quhilk we did the Day efter that we departit from *Edinburgh*, for it was concludit, that thair Consultatioun shold be taikin, quhat was the nixt Remedie in so disperat a Matter.

The nixt *Wednesday*, quhilk was the 7th of *November*, *Johne Knox* preichit (*Johne Willock* was departit to *England*, as befor he had apointed) and intreated the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Versicles of the lxxx Psalme, quhair *David* in the Persone of the afflicted Pepill of God, speiks thus.

4. *O thou the Eternell, the God of Hostis, how lang fall thou be angrie against the Prayer of thy People.* 5. *Thou has fed us with the Bread of Tearis, and has gevin to us Tearis to drink in great Measure.* 6. *Thou has maid us a Stryf unto our Nyckbours, and our Enemies laugh us to Scorne among thameselfis.* 7. *O God of Hostis turne us agane, mak thy Face to schyne, and we shall be saved.* 8. *Thou has brocht a Vine out of Egypte, thou has cast out the Hea-then and planted it.*

This Psalme had the said *Johne* begun in *Edinburgh*, as it war foirseeing our Calamiteis, quhilk in verie Deid he did not obscurelie speik, bot plainlie did admonische us, that he was assured of Trubles suddanely to cum; and tharefoir exhortit all Men to Prayers. He intreated the thre first Verses in *Edinburgh*, to the Comfort of mony. He declared the Argument of the Psalme, affirming for his Jugement, That it was made be *David* himself, quho in the Spriet of Prophecy foirfaw the miserabill Estait of God's Pepill, especially efter that the Ten Trybis war devydit, and departit from the Obedience of *Juda*; For it was not (said he) without Caus, that *Josephe*, *Ephraim*, *Benjamin* and *Manasses* war especially named, and not *Juda*, to wit, becaus thay cam first to Calamity, and war translated from thare awen Heritance, quhill that *Juda* yit possessit the Kingdome. He confessit that justly thay war punisched for Idolatry comitted; bot he affirmed, That amongs thame thare continually remained sum trew Worschippers of God, for quhos Comfort war the Propheittis send, alsweill to call thame to Repentance, as to assure thame of Deliverance, and of the Promeis of God to be performed unto thame. He devydit the Psalme in thre Partis, to wit, In a Prayer. 2. In the Grund quhareupoun thare Prayer was foundit. 3. And in the lamentabill Complaints, and the Vow quhilk they maik to God. Thare Prayer was, *That God shold convert and turne thame, that he shold mak his Face to schyne upoun thame, and that he shold restoir tham to thair former Dignitie.* The Groundis and Foundatiounis of thare Prayer was, 1. That God himself had become Pastour and Governour unto thame. 2. That he had taikin the Protectioun of thame in his awin Hand. 3. That he had chosin his Habitatioun amongs thame. 4. That he had delivered thame from Bondage and Thraldome. 5. That he had multiplyit and blissit thame with mony notable Benedictiounis. Upoun those two Parts he gave these Nottes,

First, That the Felicity of God's Pepill may not be measured be ony eternall Apeirance; for oftentimes it is, That the same Pepill, to quhome God becomes not onelie Creatour, bot also Pastour and Protectour, is more
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severely intreated, than thos Nations quhare very Ignorance and Contempt of God rigneth.

Secundlie, That God nevir made his Acquaintance and League with óny Pepill be his Word, bot thare he had sum of his Elect, quho albeit they sufferit for a Tyme in the myds of the Wicked, yet in the end they fand Comfort, and felt in verie Experience, that Gods Promeises ar not vane.

Thridlie, That these Prayers war dyted unto the Pepill be the Holy Ghost, before they came to the uttermost of the Trubill, to assure thame that God, be quhos Spreit the Prayer was dyted, wald not contempt the same in the middes of thare Calamities.

The thrid Parte, conteining the lamentable Complaint, he entreated in *Striviling*, in Prefens of my Lord Duck, and of the haill Counsaill.

In Expositioun quhareof, he declared quharefore God suffered sumtymes his chosene Flock to be exposit to Mockage, to Dangers, and to apeiring Distructioun, *to wit*, That they may feill the Vehemency of God's Indignatioun; that they may know how litill Strenth is in thamefelfis; that they may leve a Testimony to the Generatiouns following, alsweill of the Malice of the Devill agans God's Pepill, as of the marvelous Works of God in preserving his litell Flock by far uther Means than Man can espy. In explainning these Words, *How lang, O Lord, will thou be angrie against the Prayer of thy People*; he declared how dolorous and fearfull it was to fecht against that Tentatioun, that God turned away his Face from our Prayers, for that was nothing ellis than to comprehend and conceive God to be armed to our Destruction; quhilk Tentatioun no Flesche can abyde nor overcum, unles the mychty Spirit of God interpone the self suddanely.

The Exampill he gave, The Impatience of *Saull*, quhen God wald not hear his Prayers. The Difference betwix the Elect and Reprobate in that Tentatioun, he plainly declarat to be, that the Elect susteaned be the secret Power of God's Spirit, did still call upoun God, albeit he appearet to contemne thare Prayers: Quhilk (said he) is the Sacrafice maist acceptabill to God, and is in a maner evin to fecht with God, and to overcum him, as *Jacob* did in wrastelling with his Angell. Bot the Reprobate (said he) being denyed of thare Requestes at God's Hand, do eyther ceas to pray and altogether contemne God, quha straitly comands us to call upoun him in the Day of our Adversity, or ells they seke at the Devill, that quhilk they cannot obtean of God.

In the secund Parte, he declarat how hard it was to this corrupt Nature of ours, not to rejoyce and put Confidence in the Self, quhen God gevis Victory; and therefore how necessary it was that Man be Affliction shuld be brocht to the Knowlege of his awn Infirmitie, least that puffed up with vane Confidence, he mak ane *Idoll of his awn Strenthe*, as did King *Nebuchadnesar*. He did greavely disput upoun the Nature of the blind Warld, quhilk in all Ages hes insolently rejoyssit quhen God did chestin his awn Children, quhos Glory and Honour, becaus the Reprobate can nevir sie, therefore they despise thame, and the wondrous Work of God in thame. And yet, said he, the Joye and Rejoyssing of the Warld, is bot mere Sorrow, becaus the End of it tends to suddane Destruction, as the ryotous banquetting of *Baltaschar* declareth; applying these Heids to the Tyme and Persons (he said) if none of God's Children

dren had suffered before us the same Injureis that presently we susteane, thes our Troubles wald appear intollerabill; suche is our tender Delicacy, and Self-love of our awn Fleische. That these Things quhilk we lichtly pas over in uthers, we can gritly complayne of, if they tuitche ourselfis. I dout not bot that sum of us have oftennar nor anes red this Psalme, as also we have hard and red the Travells and Trubells of our Forefathers. Bot quhilk of us, eyther in hearing or reading thare Dolours and Tentatiouns did sa descend into ourselfis that we felt the Bitternes of thare Passiouns? I think none. And therefore hes God brocht us to sum Experience in our awn Persons.

Bot yit becaus the Matter may appeir obscur, unles it be more properly applyed, I cannot bot of Conscience us suche Plainnes, as God sall grant unto me. Our Faces ar this Day confounded, our Enemies triumphe, our Hairts have quhaiked for Feir, and yit they remain oppressit with Sorrow and Schame. Bot quhat sall we think to be the very Caus, that God hes thus dejected us? Gif I sould say, Our Synes and former Unthankfulnes to God, I speik the Treuthe; bot yit I speik more generally then Necessity requires: For quhen the Synes of Men ar rebuiked in generall, seldom it is that Man descendes into himself, accusing and damning in himself that quhilk most displeiseth the God; bot rather he douts that to be a Caus, quhilk befoir God is na Caus indeid. As for Example, The *Israelittes*, fechtng aganes the Trybe of *Benjamin*, wer twyse discomfited, with the Lose of fourty thousand Men. They lamented and bewaillit bothe first and last; bot we find not that they came to the Knowlege of thair Offence and Syne, quhilk was the Caus that they fell in the Edge of the Sword; bot rather they douted that to be the Caus of thair Misfortune, quhilk God had comanded: For they asked, *Sall we go and secht any moir against our Brethrein the Sones of Benamine?* Be quhilk Questiou it is evident that they suppoised, that the Caus of thair Overthrow and Discomfitours was, becaus they had listid the Sworde against thair Brethrein and naturall Cuntreymen; and yit the expres Command of God, that was given unto thame, did deliver thame from all Cryme in that Cais. And yit no dout bot that thare was sum Caus in the *Israelites*, that God gave thame so over in the Hands of these wickit Men, against quhome he sent thame, be his awn expres Comandment to execute his Jugementis. Suche as do weill mark the History, and the Estait of that Pepill, may easily sie the Caus, quhy God was offended. All the haill Pepill had declyned from God, Idolatry was manteined by a comoun Consent of the Multitude, and, as the Text sayethe, *Everie Man did that quhilk appeired gude in his awin Evis.* In this mein Tyme, the *Levite* complained of the Villany that was done to himself, and unto his Wyfe, quhilk oppressed be the *Benjaminites* of *Gibeake*, dyed under thair filthy Lustis; quhilk horribill Fact inflamed the Hairtis of the haill Pepill, to tak Vengeance upoun that Abhominatioun, and tharein they offended not; bot in this they failled, that they go to execute Jugement against the Wicked, without ony Repentance or Remors of Conscience, for thair awn former Offences, and Defectioun from God. And farder, becaus thay war a grit Multitude, and the uther far inferiour to thame, thay trusted in thair awn Strenthe, and thocht thame selfis abill yneuche to do thair Purpois, without ony Invocatioun of the Name of God: Bot efter that thay had twyce provin the Vanity of thair awin Srenthe, they fasted and prayed, and being humblit befoir God, they receaved a more favourabill Answer, ane assured Promeis of the Victory. The lyk may be amongis us, albeit that suddanely we do not espy it: And to the

End, that every Man may the better examin himself, I will devide our haill Cumpany in two Sortes of Men, the one ar those that from the Beginning of this Truble have susteined the comoun Danger with thair Brethrein, the uther be those, quhilk be laity joyned to our Fellowship. In the one and the uther, I feir, just Caus fall be found, that God suld thus have humillit us. And albeit, that this appeir strange at the first heiring, yit gif every Man fall examyn himself, and speik as that his Conscience dyttis unto him, I dout not, bot he fall subscrivye my Sentence. Lat us begin at our selfis, quha langeft have continewed in this Battell. Quhen we war a few Number in Comparioun of our Enemies, quhen we had nother Erle nor Lord (a few excepted) to comfort us, we called upoun God, and take him for our Protectour, Defence and onely Refuge. Amongst us was hard no braging of Multitude, of our Strenthe, nor Pollicy; we did onely sob to God, to have Respect to the Equity of our Caus, and to the cruell Persute of the tyrranefull Enemy. Bot since that our Number hes bein multiplyed, and cheisly since my Lord Dukis Grace with his Freindes have bein joyned with us, thare was nothing hard, bot, *This Lord will bring these many hundreth Speirs; this Man hes the Credite to perswaid the Cuntry; gif this Erle be ours, na Man in sick a Boundis will trubell us.* And this the best of us all, that befoir felt God's potent Hand to our Defence, hath of late Dayis put *Flesche to be our Airme.* Bot quhairin yit had my Lord Dukis Grace and his Freides offendit? It may be that, as we have trustit in thame, so thay have put to muche Confidence in thair awn Strenthe. Bot granting it be not so; I sie a Caus maist just, quhy the Duke and his Freinds suld thus be confounded, amongis the rest of thair Brethrein. I have not yit forgotten quhat was the Dolour and Anguische of my awn Heairt, quhen at Sanct *Johnestoun, Couper-Mure and Edinburghe-Craigis*, these cruell Murtherars, that now hes put us to this Dishonour, threatnit our present Distruction; my Lord Dukes Grace and his Freindes, at all these thre Journeyis, was to thame a grit Comforte, and unto us a grit Discourage; for his Name and Authority did more affray and astonishe us, then did the Force of the uther; yea, without his Assistance, they never could have compelled us to apoint with the Quein, upoun so unequall Conditionis. I am uncertane, if my Lord's Grace hes unfaynedly repentit of that his Assistance to these Murtherars unjustly persewing us; yea, I am uncertane, if he hes repented of that innocent Blude of Christ's blissit Martyres, quhilk was sched in his Default. Bot let it be that so he hes done, as I heir he that has confessit his Fault befoir the Lordis and Brethrein of the Congregation; yit I am assured, that nether he, nor yit his Freindes, did feill befoir this Tyme the Anguische and Greif of Hairt, quhilk we felt, quhen, in thair blind Furie, they persewed us: And tharefoir God hath justly permitted bothe thame and us, to fall in this feirfull Confusioun at ones. Us, for that we put our Truist and Confidence in Man; and thame, becaus they sould feill in thar awn Hairts, how bitter was the Cuppe quhilk thay maid uthers drink befoir thame. Restis that bothe they and we turne to the Eternell our God (quho beitis down to Deyth, to the Intent that he may rays up again, to leive the Remembrance of his wondrous Deliverance, to the Prays of his awn Name) quhilk if we do unfaynedly, I no more dout, bot that this our Dolour, Confusioun and Feir fall be turned into Joy, Honour and Bauldnes, than that I dout, that God gave Victory to the *Israelites* over the *Benjaminites*, efter that twys with Ignominy they war repulsed and dung back; yea, quhatsoever fall becum of us, and of our mortall Carcasses, I dout not bot that this Caus (in

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Despyte of Sathan) fall prevaill in this Realme of *Scotland*. For, as it is the eternell Treuthe of the Eternell God, so fall it anes prevaill, howsoever for a Tyme it is impugned. It may be, that God fall plague sum, for that they de-lyte not in the Treuthe, albeit for worldly Respectis, they seim to favour it; yea, God may tak sum of his deirest Childrein away befor that thir Eys siegritter Trubles; bot nether fall the one nor the uther, so hinder this Actioun, bot in the End it fall triumphe.

This Sermon endit, in the quhilk he did vehementlie exhort all Men to Amendment of Lyif, to Prayeris, and to the Warks of Cheritie. The Myndis of Men began wonderfully to be erected: And immediatly efter Denner, the Lordis passit to Counsaill, unto the quhilk the said *Johne Knox* was callit, to mak Invocatioun of the Name of God (for uther Preichers wer nane with us at that Tyme) in the End it was concludit, that *William Maitland* foir-said fould pas to *Londone*, to expone our Stair and Conditoun to the Quein and Counceill, and that the Nobilmen fould departe to thair Quiet, to the 16th Day of *December*, quhilk Tyme was apointit to the next Conventioun in *Stirling*, as in this our third Buik following fall be moir ampie declaired.

Luke upoun us, O Lord, in the Multitude of thy Mercies; for we ar brocht evin to the Deip of the Dungeoun.

The End of the Secund Buik.



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 THRID BUIK
 OF THE
 Progres of trew Religioun
 WITHIN
 The Realme of SCOTLAND.



EFTER this our dolorous Departure from *Edinburgke*, the Fury and the Rage of the *Frenche* increffit: for then durst nether Man nor Woman that professit Christ Jesus within that Toun be sein. The Houses of the maist honest Men war gevin be the Quene to the *Frenckemen* for a Part of thare Reward. The Erle *Botkwell* by Sound of Trumpet proclaymed the Erle of *Arran* Traytour, with uther despytfull Words, quhilk all was done for the Plesour, and be the Suggestioun of the Quene Regent, quho then thocht the Battell was wone without farder Resistance. Greit practeising sche maid for obtaining the Castell of *Edinburgke*. The *Frenche* maid thare Faggots with uther Preparatiouns to assault the said Castell, ether be Force or ells be Tressoun: Bot God wrocht so potentlie with the Captane, the Lord *Erskine*, at that Tyme, that nether the Quene by Flattery, nor the *Frenche* by Tressoun prevayllit. Adverteiment with all Deligence past to the Duke of *Guise*, quho then was King of *France* (as concerning Power to comand) requyring him then to mak Epeditioun, if he desyrit the full Conqueist of *Scotland*; quho delayit no Tyme, bot with a

new Armie sent away his Brother Marquis *d'Albuse*, and his Cumpanie the *Maritickis*, promeising that he himself suld follow. Bot the rychteous God, quho in Mercy lukethe upoun the Affliction of those that unfaynedlie sob unto him, faucht for us by his awin outstretchit Arme: For upoun ane Nicht upoun the Coast of *Holland* war drowned of thame auchtein Ensenyeis, so that onelie reffit the Schip, in the quhilk war the two Principalls foirfaids, with thare Ladyis, quho violentlie drevin back agane to *Deip*, were compellit to confes, *That God faucht for the Defence of Scotland.*

From *England* returned *Robert Melvin*, quho past in Cumpany to *London* with the Secretary, a litell befor *Christmefes*, and brocht unto us certane Artickles to be answered, as be the Contract that efter was maid, more planely fall appeir. Quhareupoun the Nobility conveyed at *Striveling*, and returned Answer with Deligence. Quhareof the *Frenche* adverteisit, they merchit to *Linlythgow*, quho spullyeit the Duk's Hous, and waisted his Lands of *Kinneill*; and thairefter came to *Sterling*, quhare they remained certane Days. (The Duke, the Erles of *Argyll* and *Glencairne*, with thair Freinds, past to *Glasgow*; the Erle of *Arrane* and Lord *James* past to Sanct *Androis*; for Chairge was gevin to the haill Nobility, Protestants, to keip thair awn Bodies, till that God sould send thame farder Support.) The *Frenche* tuk Purpose first to assault *Fyfe*; for at it was thair grit Indignatioun. Thair Purpois was to have taiken, and fortetfeit the Toun and Abbay, with the Castell of Sanct *Androis*; and so they came to *Culros*, efter to *Dumfermling*, and then to *Bruntiland*, quhare they began to fort; bot desisted tharefra, and merched to *Kinghorne*, upoun the Occasioun as follows.

Quhen certane Knowlege came to the Erle of *Arrane* and to Lord *James*, that the *Frenche* wer departed from *Striveling*, they departed also from Sanct *Androis*, and began to assemble thair Forces at *Couper*, and sent thair Men of Weir to *Kinghorne*, unto quhome thare resorted divers of the Coast-side, of Mynd to resist rather at the Beginning, than quhen they had destroyed a Parte of thair Tounis. Bot the Lords had gevin ane expres Comandmient, that they sould hafard nothing, quhill that they thamselves wer present. And for that Purpois was send unto thame the Lord *Ruthven*, a Man of grit Experience, and inferiour to few in Stoutnes. In his Cumpany was the Erle of *Sutherland*, sent from the Erle of *Huntelie*, as was alleaged, to comforte the Lords in thair Afflictionis. But utheris quhispered, That his principall Commissioun was unto the Quene Regent. Howsoever it was, he was hurt in the Arme, by the Schote of ane Hakquebute; for the Men of Weir, and the raschall Multitude, perceaving certane Bottis of *Frenche* Men landing, quhilk came from *Leyth*, purpoisit to stop thair Landing; and so, not considdering the Enemies that approached from *Bruntiland*, unadvysedly they raschit down to *Petticur* (so is that Bey betwex *Kinghorne* called) and at the Seycoast began the Skirmisching; bot never tuk Heid to the Enemy that approchit by Land, till that the Horsmen chairged thame upoun thair Backes, and the haill Bandes came directly upoun thair Faces; and so they war compelled to give Backes with the Los onely of sex or sevin of thare Men, and with the tairking of sum, amongs quhome war two that professit Christ Jesus, one namet *Paull Lambert*, a *Dutchman*, and a *Frenche* Boy, fervent in Religioun, and clein of Lyif, quhom in despyte they hangit over the Stipell of *Kinghorne*. Thow fall revenge, O Lord, in thy appointit Tyme. The Caus that in so grit a Danger thare was so small a Lois, nixt unto the mercifull Providence of God,

was

was the suddane cuming of the Lord *Ruthven*; for evin as our Men had gevin back, he and his Company came to the Heid of the Bray, and did not onelie stay the *French* Fute-men, bot also sum of ours brack upoun thare Horfmen, and so repulst thame, that they did no farder Hurt to our Fute-men. In that Rencounter was the Erle of *Sutherland* foirtaid schete in the Arme, and was caryit back to *Couper*. The *French* tuk *Kingborne*, quhare they lay and waistit the Cuntrey about, alsweill Papistis as Protestantis; yea, evin thos that war confedderat with thame, sicker as *Seyfeld*, *Balmute*, *Balverie*, *Weimis*, and uther Enemies to God and Traytours to thare Cuntrey; of thame, we say, they spairit not the Scheip, the Oxin, the Ky, the Horfes, and sum say that sum of thare Wyfes and Dochters gat Favours of the *French* Souldiours. And so did God recompence the Papistis in thare awin Bosomis; for belydis the defoulling of thare Houses, as said is, two of thame rellavit moir Dammage, then did all the Gentilmen that professit the Evangell within *Fyfe*, the Laird of *Grange* onelie exceptit, quhois Hous of the *Grange* the *French* overthrew by Gune-powder.

The Quene Regent, proude of this Victorie, burst furth in hir blasphemous Raylling, and said, *Quhair now is Johne Knox his God? My God is now stranger than his, yea evin in Fyfe*. Sche poistit to hir Freindis in *France* News that Thousandis of the Heretyikis war slain, and the rest war fled, and tharefoir requirit that sum Nobillman of hir Freindis wald cum and tak the Glorie of that Victorie. Upoun that Informatioun was the *Martykis* with two Schipis, and sum Captanes and Hors directit to cum to *Scotland*, bot litill to thare awin Advantage, as we fall efter heir.

The Lordis of the Congregatioun offendit at the Fulischnes of the rascall Multitude, callit to thameselfis the Men of Weir, and remainit certane Dayis at *Couper*, unto quhome repairit *Johne Knox*, and in our grittest Disperatioun preicheit unto us a maist comfortable Sermon: His Text was, *The Danger in quhilk the Disciples of Jesus Christ stude quhen they war in the middis of the Sey, and Jesus was upoun the Montane*. His Exhortatioun was, That we sould not faint, bot that we sould still row agains these contrarius Blastis, till that Jesus Christ sould cum; for, said he, I ame as assuredlie perswaidit that God shall deliver us from the extrem Trubill, as that I ame assurit, that this is the Evangell of Jesus Christ, quhilk I preiche unto you this Day. *The fourt Watcke is not yet cumit*, abyde a litill, the Bote shall be savit, and *Peter*, quhilk hes left the Bote, shall not drown. I ame assurit, Albeit I cannot affirme yow be Refoun of this present Rage, God grant that ye may acknowlege his Hand, efter that your Eyis have sein his Deliverance.

In that Sermon he comfortit mony; and yit he offendit the Erle of *Arrane*; for in his Discours upoun the manifald Assaultis that the Kirk of God had susteined, he brocht for Exemple the Multitude of Strangers that persewit *Jekosaphate* efter that he had reformat Religion. He intreatit the Feir of the Pepill, yea, and of the King himself at the first. Bot efter he affirmit, That *Jekosaphat* was stout, and to declair his Curage in his God, he comfortit his Pepill and his Souldiours; he came furth in the middis of thame, he spak lovinglie unto thame. He keipit not himself (said he) incloist in his Chalmers, bot frequentit the Multitude, and rejoyssit thame with his Presence, and godlie Comforte. These and the lyk Sentences tuk the said Erle to be spokin in Reproche of him, becaus he keipit himself moir clois and solitarlie than mony Men wald have wischt.

Efter thir Thingis, Determinatioun was tane, that the Erle of *Arran*, and Lord *James*, with the Men of Weir, and sum Cumpanie of Horsmen, sould go to *Dysart*, and thare lay to wait upoun the *Frenche*, that thay distroyit not the Sey-coast, as thay intendit utterlie to have done. The said Erle, and Lord *James* did as they war apointit, albeit thare Cumpanie was verie small; and yit they did so valiantlie, that it passit all Credibilitie; for 21 Days they lay in thare Claythis; thare Buttis nevir came of: They had skirmisching almaist everie Day, yea, sum Days from Morne to Evin. The *Frenche* war four thousand Souldiours, besydis thare Favouraris and Factioun in the Cuntrey. The Lordis wer nevir together 500 Horsmen, with a hundrethe Souldiours, and yit they held the *Frenche* so besse, that for everie Hors they slew to the Congregatioun, they lost four *Frenche* Souldiours.

William Kirkcaldie of *Grange*, the Day efter that his Hous was castin down, sent his Defyance to Monsieur *d'Osell*, and unto the rest, declairing that unto that Hour had he ussit the *Frenche* favourablie, he had savit thare Lyvis, quhen that he micht have sufferit thare Throts to have bein cute; bot seing they had ussit him with that Rigour, lat thame not luik for the lyk Favours in Tymes to cume. And unto Monsieur *d'Osell*, he said, *He knew that he wald not get him in the Skirmisheing, becaus he knew he was bot ane Coward: Bot it micht be that he sould quite him a Comoun ather in Scotland or ellis in France.* The said *William Kirkcaldie*, and the Maister of *Lindesay*, eschaipit monie Dangers. The Maister had his Hors slane under him, the said *William* was almoist betrayit in his Hous at *Hallyairdis*. Bot yit they nevir ceissit, bot Nicht and Day they waittit upoun the *Frenche*: They laid thamefelfis in a secreit Plaice with sum Gentilmen befor the Day to wait upoun the *Frenche*, who ussit comonlie to ische in Cumpanies to seik thare Pray: And so come furth one Captane *Batu* with his hundreth, and began to spoill; quhome the said Maister (now Lord *Lindesay*) and the said *William* sufferit, without Declaratioun of thamefelfis, or of thare Cumpanie, till that they had thame more than a Mylle from *Kingborne*, and then began the Horsmen to brek; quhilk perceavit, the *Frenche* altogither drew to a Plaice callit *Glemis* Hous, and maid for Debait; sum tuk the Hous, and uthers defendit the Clois and Yaird: The Hafard appeirit verie unlicklie, for our Men had nothing bot Speiris, and war compellit to licht upoun thare Feit: The uther war within Dykis, and everie Man had a Culvering; the Schote was feirfull to monie, and divers war hurt, amongis quhome war *Robert Haumiltoun*, and *David Kirkcaldie*, Brother to the said Laird, quho both war suppoisit to have bein slain. The said Laird perceaving Men to faint, and begyne to recoule, said, *Fy, lat us nevir leve efter this Day, that we sall recoule for Frenche Skybaldis.* And so the Maister of *Lindesay* and he burst in at the Yett, and so uthers followit. The Maister struk with his Speir at *la Batu*, and glansing upoun his Harneis, for Fiercenes stamberit almost upoun his Kneis; bot recovering suddanelie, festnit his Speir, and buir the Captane bakward, quho becaus he wald not be taikin, was slain, and fyftie of his Cumpanie with him. They that war into the Hous, with sum utheris, war savit, and sent to *Dundie* to be keipit. This Mischance to the *Frenchemen*, maid thame to be moir circumspect in straying abroad in the Cuntrey, and so the puir Creatures gat sum Relief. To furneis the *Frenche* with Victuellis was apointit Captane *Cullan*, with two Schipis, quho travellit betwix the South schoir and *Kingborne* for that Purpois: For his Wages he spulyeit *Kingborne*, *Kirkcaldie*, and sa mekill of *Dysert*

as he micht. For Remedie quhairof, war apointit two Schipis from *Dundie*; *Andrew Sands*, a stoute Man and fervent in the Caus of Religion, was the principall. This same Tyme arryvit the *Martyris*, quho without Delay landit himself, his Coffris, and the principall Gentlemen that war with him at *Leythe*, leaving the rest in the Schipis till better Oportunitie. Bot the said *Andrew* and his Cumpanion striking Saill, and making as they wald Anker hard betyid thame, burdit thame bothe, and caryit thame to *Dundie*. In thame war gotten sum Hors, and mekill Harneis, with sum uther Triffellis, bot of Money we hard not. Heirat the *Frenche* offendit, avowit the Distructioun of Sanct *Androis* and *Dundie*, and so upoun ane *Monunday* in the Morning, the 23d of *Januare*, they merchit from *Dysert*, and passit the Water of *Levin*, evir keiping the Sey-coast, by Refloun of thare Schipis and Victuells, as said is. About twell Hours they espyit Schipis, (quhilk war sein that Morning by us that war upoun the Land, bot war not knawin) Monsieur d'*Osell* affirmit thame to be *Frenche* Schipis, and so the Souldiours triumpheit, schot thare Voley for Salutatioun, and merched fordward unto *Kincraig*, feiring no Resistance.

Bot schort efter the *Inglish* Shipis met with Captane *Cullen*, and seasit him and his Schipis, quhilk maid thame a litill to muis. Bot suddanely came Mr. *Alexander Wodde*, quho had bene upoun the Admirall, and assured Monsieur d'*Osell*, that they war *Inglishemen*, and that they war the Foir-rydaris of a gritter Number that followed, quho wer sent for Support of the Congregatioun. Thare micht have bene sein the Ryving of a Baird, and micht have bene hard sick Despyte, as cruell Men uss to spew furthe, quhen God bryddilles thair Fury. Wearines and the Nicht constrayned thame to ludge thare; they sleiped scarfly, becaus thair Schipis war taiken, in the quhilkis wer thair Victuells and Ordinance, quhilk they intended to have placed in Sanct *Androis*. They thamefelfis durst not stray abroad to seik, and the Laird of *Weimis* Cariage, quhilk lykways was cuming with *Furneissing* unto thame, was stayit; and tharefoir bytymis in the Morning they reteired towardis *Kinghorne*, and maid more Expeditioun in one Day in returning, than they did in two in merching fordward. The Storme, quhilk had continewed neir the Space of a Monethe, brak in the very Tyme of thair reteiring; quhairby mony thocht thay sould have bein stayed, till that ressonabill Company mycht have bene assembled to have fochten thame; and for that Purpois did *William Kirkcaldie* cutte the Brig of *Tullibodye*. Bot the *Frenche*, expert yneuche in sick Factis, tuk down a Ruffe of a Paroche Kirk, and maid a Brig over the said Water, called *Dovane*; and so they eschaiped, and came to *Stirling*, and thairefter to *Leythe*: Yet in thair Returne they lost divers, among quhome thare was one quhois miserable End we man rehers. As the *Frenche* spullyed the Cuntrey in thair returning, ane Captane or Souldiour, we cannot tell, bot he had a reid Clocke and a gilt Murriow, enterit upoun a pure Woman, that dwelt in the *Quhytbyd*, and began to spoille. The pure Woman offerit unto him sick Breid, as sche had redy preparied, bot he, in na Wayis tharewith content, wald have the Meill and a litill salt Beif, quhilk the pure Woman had to sustein hir awn Lyif, and the Lyves of hir pure Childrein; nouthir could Teirs nor pitifull Words mitigate the merciles Man, bot he wald have quhatsoever he micht cary. The pure Woman perceaving him so bent, and that he stoupit down in hir Tub, for the taiking furth of sick Stuffe as was within it, first coupit up his Heilles, so that his Heid went down: And thairefter, quhidder be himself, or if any uther

Cumpanie came to helpe hir, bot thare he endit his unhapie Lyif; God so punefching his cruil Hairt, quho culd not spair a miserable Woman in that Extremity. *Lat all sick Souldiours recave sick Reward (O Lord) feing that thou art the Revenger of the oppreffit.*

And now becaus, that from this Tyme forward, frequent Mentioun will be maid of the comfortable Supporte, that we in our grittest Extremity receaved, be God's Providence from our Nychbours of *England*; we think it expedient simply to declair, by quhat Instrumentis that Matter was first moved, and by quhat Meanis it came to pafs, that the Quein and Counsaill of *England* schew thamefelvis so favourable unto us.

As *Johne Knox* had foirwairnit us, by his Letteris from *Geneva*, of all Dangeris that he foirfaw, to infew our Interpryis; so quhen he came to *Deip*, myndfull of the same, and revolving with himself what Remedie God wald pleis to offer, he tuk the Bauldnes to wryte to Sir *William Cicill* Secretary of *England*, withe quhom the said *Johne* had bein befoir familiarlie acquaintit, intending thairby to renew Acquaintance, and so to oppin farther of his Mynd. The Tenour of his first Letter followis.

The Spirit of Jugement, Wisdome and Sanctificatioun, I wifche unto yow by Jefus Chrift.

AS I have no Pleasour with long wryting to troubill yow (Rycht Honorable) whose Mynd I know to be occupied with maist grave Materis, sa mynd I not gritlie to labour by long Preface to conciliat your Favours, whiche I suppois I have alreddie (howsoever Rumours brute the contrarie) as it becometh ane Member of Christis Bodie to have of ane uther. The Contentis tharefore of these my Presents fall be absolved in two Points. In the former, I purpois to dischaarge in breve Words my Conscience towardis yow: And in the uther, sumquhat muist I speik, in my awin Defence, and in Defence of that pure Flock of late assembled in the maist godlie reformed Church and Citie of the World, *Geneva*. To yow, Sir, I say, that as from God ye have receavit Lyif, Wisdome, Honours, and this present Estait in the whiche now yow stand, so aucht yow wholie to imploy the same to the Advancement of his Glorie, who onelie is the Auctor of Life, the Fontane of Wisdome, and who most assuredlie doth and will honour and glorifie thame, that with simple Haintis do glorifie hime; which allace in Tymes past yow have not done, bot being overcum with comoun Iniquitie, yow have followit the Warld in the Way of Perdition: For to the suppressing of Christis trew Evangell, to the erecting of Idolatrie, and to the schedding of the Blude of Godis maist deir Childrein, have yow by Silence consentit and subscryvit. This your maist horribill Defectioun from the Treuthe knawin, and once professit, hathe God to this Day mercitullie spair ed. Yet to Manis Jugement he hathe utterlie forgottin and pardonit the same: He hathe not intreated yow as he hathe done uthers (of lyk Knawlege) whome in his Anger (but yit moif justlie according to thare Desertis) he did schortelie stricke efter thare Defectioun. Bot yow, giltie in the same Offences, hathe he fosterit and preservit, as it war in his awin Bosome, during the Tyme of that most miserable Thraldome of that professit Enemie of God, mischevous *Marie*. And now hathe he set yow at suche Libertie, as the Furie of Gods Enemies cannot hurt yow, except that willinglie against his

his honour, yow tak Plesour to conspire with thame. As the Benefite whiche yow have receavit is grit, so most Gods Justice require of yow a thankfull Hairt; for seing that his Mercie hathe spairit yow, being Trator to his Majestie; seing farther, that amongs your Enemies he hathe preservit yow; and last, seing, that yow, worthie of Hell, he hathe promotit yow to Honours, and Dignitie, of yow must he require (because he is just) earnest Repentance for your former Defectioun, ane Hairt myndfull of his mercifull Providence, and a Will so reddy to advance his Glorie, that evidentlie it may appeir, that in vane yow have not received these Graces of God; to Performance quhareof, of Necessitie it is, that carnall Wisdome and warldly Pollicie (to whiche bothe yow ar bruited to muche inclined) geve Place to Gods simple and naiked Treuthe: Very Love compellis me to say, That excepte the Spirit of God purge your Hairt from that Vennome, whiche your Evis have sein to have bene Destruction to uthers, that yow fall not long eschape the Rewarde of Dissemblers. Call to mynd what yow hard proclaimed, in the Chapell of Sanct James, when this Verse of the first Psalm was intreated, *Not so, O Wicked, not so, but as the Dust which the Wynd tossethe*, &c. And consider, that now yow travell in the same Way whiche then they did occupie; planely to speik now ar yow in that Estait and Credite, in the whiche yow fall eyther comforte the sorrowfull and afflictit for Rychteousnes Saik, or ellis yow fall molest and repugne the Spirit of God speaking in his Messengers. The Comforters of the afflicted for Godlines, have Promise of Comfort in thare grittest Necessities; bot the Troublers of Gods Servants (how contemned that evir they appeir before the World) ar threatned to leive thare Names in Execration to the Posterities following. The Exemples of the ane and the uther ar not onelie evident in Scriptures, bot also have bene lately manifested in *England*. And this is the Conclusioun of that, whiche to yourself, I say; except that in the Caus of Christs Evangell, ye be found simple, sinceir, fervent, and unfayned, yow fall taist of the same Coupe, which politick Heids have drunken in before yow.

The uther Point concerning myself, and that pure Flock now desperit, and as I heir say, rudelie intreated, is this. By divers Messengers I have requestit suche Privileges as *Turkis* comonlie do grant to Men of everie Natioun, *to wit*, That Fredome sould be grantit unto me peaceablie to travell throuche *England*, to the end that with gritter Expedition I might repaire towards my awn Cuntrey, quhilk now begins to thirst for Christs Treuthe. This Request I thoct so resonabill, that almost I had entered in the Realme, without Licence demanded; and yet I understode that it hath bene so rejected, that the Solistars thareof did hardlie eschape Imprisonment, and sum of that pure Flocke I heir to be so extremelie handled, that thos that most cruellie have sched the Blood of Gods most dear Children finds this Day amongs yow greater Favors then they do. Allace, this appeareth muche to repugne to Christiane Cherity; for whatsoever have bene my Offence, this I feir not to affirme in thare Caus, that if any whiche have suffered Exylle in these maist dolorous Days of Persecutioun, deserve Prays and Comendatioun, for Peace, Concorde, sober and quiet Leving, it is they. And as for me, how criminall that ever I be in Gods Presens, for the Multitude of my Sinnes; yet before his Justice-fate I have a Testimony of a clere Conscience, that since my first Acquaintance with *England*, willingly I never offended Per-

foun within it, (excepte in oppin Chayre, to reprove that whiche God condemnethe, can be juged Offence) But I have, say yow, writtin a tressonable Buke against the Regiment and Impyre of Women. If that be my Offence, the pure Flocke is innocent (except suche as this Day do fastest cry Tressoun) For Sir (in Gods Presens I wryte) withe none in that Cumpanie did I consult before the finischnig of the same. And therefore in Christs Name I requyre, that the Blame may ly upoun me allone. The wrytting of that Buke will I not deny; but to prove it tressonabill, I think it fall be hard; For Sir, No more do I dout of the Treuth of my principall Propositioun, then that I doubt that this was the Voice of God, whiche first did pronounce this Penalty against Wemen, *In Dolour shall thou bear thy Children*. It is bruited, That my Buke is, or fall be written against. Gif so be, Sir, I greatly feir, That Flatterers fall rather hurt than helpe the Matter which they wald seem to mantein; for except my Errour be planely schawin and confuted be better Authority than by suche Lawis as from Year to Year may and do change, I dar not promeis Sylence in so weachtie a Busines; least that in so doing, I fall appear to betray the Verity, quhilk is not subject to the Mutability of the Tyme. And if any think me ether Enemy to the Persoun, or yet to the Regiment of hir, quhom God hathe now promotit, they ar utterlie deceived of me, for the miraculous Work of God, comforting his afflicted by ane infirme Veschell, I do acknowlege, and the Power of his most potent Hand (raysing up quhome best pleasith his Mercy, to suppres suche as fight against his Glory) I will obey, albeit that bothe Nature, and Gods maist perfect Ordinance repugne to suche Regiment. More planely to speak, gif Quene *Elizabeth* fall confes, that the extraordinary Dispensatioun of Gods grit Mercy, maketh that lawfull unto hir, whiche both Nature and Gods Law do deny unto all Wemen; then fall none in *England* be more willing to mantean hir lawfull Authority then I fall be: Bot if (Gods wondrous Worke set asyde) sche ground (as God forbid) the Justnes of hir Titill upoun Consuetude, Laws or Ordinances of Men: Then I ame assured, that as suche foolische Presumptioun doethe heichelie offend Gods supream Majesty; so do I greitly feare, that hir Ingratitude fall not lang want Punischment. And this in the Name of the eternell God, and of his Sone Jesus Christ (before quhom bothe yow and I fall stand to mak Account of all Counsaill we geve) I requyre yow to signifie unto hir Grace in my Name; adding, That onelie Humilitie and Dejectioun of himself before God, fall be the Firmity and Stability of hir Throne, quhilk I know fall be assaltit mo Ways then one. If this ye concelle from hir Grace, I will mak it patent to the Warld that this far I have communicat with yow, haveing also farder to speik, if my weak Jugement may be hard. Allace, Sir, is my Offence (althocht in that Tyme, and in that Matter, I had writtin ten Buikes) so heynous, that I cannot have Licence by Preacheing of Christ Jesus, to refresche these thrifty Saulls, which long have lacked the Water of Lyfe. No Man will I presently accus, but I greatly feir, that *the Leprous have no Pleasour to behald fair Faces in the cleir Glas*. Lat no Man be affrayed, that I requir to frequent the Court, eyther yet of ony Continewance to remane in *England*; bot onely thrifts, in passing throuche to my awn native Cuntrey, to communicat with yow, and sum uthers, suche Things as willingly I list not to comit to Paper, neyther yet to the Credite and Knowlege of many. And then in the North Parts to offer Gods Favours, to suche as I suppois do murne for thare Defectioun. And this, I trust, fall be no
les

les profitable to hir Grace, and to all Godly within *Ingland*, then it fall be pleising to me in the Flesche.

This is the thrid Tyme, that I have begged I iccerce to visit the hungry and thrifty among yow, whiche if now be denyed, as befoir God, I have a Testimony, that so muche I seik not myself, as the Advancement of Christ's Evangel, and the Comfort of suche, as whome I know afflicted; so fall the Godly understand, that *Ingland*, in refusing me, refuseth a Freind, how small that ever the Power be. The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jesus move your Hairt deiply, to consider your Dewty unto God, and the Estait of that Realme, in whiche by his Apointment ye now serve.

From Deip the 10. of
Aprile 1559.

Yours to command in Godlines.

JOHNE KNOX.

To this Letter was no Answer maid; for schort thairefter the said *Johne Knox* maid fordward to *Scotland* be Sey, quhair he landed the thrid of *Maie*; and had sick Succes as in the secund Buik is declaired. The said *Johne* being in Sanct *Androis*, efter *Couper-mure*, entered in deip Discours with the Laird of *Grange*; the Dangeris war evident, bot the Support was not easie to be sein. Etter mony Wordis *Johne Knox* bursted futh as follows. *If Ingland wald foinsie their awn Comoditie, yea, if they wald consider the Dangers, quhair in they thameselfis stand, they wald not suffer us to periscke in this Quarrell; for France hes decreit noles the Conqueis of Ingland then of Scotland.* Etter long Restoning, it was concluded betwix thame two, that Support shuld be craved of *Ingland*: And for that Purpois the said Laird of *Grange* fist wait to Sir *Harie Percie*, and efter raid frome *Edinburghe* and spak with him, to quhem he maid to plane Demonstratioun of the Danger appering to *Ingland*, that he tuk upoun him to wryit to Secretary *Cecill*, quho with Expedition returned Answer back agane, geving him to understand, that our Interpryis altogether mistyked not the Countaill, albeit they desyred farder Relolutioun of the principall Lordis. Quhilk Thing understude, it was concluded to wryte unto him plainly our haille Purpois. The Tenour of our Letter was this.

The first Letter to Sir Williame Cicill from the Lordis of the Congregation.

THE Contentis of a Letter directed by yow, Richt Worschipfull, to Sir *Harie Percie*, was notified unto us, by Maister *Kirkcaldie* of *Grange*, this *Sonday* the 25th of *Julii*, by the whiche we perceave, that the said *Grange*, of Zeall and saythfull Hairt, whiche he beirethe to the Furtherance of this our grit and (befoir the World) dangerous Interpryis, hes travelled with yow, as with ane unfayned Favcurer of Christ's trew Religioun, and of the Liberty of our Cuntry, for Knowlege of your Myndes towards us, in case we be assaltd be ony forane Invasioun, or gritter Power then we be weill abill to resist. Your comfortable Answer to this Questicoun we have considered, to our Joy and Comforte, as also your Motiouns, and quhat ye demand; to wit, Quhat we, the Protestants within this Realme, do purpois? To what End we meane to direct our Actiouns? How we will, and how we fall be abill to accomplishe the same? Quhat Doubts we have of anie adverlarie Power?

And *finallie*, in cais Support fould be sent from yow, quhat Maner ane Amity might enfew betwix these two Realmes *&c.*? To the whiche in breve we answer, That our haill and onely purpos (as knaweth God) is to advance the Glory of Christ Jesus, the trew Preiching of his holie Evangell, within this Realme; to remove Superstitioun, and all Sort of externall Idolatry; to brydill the Fury (to our Power) of these that cruelly heirtofoir have sched the Blude of our Brethrein; and to our uttermost to mantein the Liberty of this our Cuntrey, from the Tyranny and Thraldome of Strangears, as God fall assist us. How we be abill to accomplishe these Premises, is to us unknowin; onely our Hope is gude that he that hath begun this gude Work in us, and hath by his Power to this Hour confounded the Faces of our Adversaries, will performe the same to his Glory, whiche cheifly we seik in this our Interpryis: Becaus we suppois, that nether our present Danger, nether yit the warlyik Preparatioun, whiche *France* makethe against us, be hid from yow nor the Counsaill, we omit that Parte. As twirching the Assurance of a perpetuall Amity to stand betwix these two Realmes; as no *erthely* Thing of us is more desyred, so crave we of God to mak us the Instruments, by whiche this unnaturall Debat, whiche long hath continewd betwix us, may once be composed, to the Prayse of God's Name, and to the Comfort of the Faythfull in both Realmes. And if your Wisdomes can soirsie and advyse the Meanis and Assurances, how the same may be brocht to pass, perswaid yourselfis, not onely of our Consents and Assistance, bot also of our Constancy, as Men may promise, to our Lyves End; yea, and farder of a Charge and Comandment, by us to be left to our Posterity, that the Amity betwix us, in God contracted and begun, may be by thame keiped inviolat for ever. As for the revolting from yow to *France*; whiche yow seim to feir and suspect, at thair Plessour; we utterly adhore that Infidelity; for now doerh the Voice of God continewally found in our Earis, *That suche as prophane the terribill and feirfull Name of our God, shall not eschape Vengeance.* Our Confederacy, Amity and League fall not be lyik the Pactionis maid be warldly Men, for warldly Profeit; bot as we require it for God's Caus, so will we incall his Name for the Observatioun of the same. Moreover, if we fould laik any Thing to temporall Comodity, yit fould we never have Occasioun to return to thame; for we now feill and perceave the Weight of thair Yock, and intendis, be the Grace of God, to cut away suche Instruments, as be quhome befoir this Realme was abused. Trew it is, that as yit we have maid no Mentioun of ony Change in Authority, nether yit ar we mynded to do ony suche Thing, till extreme Necessity compell us thareto. Bot seing it is more then evident, that *France* and the Quein Regent heir, with hir Preists, pretend nothing bot the suppressing of Christ's Evangell, the Ruyne of us, and the Subversioun of this pure Realme; comitting our Innocency to God, and to the Jugement of all godly and naturell Men, we ar determinat to seik the nixt Remedy, in whiche we hairtly desyre your Counsaill and Assistance. And this far we have interprysit, to mak yow participant of our Purpois; becaus in the said Letter, yow required of the said Mr. *Kirkcaldie* sum farther Assurance then his awn Word or Wrytting, whiche we dout not bot ye fall schortely receave from mo than from us. We dar no haistely mak the haill Assembly, nether of Lords, nether of Barrones, privy in this Cais, for Dangeris that may enfew, by Pollicy and Craft of the Adversaries; your Wisdomes, we dout not, will communicat these onely, with *suche as* yow know Favourers of *suche* ane godly Conjunction. It fould muche helpe in
our

our Opinioun, if the Preicheours bothe in Perswasoun and publick Prayeris (as ours do heir) wald commend the sam unto the Pepill. And thus, etter our humbill Comendatioun to the Quein's Majesty, quhois Rigne we desyre to be prosperous and lang, to the Glory of God, and Comforte of his Church, we hairtly comit yow to the Protectioun of the Omnipotent.

From *Edinburgh*, the 17. of *Julii* 1559.

With this our Letter, *Johne Knox* wrote two, ane to the said Secretary, and ane uther to the Queinis Majesty himself, in Tenour as efter follows.

Johne Knox his second Letter to Mr. Cicill, for Deliverance of ane uther to the Quein of Ingland.

With my humbill Comendation, pleis yow Sir, to deliver this uther Letter incloised to the Quein's Grace. It contineth in few and in simple words my Confessioun, quhat I think of hir Authority, how it is just, and quhat may mak it odious in God's Presens. I heir that thare is a Confutatioun, set furth in Print, against *The first Blast*. God grant, that the Wryttar have no more socht the Favours of this present Estait, no les the Glory of God, and the stabill Comodity of this Cuntrey, then did he, quho interpreysit in that *Blast*, to utter his Conscience. Quhen I sall have Tyme (whiche now is sumquhat precious unto me) to peruse that Work, I will communicat my Jugement with yow.

The Tyme is now, Sir, that all that eyther thrift Christ Jesus to rigne in this Ylle, or yit the Hairts of the Inhabitantis of the same, to be joyned together in Love unfayned, aucht rather to study, how the same might be brocht to pas, than vanely to travell for the Manteinance of that, quhareof already we have sein the Danger, and felt the Smart. If the most Parte of Women be wicked, and suche as willingly we wald not sould rigne over us: And if the maist Godly, and suche as have rare Graces be yit mortall, we ought to tak Heid, leif in establischeing one judged Godly and profitable to hir Cuntrey, we mak ane Entres and Titill to many, of quhome not onely sall the Truthe be impugned, bot also sall the Cuntrey be brocht in Bondage. God give yow, and uther Favouers of your Cuntrey, Eyes to soirsie, and Wisdome to avoyd the Dangeris appeiring.

By divers Letteris, I have required Licence to have visite the northe Partis of *Ingland*, bot as yit I have receaved no favourabill Answer. The longer, Sir, that it be delayed, the les Comfort sall the Faythfull thare receive, the weaker sall the Quein's Grace be. If I war not to hir Grace ane unfayned Freind, I wald not instantly beg suche Liberty, whiche to me I knaw sall neyther be profitable, nor pleising in the Flesche. The Estait of Thingis heir comoun, I dout not ye knaw: Sum Things I have (as oft I have writtin) quhilk gladly I wald communicate, whiche I mynd not to comit to Paper and Ink; find thairfor the Means, that I may speik with suche one, as yow will credite in all Thingis. *The Grace of the Lord Jesus rest with yow.*

I hairtly besече yow, to have my Service humbly commended to the Quein's Grace; adding, That quhosoever makethe me odious to hir Grace, seik-

ethe sumquhat besyds the Glory of God, and hir Graces Prosperity; and tharefoir cannot be assured and unfayned Freindis. From, &c.

The Letter sent be the saide *Johne*, to the Quein's Majesty of *England*, being incloised in the foirsaid Mr. *Cicillis* Letter.

To the Verteous and Godly Elizabethhe, by the Grace of God, Quein of England, &c. Johne Knox desyrethe the perpetuall Comforte of the Holie Spirit.

AS your Graces Displeasour against me, most unjustly conceived, hes bein, and is to my wretched Haire a Burden greavous, and almost intolerable; so is the Testimony of a cleir Conscience to me a Stay and Uphald, that in Disperatioun I sink not, how vehement that ever the Tentatiounis appear: For, in God's Prefens, my Conscience beirethe me Record, that maliciously, nor of Purpois, I never offended your Grace, nor your Realme: And tharefoir, howsoevir I be juged of Man, I am assured to be absolved of him, who onely knoweth the Secretis of Hairetis. I cannot deny the Wrytting of a Buik against the usurped Authority, and unjust Regiment of Women; nether yit am I mynded to reitreit, or call back any principall Point, or Proposition of the same, till Treuthe and Verity do farther appear. Bot quhy that either your Graice, or yit any suche as unfaynedlye favour the Liberty of *England*, be offended at the Author of suche a Worke, I can perceave no just Occasioun. For *first*, My Buik tuitched not your Graices Persone in speciall, neyther yit is it prejudiciall to any Liberty of the Realme, gif the Tyme of my Writting be indifferently considered. How culd I be Enemy to your Graices Persone, for Deliverance quhareof I did more study, and interpryse farther then any of thois that now accuis me? And, as concerning your Regiment, how could, or can I invy that? whiche most I have thristed, and for the whiche (as Oblivioun will suffer) I render Thankis unfaynedly unto God, that is, *That it hath pleisit him of his eternell Gudnes, to exalt your Heade (whiche sumtymes was in Danger) to the Manifestatioun of his Glorie, and Extirpatioun of Idolatry.* And as for my Offence, whiche I have comitted against *England*, eyther in wrytting that, or any uther Worke, I will not refuis, that moderat and indifferent Men juge and descerne betwix me and thois that accuis me, *to wit*, quhither of the Parties do most Hurt to the Liberty of *England*. I that affirme, *That no Woman may be exalted over any Realme, to mak the Libertie of the same thrall to a strange, proud and cruell Natioun*; or, *they that approve quhatsoevir pleises Princes for the Tyme.* If I wer alswieill dispoised to accuse, as sum of thame (to thair awn Schame) have declaired thamefelfis; I nothing dout, bot that in few Wordis I fall lat ressonabill Men understand, that some that this Day lawely crouche to your Grace, and labour to mak me odious in your Eyes, did, in your Adversitie, nether schaw thamefelfis faythfull Freindis to Grace, nether yit so loving and cairfull over thair awn native Cuntrey, as they wald be esteimed. Bot omitting the Accusatioun of otheris, for my awn Purgatioun, and your Graces Satisfactioun, I say, That nothing contained in my Buik, is nor can be prejudiciall to your Graces just Regiment, provyding that yow be not fund ingrate unto God, ingrate yow fall be proven, in the Presence of his Throne (howsoevir that Flatterars justifie your Factioun) if yow transfer the Glory of that Honour, whiche ye now stand in, to any uther Thing, then to the Dispensatioun of his Mercy, whiche onely makethe that lawfull to your Graice,

Graice, whiche Nature and Law denyethe to all Women. Nether wald I, that your Grace sould feir, that this your Humiliatioun befoir God schould in ony Cais infirme or waikin your Graces just and lawfull Authority befoir Men. Nay, Madame, suche unfayned Confessioun of God's Benefites receaved fall be the Establischement of the same, not onely to yourself, bot also to your Seid and Posterity: Where contrarywyse, a proud Conceate and Elevatioun of yourself, fall be the Occasioun, that your Rigne fall be unstabill, troublesum and schorte. God is Witnes, that unfaynedly I both love and reverence your Grace; yea, I pray, that your Rigne may be long, prosperous and quiet, and that for the Quietnes, which Christ's Memberis, befoir persecuted, have receaved under yow.

Bot if I sould flatter your Grace, I wer no Freind, bot a deceavable Traitor; and tharefore of Conscience I ame compelled to say, That nether the Consent of People, the Proces of Tyme, nor Multitude of Men, can establishe a Law whiche God fall approve; bot quhatsoever he approvethe by his eternell Word, that fall be approved, and quhatsoever he condemneth, fall be condemned, thoch all Men in Earthe wald hafard the Justificatioun of the same. And tharefore, Madame, the onely Way to retein and keip these Benefites of God, aboundantly of lait Days poured now upoun yow and upoun your Realme, is unfaynedly to rander unto God, to his Mercie, and undeserved Grace, the wholl Glory of this your Exaltatioun: Forget your Birthe and Tytill whiche thearupoun doth hing; and consider deiply, How for feir of your Lyte yow did declyne from God, and bow to Idolatry. Let it not appeir ane small Offence in your Eysis, that yow have declynit from Christ Jesus, in the Day of his Battell. Nether yet wald I that ye sould esteim that Mercie to be vulgare and comoun whiche yow have receaved, *to wit*, that God hath covered your former Offence, hathe preserved yow when yow war most unthankfull; and in the end, hes exaltit and raysit yow up, not onely from the Dust, bot also from the Ports of Deyth, to rulle above his People, for the Comtort of his Kirk. It apperteinethe to yow tharefore, to ground the Justice of your Authority, not upoun that Law, whiche from Yeir to Yeir doethe change, bot upoun the eternell Providence of him, who, contrair to Nature, and without your deserving, hathe this exaltit your Heid. If thus in Gods Presence ye humbill your self, as in my Haire I glorifie God for that rest grantit to his afflicted Flock within *England*, under yow a waik Instrument; so will I with Tounge and Pen justifie your Authoritie and Regiment, as the Holie Ghost hathe justified the same in *Debora*, that bleffit Mother in *Israel*. Bot gif the Premises (as God forbid) neglectit yow fall begin to brag of your Birthe, and to build your Auctoritie and Regiment upoun your awn Law, (flatter yow who so list) your Felicitie fall be schorte. Interpret my rude Words in the best Parte, as writtin be him, who is no Enemie to your Grace.

By divers Letters I have requirit Licence to visite your Realme, not to seik myself, nether yet my awn Eas or Commoditie; whiche geve ye now refus and deny, I must remit my Caus to God, adding this for Conclusioun, that comounly it is sein, *That Jucke as refus the Counsaill of the faytfull (appeir it never so schairpe) ar compellit to follow the Deceate of Flattereris to thair awin Perdition*. The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jesus move your Haire to understand quhat is said, gif unto yow the Discretioun of Spirits, and so reull yow in all your Actiouns and Interpreysis, that in yow God may be glorifeit, his Kirk edifeit, and yow your self, as a lively Member of the same, may be

an Example of Vertue and godly Lyfe to all uthers. So be it. Of *Edinburghe* the 28. Day of *Julii* 1559.

Thir Letters war directit to *Alexander Rubytlaw*, a Man that oft hes hazardit himself, and all that he had, for the Caus of God, and for his Freinds being in Danger for the same Caus. Within a Day or twa efter the Departure of the said *Alexander*, thare come a Letter fra Sir *Harie Percie* to *Johne Knox*, requyring him to mete him at *Anwick* the thrid of *August*, for suche Affairs as he wald not write nor yet comunicat with ony, bot with the said *Johne* himself. Quhill he was preparing himself for his Journey (for Secretary *Cicill* apointed to have met him at *Stamfourd*) the *Frenchemen* came furiously furthe of *Dumbar*, of Purpois to have suppresit the Lords being in *Edinburghe*, as in the secund Buik before is declared, quhilk stayit the Journey of the said *Johne*, till that God had delivered the Innocents from that grit Danger, and then was he, having in his Cumpany, Mr. *Robert Haumiltoun* Minister of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, directed from the Lords, with full Comissiou and Instructiouns to expone thare haill Cais and Estait quharein they stude. Their Passage was from *Pettinweim* by Sey; they arryvit at *Holie-iland*, and being adverteisit that Sir *Harie Percie* was absent from the Northe; they addreffit thamefelfis to Sir *James Croftis*, then Captane of *Berwick*, and Wardane of the Eist-merches of *England*. They schew unto him thair Credite and Comissiou; he receaved thame gently, and comfortit thame with his faythfull Counsaill, whilk was, That thay sould travell no farther, nouthir yet sould they be sein in publick, and that for divers Consideratiouns. *First*, The Quene Regent had hir Espyellis in *England*. *Secundlie*, The Quene and the Counsaill that favourit our Actioun, wald that all Things sould be secrete sa lang as they micht. And *last*, (said he) I think it not expedient, that in sick Raretie of Preicheours, ye twa be ony lang Tyme absent from the Lords. And tharefore (said he) ye sall do best to comit to wrytting your haill Mynd and Credite, and I sall promeis to yow upoun my Honour, to have Answer at yow, and at the Lords agane, before that ye yourfelfis can be at *Londone*. And quhare that your Letters cannot expres all Things so fullie, as your Presence culd, I sall supplie the same, not onelie be my Pen, bot also be my awn Prefens, to sikk as will informe the Consaill sufficiently of all Things. The said *Johne* and Mr. *Robert* followit his Counsaill (for it was faythfull and proceidit of Love at that Tyme;) they taryed with him verie secretly within the Castell of *Berwick* two Days. In quhilk Tyme returnit *Alexander Rubytlaw* foirsaid, with Answer to the Lords, and to Maister *Knox*. The Tennour of quhilk Letter was this.

Maister Cicillis Letter to Johne Knox.

Maister Knox,

NOn est masculus neque femina, omnes enim (ut ait Patulus) unum sumus in Christo Jesu: Benedictus vir qui confidit in Domino, & erit Dominus fiducia ejus. I have receavit your Letters, at the same Tyme that I thocht to have sein yourself about *Stampfourd*. Quhat is now hitherto the Caus of of your let, I knaw not. I forbeir to discend to the Bottome of Things, untill I may confer with suche one as yow are. And tharefor gif your
Chance

Chance fall be heirefter to cum hither. I wische yow furnished with goode Credite, and Power, to mak goode Resolutioun. Althocht my Answer to the Lords of the Congregation be sumquhat obscure, yet upoun farther Understanding yow fall find the Mater plain. I neid to wische yow no more Prudence then Gods Grace, quhareof God send yow plentie. And so I end.

From *Oxford* the 28.
of *Julii* 1559.

Sic subscribitur,

Youris as a Member of the same Bodie in Christ,

M. CICILL.

Albeit the said *Jobne* receavit this Letter at *Berwick*, yet wald he answer nathing till that he had spokin the Lords quhome he fand at *Striveling*, and unto quhome he deliverit the Answer sent from the Counsaill of *England* (for *Alexander Rychylaw* tuk Seiknes betwix *Berwick* and *Edinburghe*, and was troubled by the Lord *Seytoun*, as in the former Buik is declairit;) the Answer send be Mr. *Cicill* was so generall, that many amongs us dispairit of ony Comforte to cum from that Cuntrey. And tharefor wer determined that they wald requiest no farther. *Jobne Knox* labourit in the contrary; but he culd prevaill no farder, bot that he sould have Licence and Libertie to wryit as he thocht best. And so tuke he upoun him to answer for all, in Forme as followis.

Answer to Mr. Cicillis Wryting.

TWO Causes impedit me (Rycht Worschipfull) to visite yow at any Parte in *Ingland*. Formar, No Significatioun of your Mynd and Plefour was maid to me, for onely did Sir *Harie Percie* will me to cum and speik him, which conveniently at that Tyme I could not do, be Resloun that the *Frenchemen* (whiche was the secund Caus of my stay) did then most furiously pursew us, quhill our Cumpany was disperfed; and then durst I not be absent for divers Inconveniencys: Nether did I think my Presence with yow greatly necessare, considdering that the Mater (whiche I most desyred) was opened and proponed. To the whiche I wald have wisched, That a more plain and speciall Answer sould have bene made. For albeit Mr. *Quhytlaw*, by his Credite, Mr. *Kirkcaldie* by his Letter, and I, bothe by Letters and by that whiche I had receaved from Sir *James Croftis*, did perswaid your gude Mynds; yet culd not the Counsaill be utherwys perswaded, bot that this Alteratioun in *France* had altered your former Purpos. It is not unknawn, what Favour we thrie do beir to *Ingland*: And tharefore I wische, that rather your Pen, than our Credite, or anye Thing writtin to anye of us, sould assure the Lords and uthers, of your gude Mynd (who ar now in Number bot five hundreth.) Onless that Money be furnished without Delay to pay the Souldiours for thair Service bypast, and to retein an uther thousand Footmen, with thrie hundreth Horsmen, till sum Stay be had in this Danger, these Gentilmen will be compellit to leif the Feilds. I ame assured, as *Flesche may be of Flesche*, that some of thame will tak a veray hard Lyfe, before that evir they compone, eyther with the Quene Regent, eyther yet with *France*: Bot this

H h h

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I dar not promis of all, onles in yow they see a greater Forwardnes. To sup-
 porte us will appear excessive, and to break Promes withe *France* will appear
 dangerous. Bot the Los of Expenses, in my Opinioun, ought not to be e-
 stemed from the first Payment, neyther yet the Danger from the first Appear-
 ance. *France* is most fervent to conques us, and avowethe, that against us
 they will spend thair Crown (so did my awn Ears hear *Buttincourt* brag.)
 Bot most assuredly I know, That onles by us they thocht to mak ane Entres
 to yow, they wald not buy our Poverty at that Pryce. They labour to corrupt
 sum of our great Men by Money (and sum of our Number are pure, as be-
 fore I wrait, and cannot serve without support) sum they threatin, and a-
 gainst uthers they have rayst up a Party in thare awn Cuntrey. In this
 mene Tyme, gif yow ly by as Newtralls, what will be the End yow may
 easely conjecture. And tharefore, Sir, in the Bowells of Christ Jesus, I re-
 quyre yow to mak plane Answer, Quhat the Gentillmen heir may lippen to,
 and quhat the Quenes Majesty will do, may be without Delay put in Execu-
 tioun. Rest in Christ Jesus. Of Sanct *Johnestoun* the 28. Day of, &c.

Answer with grit Expeditioun was returned to this Letter, desyring sum
 Men of Credite to be send fra the Lords to *Berwick*, for the receaving of
 Money for the first Supporte, with promeis, that if the Lords of the Con-
 gregatioun ment no utherwayes then before they had writtin, and if they
 wald enter in League with honest Conditouns, they sould nouter want Men
 nor Money to thair just Caus. Upoun this Answer, was directit fra the Lords
 to *Berwick*, Mr. *Henry Balnaveis*, a Man of gude Credite in baythe the Re-
 almes, quha suddanelly returnit with sick a Soum of Money as servit all the
 publi& Affaires till *November* next; quhen *Johne Cockburne* of *Ormistoun* being
 sent for the secund Support, and reslaving the same, unhappely fell in the
 Hands of the Erle *Bothwell*, was wounded, tane and spolyeit of a grit
 Soume, upoun quhilk Mischance followit all the rest of our Troubles before
 reherfed.

In the Secund Buik preceiding, we have declared how Secretary *Lething-
 oun* was directed to *England*. Bot one Thing we have before past by. In
 that our grittest Dijectioun this Ordour was tane, that the Duckes Grace, the
 Erle of *Glencairne*, Lord *Boyde*, Lord *Uchiltrie*, and thair Freinds sould re-
 mane togidder at *Glasgow*, for Comforte of the Cuntrey, and for geving of
 Answers as Occasioun sould requyre; and that the Erle of *Arrane*, the Lord
James, the Erle of *Rothois*, the Maister of *Lindesay*, and thair Adherents,
 sould continew together within *Fyfe* for the same Caus, that Adverteisments
 nicht go fra the ane to the uther, as neid required. In the Negotiatioun of
 Secretary *Lethingtoun* with the Quene and Counsaill of *England* (in the quhilk
 he travelled with na les Wisdome and Faythfulnes, than happy Succes) mony
 Things occurrit, that required the Resolutioun of the haill Lords. Amongis
 quhilk thare was ane quhareof before na mentioun is maid.

Efter that the Quene and Counsaill of *England* had concludit to send thair
 Army into *Scotland* for expelling of the *Freuche*, the Duck of *Northfolk* was
 sent to *Berwick* with full Instructioun, Power and Comissioun to do in all
 Things concerning the present Affaires of *Scotland*, as nicht the Quene and
 Counsaill in thair awn proper Persons do. Heirupoun the said Duck requirit
 sick a Parte of the Lords of *Scotland*, as had Power and Comissioun fra the
 haill, to meit him at sick Day and Place as pleisit thame to apoint. This
 Ad.

Adverteifment come firft to *Glasgow* by the Means of the Maifter of *Maxwell*. Quhilk red and confidderit be the Lords, Conclufioun was tane that they fould meit at *Carleill*, and that was the Procurement of the faid Maifter of *Maxwell* for his Eas. Heirupoun war Letters directit fra the Lords lying in *Glasgow*, to Lord *James*, requiring him with all poffibill Expedition to repair towards thame, for the Purpois foirfaid. Quhilks Letters red and advysit upoun, Commandment was gevin to *Johne Knox* to mak the Answer. For fo it was appointed at the Divifioun of the faid Lords, that he fould Answer for the Parte of thame that war in *Fyfe*; and Mr. *Henrie Balnaveis* for the Parte of thame that abaid at *Glasgow*. The faid *Johne Knox* answerit as followes.

To the Lord Daik's Grace, and the Lordis at Glasgow,

EFter humill Commendatioun of my Service: Albeit I have writtin offer nor anes to Mr. *Henrie Balnaveis*, quhat Things heve mislykit me in your flaw Proceedings, asweill in supporting your Brethren, quha mony Days have fufteined extreim Dangers in thefe Parts, as in making Provisioun how the Enemy mycht have bene anoyit, quho lay in few Numbers, neir to your Quarters in *Striveling*. And in making lykwys Provisioun, how the Expectatioun of your Freinds (who lang have awaitit one your Answer) mycht have bene fatisfieit. Albeit, I fay, that of thefe Things I have befoir complainit, yet, of very Conscience, I ame compellit to fignifie unto your Honours, that unles of thir and uther Inormities I fall efpy füm Redres, I ame affured, that the End fall be fick, as godly Men fall murne, that a gude Caus fall perifche for lacke of Wifdome and Deligence. In my laft Letters to Mr. *Henrie Balnaveis*, I declairit, That your efpeciall Freinds in *England* wonderit, that na gritter Expedition is maid, the Wechte of the Matter being confidderit. If the Falt be in my Lord Ducke and his Freinds, I wrate alfo, that the gritteft Lois wald be his and thares in the End. And now I cannot ceis, bothe to wonder and lament, that your haill Counsaill was fo deftitute of Wifdome and Difcreatioun, as to charge this pure Man, the Pryour, to cum to yow to *Glasgow*, and thairefter to go to *Carleill*, for fick Affaires as ar to be intreated. Was thare nane amongs yow that did foirfie quhat Inconveniencies mycht infew his Abfence from thir Partis? I ceis to fpeik of the Dangers in the Enemy. Your Freinds have lyne in the Firthe now fyltein Days bypaft, (quhat was thair formar Travell is not unknowen) they have nevir recevit Comforte of ony Man (him onely exceptit) mair than thay had lyne upoun the Coaft of thair Mortall Enemy. Do ye not confidder, that fick a Cumpany fall neid Comfort and Provisioun from Tyme to Tyme? Remove him, and quho abydethe that cairfully will travell in that or in ony uther wechty Matters in thir Parts? Did ye not farder confidder, That he had begun to medle with the Gentilmen, quho had declairit thamefelfis Unfreinds heirtofore; and alfo that Ordour wald have bene tane with fick as hes bene neutrell; now be Refioun of his Abfence, the one fall efchape without Admonitioun, and the other fall be at thair former Liberty. I ame affured, that the Enemy fall not flip, nether in that, nor in uther Affaires, to undermynd yow and your haill Caus, and fpecially to hurt this Parte of the Cuntreye, to revenge thair former Folly. If nane of thir formar Caufes fould have moved yow to have confidderit, that fick a Journey, at fick Tyme, was not meit for him, neyther yet for thame that muft accompany him: Yet

discrete Men wald have considderit, that the Men that have lyne in thair Jackis, and travellit thair Horfes continewally the Space of a Monethe, requirit sum langer rest, bayth to thame selfis, bot especially to thair Horfes, before they had bene chargit to sick a Jorney, then yet thay have had. The Pryour may for Satisfactioun of your unressonabill Mynds, interpreyis the Purpois; bot I ame assured, he fall not be abill to have sex honest Men in all *Fyif* to accompany him; and how that outhir stands with your Honours, or with his Saifty, juge ye your selfis. Bot yet wonder it is, that ye did not considder, to quhat Pane and Faschery fall ye put your Freinds of *England*, especially the Duck of *Northfolk* and his Counsaill, quhome ye fall caus to travell the maist wearisom and fischeous Gait that is in all *England*. In my Opinioun, quosoever gave yow that Counsaill, outhir wantit rycht Jugement in Things to be done, or ells had over mekill respect to his awn Ease, and oversmall Regard to the Travell and Danger of thair Brethrein. A comoun Caus requiris a comoun Concurrence, and that every Man beir his Burthein proportionably. Bot proudent and indifferent Men espy the contrary in this Caus, especially of lait Days; for the waikest ar most greavously chargit, and thay to quhome the Matter maist belangs, and to quhome justly grittest Burdein is dew, ar exeimit in a maner, bayth fra Travell and Expenses. To speik the Matter plainly, wys Men wonder quhat my Lord Duckes Freinds do meane, that they ar sa slake and backward in this Caus. In uther Actiouns they have bene juged stout and fordward, and in this, quhilk is the grittest that evir he or they had in hand, they apeir destitute bayth of Grace and Curage. I ame not ignorant that thay that ar maist inward of his Counsaill, ar Enemies to God, and therefore cannot bot be Enemies to his Caus. But wonder it is, That he and his uther Freinds sould not considder, that the Tinsell of this godly Interpreys, fall be the ruitting out of thame and thair Posterity fra this Realme. Considdering, my Lords, that by God's Providence ye ar joynit with the Duckes Grace in this comoun Caus, admonishe him planely of the Danger to cum; will him to beware of the Counsaill of thame that ar planely infectit withe Superstitioun, with Pryde, and with the Vennome of particular Profeit: Quhilk gif he do not at your Admonitioun, he fall smarte before he be ware. And gif ye ceis to put him in mynd of his Dewty, it may be that for your Silence ye fall drink sum Portioun of the Plague with him. Tak my plane speiking, as proceiding from him that is not your Enemie, being also uncertane, quhen I fall have Occasioun to wryte heirefter. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ assist yow with the Spirit of Wisdome and Fortitude, that to his Glory, and to your Lordships and our comoun Comforte, ye may performe that Thing quhilk godly anes was begun. *Amen.*

From St. *Androis* the 6th of
Februaire in haist 1559.

Sic subscribitur,

Your Graces to comand in Godlines.

JOHNE KNOX.

Upoun the Receat of this Letter, and Consultatioun had thairupoun, new Conclusioun was tane, *to wit*, That they wald visite the said Duke of *Northfolk* at *Berwick*, quhare he was. Thus far have we degressit from the Styll
of

of the History, to lat the Posterity that fall follow understand, by quhat Instru-
ments God wrocht the Familiarity and Freindschip that efter we fand in *Ing-*
land. Now we return to our former History.

The Pairtis of *Fyfe*, set at Fredome from the Bondage of those bluidy
Wormes, solemne Thankis wer gevin in Sanct *Androis* unto God, for his
mychty Deliverance. Schort efter the Erle of *Arrane*, and Lord *James* ap-
prehended the Lairds of *Weimis*, *Seifeild*, *Balgone*, *Durie*, and utheris that
assistit the *Frenche*; bot they war set schortely at Fredome, upoun sick Condi-
tiounis as they myndit nevir to keip, for sick Men have nouthir Fayth nor
Honestie. Mr. *James Balfour*, quho was the grittest Practiser, and had
drawin the Band of the *Balfours* eschaipit. The *Inglis* Schipis dayly multipleit,
till that thay war abill to keip the haill Firth, quhareat the *Frenche* and Quene
Regent enraged, began to execute thair Tyranny upoun the Parts of *Lauthiane*
that lay neir to *Edinburgh*. Let Mr. *David Borthwick* Witnes quhat Favours
his Wyfe and Place of *Audistoun* fand of the *Frenche*, for all the Service that
he had made to the Quene Regent.

In the midds of *Februaire* wer directed to *England*, from the Duiks Grace
and the Congregatioun, the Lord *James*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Maister of
Maxwell, the Maister of *Lindesay*, Mr. *Henrie Balnaveis*, and the Laird of
Putarro, quho, with thair honest Companies and Comissoun, departit by Sey
all, except the Maister of *Maxwell*, to *Berwick*; quhare thare met thame the
Duke of *Northfolk*, Lieutenent to the Quenes Majesty of *England*, and with
him a grit Company of the Gentilmen of the Northe, with sum also of the
Seuthe, haveing full Power to contract with the Nobility of *Scotland*, as that
they did, upon sick Conditious as in the same Contract ar specificit. And
becaus we have hard the malicious Tounge of wicked Men mak fals Report
of that our Fact, we have saythfully and trewly insertit in this our History
the said Contract, alsweill that quhilk was maid at *Leytbe*, during the Seige,
as that quhilk first was maid at *Berwick*, that the Memory thareof may abyde
to our Posterity, to the End that they may judge with Indifferency, quhidder that
we have done ony Thing prejudiciall to our Comoun-wealthe, or yit contra-
rious unto that detfull Obedience, quhilk trew Subjects aucht to thair Superiours,
quhais Authority aucht to defend and manteine the Liberty and Fredome of
the Realmes comitted to thair Charge, and not to oppres and betray the same
to Strangers. The Tenour of our Contract follows.

The Contract maid at Berwick.

JAMES, Duck of *Chattellarault*, Erle of *Arrane*, Lord *Haumiltoun*, secund
Persoun of the Realme of *Scotland*, and apeirand Air to the Crown, the
Counsaill, Nobility, and principall Estaites of the same; to all and sundry
to quhais Knowlege thir Presents fall cum, Greiting. We have weill consid-
derit, and be fully perswaidit, in quhat Danger, Desolatioun and Misery, the
lang Inemity with the Kingdome of *England* hes brocht our Cuntrey heirto-
fore: How welthie and flurisching it fall becum, if these two Kingdomes,
as they be joynd in one Iland, by Creatioun of the World, so may be knit
in one constant and assured Freindschip. These Consideratiouns groundit
upoun a maist infallibill Treuthe, aucht no les to have moved our Progeni-
tours and Foirfathers then us. Bot the present Dangeris hanging over our

Heids, by the injust dealling of thois, of quhome we have always best deservit, hes causit us to wey thame moir ernesly then they did. The Misbehaviour of the *Frenche* Ministers heir hes of lait Yeirs bene sa grit; the Oppressioun and Cruelty of the Souldiours, the Tyranny and Ambitioun of thair Superiours and Reullars, so greavous to the Pepill; the violent Subversioun of our Liberry, and Conqueis of the Land, quhareat they have by most crafty and subtill Means continewally preassit, so intollerabill to us all, that at last, quhen we culd not obtain the Redres be humbill Sutes, and earnest Supplicatiouns presentit to the Quene Dowager, quho bothe for Dewties Saik, and Place sche did occupy, aucht to have bene maist cairfull of our Estait; we have bene by very Necessity constrayned, not onely to assay our awn Forces, bot also to implore the Quenes Majesties of *England's* Ayd and Support; quhilk hir Majestie hes maist gentillie granted, upoun certane Covenantes specified in ane Treaty past at *Berwick*, betwix the Duck of *Northfolkis* his gude Grace Lieuetenent for hir Majesty one that ane Parte, and certane our Comissionars one that other Parte. Quhareof the Tenour follows.

At *Berwick* the twentie sevin Day of *Februaire*, the Yeir of our Lord God One thousand fyve hunder fyftie and nyne Yeirs; It is apointed, and finallie contracted, betwix the nobill and michtie Prince, *Thomas* Duke of *Northfolk*, Erle Merfchell of *England*, and Lieutenant to the Quenes most excellent Majesty of the said Realme in the Northe, in the Name and Behalf of hir Hienes one the ane Parte, and the Richt Honorabill Lord *James Stewart* (now Erle of *Murray*) *Patrick* Lord *Ruthven*, Sir *Johne Maxwell* of *Teregles* Knycht, *William Maitland* of *Lethingtoun* younger, *Johne Wischart* of *Pittarrow*, and Mr. *Henrie Balnaveis* of *Halbill*, in Name and Behalf of ane Nobill and Michtie Prince *James*, Duck of *Chartellerault*, secund Persone of the Realme of *Scotland*, and the remanent Lords of his Parte, joyned with him in this Caus, for the Menteinance and Defence of the ancient Rychts and Liberties of thair Cuntrey one the uther Parte, in Forme as heirefter followis: That is to say, That the Quenes Majesty haveand sufficiently understude, alsweill by Informatioun sent from the Nobility of *Scotland*, as by the Proceidings of the *Frenche*, that they intend to conqueir the Realme of *Scotland*, suppress the Liberty thareof, and unite the same unto the Crown of *France* perpetually, contrair to the Laws of the same Realme, and the Pactis, Othis, and Promises of *France*. And being thareto maist humilly and earnestly required by the said Nobility; for, and in the Name of the hail Realme, fall accepte the said Realme of *Scotland*, the said Duck of *Chartellerault* being declared by Act of Parliament in *Scotland* to be Heire appeirand to the Crown thareof, and the Nobility and Subjects thareof, into hir Majesties Protectioun and Manteinance, onely for Preservatioun of the same in thair auld Fredomes and Liberteis, and from Conqueist, during the Tyme that the Mariage fall continew betwix the Quene of *Scottis* and the *Frenche* King, and one Yeir efter: And for expelling out of the samyn Realme of such as presently and appeirandly goethe about to practeis the said Conqueist, hir Majesty fall with all speid send into *Scotland* a convenient Ayd of Men of Warre on Horse and Fute, to joyne with the Power of *Scottis*men, with Artailzery, Munitioun, and all uther Instruments of Warre meit for the Purpois, alsweill by Sey as by Land, and not onely to expell the present Power of *Frenche* within that Realme oppressing the same, bot also to stope, als far as conveniently may be, all gritter

gritter Forces of *France* to enter tharein, for the lyk Purpois; and fall continew hir Majesties Ayd to the said Realme, Nobility, and Subjects of the same, unto the Tyme the *France* (being Enemies to the said Realme) be utterly expellit thence; and fall nevir transact, compone, nor agrie with the *France*, nor conclude any League with thame, except the *Scottis* and the *France* fall be agreit, that the Realme of *Scotland* may be left in ane dew Fredome by the *France*; nor fall leave the Manteinance of the said Nobility and Subjects, quhareby they might fall as ane Praye into thair Enemies Hands, as lang as they fall acknowlege thair Soverane Lady and Quene, and fall indeavour thamefelfis to mantene the Liberty of thair Cuntrey, and the Estait of the Crown of *Scotland*. And if in cais any Forts or Strenths within the Realme be wone out of the Hands of the *France* at this present, or at any Time heirefter by hir Majesties Ayd, the same fall be immediatly demolished by the *Scottismen*, or delivered to the said Duck and his Party soirsaid, at thair Optioun and Chois; nether fall the Power of *England* fortifie within the Ground of *Scotland*, being out of the Bounds of *England*, but by the Advyis of the said Duck, Nobility, and Estaits of *Scotland*. For the quhilk Causes, and in respect of hir Majesties most gentill Clemency, and liberall Support, the said Duck, and all the Nobility, alsweill sick as be now joyned, as suche as fall heirefter joyne with him, for Defence of the Liberty of that Realme, fall to the uttermost of thair Power, ayd and support hir Majesties Army against the *France* and thair Partakers, with Horsmen and Futemen, and with Victuellis, by Land and by Sey, and with all maner of uther Ayde, to the best of thair Power, and so fall continew dureing the Tyme that hir Majesties Army fall remane in *Scotland*.

Item, They fall be Enemies to all suche *Scottismen* and *France*, as fall in onywayes schaw thamefelfis Enemies to the Realme of *England*, for the ayding and supporting the said Duke and Nobilitie, to the Deliverie of the Realme of *Scotland* from Conquest.

Item, They fall nevir assent nor permit, that the Realme of *Scotland* fall be conquered, or knit to the Croun of *France*, than it is at this present utherwise onely Marriage of the Quein thair Soverane to the *France* King, and by the Lawis and Liberties of the Realme, as it aucht to be.

Item, In case the *Frenchmen* fall at ony Tyme hareafter invaid, or caus be invaided the Realme of *England*, they fall furneis the Number of two hundred the Horsmen, and ane thousand Futemen, at the leist, or such Parte of eyther of thame, at the Choice of the Queins Majestie of *England*; and fall conduct the sam to pas from the Bordears of *Scotland* nixt *England*, upoun hir Majesties Chairges, to ony Parte upoun the Realme of *England*, for the Defence of the sam. And in case the Invasioun be upoun the Northe Partes of *England*, on the Northe Parte of the Water of *Tyne*, towardes *Scotland*, or against *Berwick*, on the Northe Syde of the Water of *Tweed*, they fall convene and gather thair haill Forces upoun thair awn Chairges, and fall joyne with the *Englische* Power, and fall continew in gude and ernst Pursuit of the Quarrell of *England*, dureing the Spaice of threttie Dayis, or so muche longer as they war accustomed to remane in the Fields for the Defence of *Scotland*, at the Comandment of thair Soveranes, at ony Tyme bypast. And also the Erle of *Argyll*, Lord Justice of *Scotland*, being presently joyned with the said Duke, fall employ his Force and gude Will, quhare he fall be requyred be the Queins Majestie to reduce the Northe Partes of *Ireland* to the

pertyte Obedience of *England*, conforme to ane mutuall and reciproque Contract, to be maid betwix hir Majesties Lieutenant, or Depute of *Ireland* being for the Tyme, and the said Erle; quharein fall be contained quhat he fall do for his Parte, and quhat the said Lieutenant, or Depute, fall do for his Support, in case he fall have to do with *James Mackonell*, or ony uthers of the Isles of *Scotland*, or Realme of *Ireland*: For Performance and sure keiping quhareof, they fall for thair Parte enter to the forsaide Duke of *Northfolk* the Pledges presently named by him, besor the Entrie of hir Majesties Army within *Scotland*, to remane in *England* for the Space of sex Monthes, and to be exchanged upoun Deliverance of new Hostages, of lyke or als gude Conditiones as the former; or being the lawfull Sones, Brethren, or Aires of ony of the Erles, or Barrones of Parliament, that have, or hereafter fall schaw thameselfis and persist oppin Enemies to the *Frenche* in this Quarrell, and so furth from sex Monthes to sex Monthes, or four Monthes to four Monthes, as fall best pleis the Parte of *Scotland*. And the Tyme of the Continewance of the Hostages fall be dureing the Marriage of the Quein of *Scottis* to the *Frenche* King, and one Yeir efter the Dissolutioun of the sam Marriage, untill farder Ordour may be had betwix both the Realmes for Peace and Concord.

And furthermore the said Duke, and all the Nobilitie, being Erles and Barrones of the Parliament, joyned with him, fall subscrivve and seill these Artickles and Countes, within the Spaice of twentie or thertie Days at the uttermost, nixt following the Day of the Delivery of the saids Hostages; and fall also procure and perswade all uthers of the Nobility that fall joyne thameselfis hereafter with the said Duke, for the Causes above specified, lykwayes to subscrivve and seill these Artickles, at ony Tyme efter the Spaice of twentie Days efter thair Conjunctioun, upoun Requisitioun maid be thame one the Party of the Queins Majestie of *England*.

And finally the said Duke, and Nobility joyned with him, certainly perceiving, that the Queins Majestie of *England* is thareunto moved onely upoun Respect of princely Honour and Nichbourhood, for the Defence of the Freedom of *Scotland* from Conquest, and not of ony uther sinister Intent, do by these Presentis testifie and declair, That they, nor ony of thame, meane by this Compte to withdraw ony dew Obedience to thair Soverane Lady the Queene, nor in ony lesfull Thing to withstand the *Frenche* King hir Husband and Hede, that dureing the Marriage fall not tend to the Subversioun, and Oppressioun of the just and ancient Liberties of the said Kingdome of *Scotland*; for Preservatioun quhareof, bothe for thair Soveranes Honour, and for the Continewance of the Kingdome in ancient Estait, they acknowlege thameselfis bound to spend thair Gudes, Landes and Lyves. And for Performance of this present Contract for the Parte of *England*, the Queins Majestie fall confirme the sam, and all Clauses tharein contained, by hir Letters Patentis, under the grit Seill of *England*, to be delivered to the Nobility of *Scotland*, upoun the Entres of the Pledges afoirsaid within the Ground of *England*. In Witnes quhareof, the said Duke's Grace of *Northfolk* has subscribed thir Presentis, and thareunto hes affixed his Seill, the Day, Yeir, and Place foirsaid. Quhilk Contract we find honest, ressonabell, and that our saids Commissiouners tharein hes considerately respected to the Comounwelthe of this Realme, of us and our Posteritie; and tharefor do ratifie, allow, confirme, and approve the same, with all Clauses and Artickles thare-

in contained, by thir Presentis. In Witnes hereof, to the same subscribed with our Hands, our Seills of Armes, in lyke Cases accustomed, ar appended. At the Camp foiranent *Leyth*, the tent Day of *Maie*, 1560 Yeirs. Follow

The Subscriptiounes.

The Duke of <i>Chauttellerault</i> ,	Lord of Sanct <i>Johne</i> ,
Erle of <i>Arrane</i> ,	Lord <i>Johne</i> of <i>Aberbrothoke</i> ,
Erle of <i>Huntlie</i> ,	Lord <i>Boyd</i> ,
Erle of <i>Glencarne</i> ,	Lord <i>Sommerveil</i> ,
Erle of <i>Mortoun</i> ,	Lord <i>Ochiltree</i> ,
Erle of <i>Rothes</i> ,	Lord <i>Robert Stewart</i> ,
Erle of <i>Mounteink</i> ,	<i>Alexander Gordon</i> ,
Erle of <i>Argyll</i> ,	<i>Gawne Hamiltoun</i> of <i>Kilwinning</i> ,
Lord <i>Ogilvie</i> .	<i>James Stewart</i> of Sanct <i>Comes-inche</i> ,
Lord <i>Borthick</i> ,	Abot of <i>Kinloss</i> ,
Lord <i>James Stewart</i> ,	Abot of <i>Culrofs</i> .

The Instructiounes gevin, subscribed to the said Commissioners that went to *Berwick*, ar thir as followis.

1. **A**ND for the first, If it fall be asked of yow be the said Duke of *Northfolks* Grace, and uthers the Queins Majesties apointed Commissioners, If our Pledges be in Readiness? Ye fall answer, That they ar, and in Sanct *Androis* the 24th of this Instant, and fall be redy to diliver in Hostages for Security of our Promese, and Parte of Contract; they offering and making Securitie for thair Parte be the Queins Majesties Subscriptioun, and grit Seill, and delivering the sam unto yow: Provyding that they chuse and mak thair Electioun of the Pledges as is convenient.

2. *Secundlie*, If the saids Commissioners fall demand of yow, What Interpretise the Army of *England* fall tak upoun Hand at thair first coming? Ye fall answer, In generall the Expulsioun of the *Frencbe* Soldiours furth of this Realme; and first and in speciall furth of the Toun of *Leyth*, seing thair grit Fortes ar thare.

3. *Item*, If it fall be asked of yow, At quhat Place our Freindes and Brethren of *England* fall meit, and at quhat Day, quhat Number, and quhat Nobillmen in Cumpany? Ye fall refer all these Things to thair Electioun and Choise.

4. *Item*, If it beis demanded of yow, How the Army fall be furnished with Victualls, and especially the Horsmen? Ye fall answer, That with thair Advys ane sufficient Ordour fall be tane tharein.

5. *Item*, If it be requyred, How the Munitioun fall be carried, and Oxen furnished to that Effect? Ye fall answer, As we have gevin in Commissioun to *Lethingtoun*, quhilk we ratifie.

6. *Item*, If it fall be asked, Quha fall be Lieutenant to the Army of *Scotland*? Ye fall answer, My Lord Dukes Grace.

7. *Item*, If it fall be inquyred, Quhat Number our haill Army extends to? Ye fall answer, They will (God willing) be five thousand Men.

8. *Item*, If it fall be requyred, Quhat Maner of Way *Leyth* fall be assalt-
ed? Ye fall desire all Preparatiouns to be in Redines, and the Advys to be
tane efter the placeing of Armies, and View of the Strenthe schortly.

9. *Item*, If it fall be asked if the Castell of *Edinburghe*, gif they will stand
Freinds or not? Ye fall declair our Diligence maid, and to be maid schort-
ly hareinto; but for the present to assure thame of nothing.

10. *Item*, If it be asked, In case the Castell be unfreind, quhare the Ar-
my fall be placed? Ye fall answer, For the first, in *Mussilburghe* and *Tra-
nent*, and these Partis, till the Batterie, and all the Preparatiouns be in Redines.

11. *Item*, In caise it beis inquyred of all By-lyars, and in speciall of my
Lord of *Huntlie* in the Northe? Ye fall answer in generall, ane gude Hope
is had of the most Parte thareof; and twitching my Lord *Huntlie* in speciall,
ye fall schaw how he has sent Wryttings to my Lord of *Arrane*, with ane
Servand of Credit, to assure him of his Assistance. And for that Caus hes de-
syred Letters of Suspensioun of the Quein Dowagears Comissioun, to be sent
to him, to be usit by him in these Parris; and uther Letters to arrest the Cler-
gie Rentis and Hyres both in these Parties, with Proclamatiouns to caus all
Men to be in Redines to pas forwards, for mantening of Religioun, and
Expulsioun of Strangers. My Lord has wrytten to him, that he may cum to
him in proper Persone, quhareof the Answer is not returned yit.

12. *Item*, If it fall be asked the Place and Maner of Metting of our Folks,
or of us and thame, in case *Stirling* be kept? We refer the Answer hareof
to your Discretioun.

13. *Item*, If it fall be asked, That thair layed Money fall have Passage for
thair Viveris? Ye fall resson the Comoditie and Incomoditie thareof with
the Counsaill.

14. *Item*, If it fall be asked, What Pioners fall be had? Ye fall answer,
Thair Number being expressed, and Mony in Redines to pay thame, they
fall have Sufficiencie.

15. *Item*, If they desyre, that we declair our Cause unto the Princes of *Al-
manie*, and the King of *Denmark*, desyring thair Assistance? Ye fall answer,
That we think the sam gude, and fall spedilie tak Ordour tharewith.

16. *Item*, If it fall be asked of you to confirme for us, and in our Name,
the Things past and granted be our formar Comissioner, the young Laird of *Le-
thingtoun*? Ye fall in all Pointis for us, and in our Name, confirme the sam,
so far as it fall mak eyther for the Weill and Coniunctioun of the twa Re-
almes, or this present Caus, or yit for the Securitie of our Parte, for the
fulfilling of the samyn: And also ye fall accept thair Offeris tending to the
sam Fyne, and sick Securitie on that Parte, as ye may purches, and especially
sick as we haretofor expremite. Gevin at *Glasgow*, the tent of *February* 1559.

Item, We give and grantis yow full Power to augment, or diminische thir
saids Heids and Artickles, as ye think the Weill of the Caus fall requyre, in
all Pointis.

Sic subscribitur,

Jobne of Monteith,
Andrew of Rothes,
R. Boyde,
William Murray of Tullybardin,
Jobne Erskine of Dun,
James Hamiltoun,

Alexander Gordon,
Archibald Argyle,
Glencarne,
Uchiltrie,
James Haliburtoun.

Short efter this Contract war our Pledges delyvered to Mr. *Winter*, Admiral of the Navy that came to *Scotland*, a Man of grit Honesty so far as evir we culd espie of him, quho war savelie convoyed to *Almashell*; and so the *Englishe* Army by Land began to assemble towards the Borders; quhareof the *Frenche* and Quene Regent assured, they began to destroy quhat they culd in the Touns and Cuntrey about; for the haill Victualls they carryed to *Leyth*, the Mynes they brake, the Schep, Oxen and Ky, yea, and the Hors of puir Labourers, they maid all to serve thair Tyrrany. And finally, They left nothing, quhilk the very Enemy culd have devysit, except that they demolisched not Gentelmens Houes, and brunt not the Toun of *Edinbuge*, in quhilk Point God brydelled thair Furie, to lat his Afflicted understand that he tuke Care of thame.

Befor the coming of the Land Army, the *Frenche* past to *Glasgow*, and destroyed the Cuntry thareabout. Quhat Tyrrany the *Martyckis* usit upoun a puir *Scottis* Soldiour it is feirfull to hear, and yit his Fact may not be omitted. Silver wald they give nane to the puir Men, and so war they slaw to departe of the Toun; for albeit the Drum straike, the Ensenyne culd not be gottin. Thare war a puir Craftisman, quho bocht for his Victualls a gray Loafe, and was eiting a Morfel of it, and was putting the rest of it in his Bosome. The Tyrrane came to him, and with the puir Carives awin Quhinger first strack him on the Breist, and efter cast it at him, and so the puir Man stakkering and falling, the merciles Tyrrane ran him throw with his Raper, and thareafter commanded him to be hanged over the Stair. *Lord thou wilt yit luik, and recompence sick Tyrranie, how contemptible so evir the Person was.*

The secund of *Aprill*, the Yeir of God 1560 Yeirs, the Army be Land entered in *Scotland*, the conducting quharof was comitted to the Lord *Gray*, quha had in his Cumpany the Lord *Screpe*, Sir *James Croasts*, Sir *Harie Percie*, Sir *Francis Lake*, with mony uther Captanes and Gentilmen, haveing Chairge, sum of Futemen, and sum of Horsmen. The Army by Land wer esteimed to ten thousand Men.

The Quene Regent past to the Castell of *Edinburgh*, and sum uthers of hir Faction.

At *Prestoun* met thame the Dukes Grace, the Erle of *Argyll*, (*Huntlie* came not till the Siege was confirmed) Lord *James*, the Erles of *Glenearne* and *Monteith*, Lords *Ruthven*, *Boyd*, *Uchiltrie*, with all the Protestantis Gentelmen of the West, *Fyfe*, *Angus* and *Mernis*; so that for few Days the Army was great.

Efter the Deliberatioun of two Days had at *Enneresk*, the haill Camp merched fordward with Ordnance, and all Preparatiouns necessary for the Seige, and came to *Restalrig*. Upoun the *Palme Sunday* Evin, the *Frenche* had thamefells in Battell Array upoun the Links without *Leyth*, and had sent furth thair Skirmishears, quho begining befoir ten Hours, continewed skirmisheing till efter four Hours at Esiernone, quhen then was gevin upoun thame a Chairge by sum Horsmen of *Scotland*, and sum of *England*; bot becaus the principal Captane of the Horsmen of *England* was not present, the haill Troupes durst not chairge, and so was not the Overthrow and Slauchter of the *Frenche* so grit as it ones appeired to have bene; for the grit Battell was ones at the Trotte: Bot quhen they perceaved, that the grit Force of Horsmen stude still, and charged not, they returned and gave sum Rescove to

thair Fellowis that fled; and so thare fell onely in that Defeit about thre hundreth *Frenchmen*. God wald not give the Victorie so suddenlie, leif that Man suld glorie in his awn Strenthe. The small Victory that was gottin put bothe the *Inglish* and the *Scottis* in over grit Securitie, as the *Ischew* declaired. The *Frenche* enclofit within the Toun, the *Inglish* Army began to plant thair Pavilliounes betwix *Leyth* and *Restalrig*; the Ordnance of the Toun, and especially that quhilk lay upoun Sanct *Antones* Steiple, did thame grit Anoyance; against which Place was bent aucht Cannones, quhilk schot so continually, and so just, that within few Days that Steiple was condemned, and all the Ordnance that was one it dismounted, whiche maid the *Englische* more negligent than it became gude Men of Weir to have bene; for perceiving that the *Frenche* maid no Pursuit without thair Wallis, they tuke ane Opinioun, that they wald nevir ische more, and that maid sum of the Captanes for Pastyme to go up to the Toun of *Edinburghe*; the Soldiours, for thair Eas, layd thair Armour besyde thame, and, as Men without Danger, fell to the Dyce and Cairtis; and so upoun the *Pasche Monday*, at the very Hour of Nyne, the *Frenche* ischewed bothe upoun Hors and Fute, and with grit Violence entered within the *Englische* Trenches, slew and put to flight all that war tharein. The Watche wes negligentlie kept, and so was the Succours slaw, and lang in cuming; for the *Frenche*, befor that ony Resistance was maid unto thame, aproched near to the grit Ordnance. But then the Horsmen trouped together, and the Futemen gat thamefelfis in Array, and so repulfit the *Frenche* back agane to the Toun. But the Slauchter wes grit; sum says it double exceided that whiche the *Frenche* received the first Day. And this was the Frute of thair Security and ours, whiche efter wes remeided; for the *Englische* Men most wysely considdering thamefelfis not abell to seige the Toun round about, devysit to mak Mountis at divers Quarters of the Toun, in the whiche they and thair Ordnance lay in als gude Strenthe as they did within the Toun. The comoun Soldiours kept the Trenches, and had the said Montis for thair Savegarde and Refuge, in case of ony gritter Pursute than they wer abell to sustean. The Patience, and stout Courage of the *Englischmen*, bot principally of the Horsmen, is worthie of all Prays: For quhare wes it evir hard, that aucht thousand (they nevir exceided that Number that lay in Campe) suld beseige four thousand of the most desperat Throt-cutters that war to be found in *Europe*, and lay so near unto thame in dayly skirmisching the Space of thre Monthes and more. The Horsmen Nicht and Day kept watche, and did so valiently behave thamefelfis, that the *Frenche* gat no Advantage from that Day back to the Day of the Assault, quhareof we sall ichortly hear. In this meane Tyme was this other Band maid of all the Nobilitie, Barrones, and Gentilmen professing Christ Jesus in *Scotland*, and of divers uthers that joyned with us, for expelling of the *Frenche* Army, amongs quhome the Erle of *Huntlie* was Principall. The Band follows.

The last Band at Leyth.

AT *Edinburghe*, the 27th Day of *Aprill*, in the Yeir of God 1560 Yeirs, we, whose Names ar under-witten, have promitted and oblisched ourfelfis saythfully, in the Presens of God, and be thir Presentis promitts, That we altogither in generall, and every ane of us in speciall by himself,

with

with our Bodies, Gudes, Freinds, and all that we may do, fall set fordwaird the Reformatioun of Religion, according to Gods Word, and procure, by all Meanes possible, that the Truthe of Gods Word may have fre Passage within this Realme, with dew Administratioun of the Sacraments, and all Things depending upoun the said Word. And sicklye, deiply weying with ourselfis the Misbehaviour of the *French* Ministeris here, the untollerabill Oppressioun comitted be the *Frenchmen* of Weir upoun the puir Subjectis of this Realme, by Maintenance of the Quein Dowager, under Colour and Pretence of Authority, the Tyranny of thair Captanes and Leaders, and manifest Danger of Conquest in whiche the Cuntrey presently stands, be Rescoun of divers Fortifications upoun the Sea-coast, and uther Novelties of lait attempted be thame; Promitt that we fall, every one with uther, asweill as altogither, with the Quein of *England's* Armie, presently cum in for our Deliverance, effectually concurre, joyn together, taking and hald plain Parte for Expulsioun of the saids Strangers, Oppressours of our Liberty, furth of this Realme, and Recoverie of our ancient Liberties and Fredomes, to the End that in Tyme cuming we may, under the Obedience of the King and Quein our Soveranes, be onely ruled be the Lawis and Customes of the Cuntry, and borne Men of the Land; and that nevir one of us fall have privy Intelligence by Wryting, Message, or Communicatioun with ony of our saids Enemies, or Adversaries in this Caus, but by the Advyse of the rest (at leist of fyve) of the Counsaill.

Attour yet, we fall tender the comoun Caus as if it war the Caus of every ane of us in particular; and that the Causes of every ane of us now joynt together, being honest and lawfull, fall be all our Causes in generall; and he that is Enemy to the Causes soirsaid, fall be Enemy to us all, in sa far, that quhatsoever Persone will planely resist thir our godly Interpretyses, and will not concure, as ane gude and trew Member of this Comoun-welthe, we fall fortifie the Authority of the Counsaill, to reduce thame to thair Dewty. Lykas we fall fortifie the Authority foresaid of the Counsaill, in all Things tending to the Furtherance of the said Causes. And if any particular Debait, Quarrell or Contraversie fall arys, for quhatsoever Causes bygane, present, or to cum, betwix ony of us (as God forbid) in that Cais, we fall submit ourselfis, and our saids Questiounes, to the Decisioun of the Counsaill, or to Arbitrators to be maid be thame, &c. Provyding alwayis, that this be not prejudiciall to ordinar Jurisdictioun of Juges; bot that Men may persew thair Actiounes by Ordour of Law civilly or criminally, as they pleis.

This Contract and Band came not onely to the Earis, bot also to the Sicht of the Quein Dowager, quhairat sche stormit not a litill, and said, *The Maledictioun of God I geve thame, that counsailled me to persecute the Preicheours, and to refus the Petitiounis of the best Parte of the trew Subjectis of this Realme. It was said to me, That the Inglishche Armie culd not ly in Scotland ten Dayis; bot now they have lyne neir a Monethe, and ar mair lyk to remane, then they war the first Day they came.* They that gave sick Informatioun to the Quein, ipak as warldly-wyis Men, and as Thingis apeired to have bein. For the Cuntrey being almost in all the Partis thair of waisted, the Victuells nixt adjacent to *Leythe*, eyther brocht in to thair Provisioun or ellis destroyed; the Mynes and uther Places (as before is said) being castin down, it apeired, that the Camp could not have bein furnished, except it had bein by thair awn Schipis,

and as that culd not have bein of ony lang Continewance, so fould it have bein nothing comfortable. Bot God confounded all warldy Wisdome, and maid his awn Benedictioun als evident to apeir, as if in a Maner he had fed the Army frome above: For all Kynd of Victuells thare was mair abundant, and of more easie Prices in the Camp, at all Tymes that it lay (efter that aucht Days wer past) then eyther they had bein in *Edinburghe* ony twa Yeirs befoir, or yit have bein in that Toun to this Day, the twenty of *Maii* 1566.

The Pepill of *Scotland* so mekill abhorred the Tyranny of the *Frenche*, that they wald have gevin the Substance that they had, to have bein ride of that chargeabill Burdein, quhilk our Synes had provoiked God to lay upoun us, in gevin us in the Hands of a Woman, quhome our Nobility in thair Folischness fold to Strangers, and with hir the Liberty of this Realme.

God, for his grit Mercies Saik, preserve us yit from farther Bondage, in the quhilk we ar lyk to fall, gif he provyde not Remedy; for our Nobility will yit remane blinde still, and will follow hir Affectiouns, cum efter quhatsoever may. Bot to returne to our Historie.

The Camp abounding in all necessary Provisioun, Ordour was taiken for Confirmatioun of the Seige; and so the Trenches wer drawin als neir the Toun, as they gudely micht. The grit Campe removed from *Restalrig*, to the west Syid of the Water of *Leyth*; and so wer the Cannonis planted for the Battery, and did schute at the south-west Wall. Bot be Resson the Wall was Eirthe, the Breiche was not maid so grit upoun the Day, bot that it was sufficiently repaired in the Night; quhareof the *Inglisthe* Men begyning to weary, determinate to give the Bresche and Assault, as that thay did upoun the 7th of *May* 1560. beginning befoir the Day-light, and continewing till it was neir seven Hours. And albeit the *Englisthe* and *Scotis*, with grit Slauchter of Souldiours of bothe, wer repulsed, yit was thare nevir a schairper Assalt gevin of sa few Hands; for thay extendit not beyond a thousand Men, that assaulted the haill two Quarters of the Toun, and yit they dampned the haill Blok-houses; yea, they once pat the *Frenche* clein of thair Wallis, and war upoun bothe the eist and west Blok-houses, bot they wanted Backing, for thair Ledders wanted sex Quarters of thair just Hicht; and so quhille the former wer compellit to fechte upoun the Tope of the Wall, thair Fellowis culd not win to supporte thame, and so war they by Multitude dung back agane, quhen it was oncs thocht that the Toun was wone.

Sir *James Croastis* was blamed of mony, for not doing his Dewty that Day; for he was apointit, with a sufficient Number of the maist abill Men, to have assaulted the northe-west Quarter upoun the Sey-syid; quhare at a law Water (as at the Tyme of the Assault it was) the Passage was easie. Bot neither he nor his approached to thair Quarter apointed. He had befoir, at thair first cuming in, spokin with the Quoin Regent, at the foir Blok-hous of the Castell of *Edinburghe*. Quhither sche had enchanted him or not, we knaw not, bot by Suspicioun of that Day, in the quhilk he deceived the Expectatioun of mony; and, so far as Man culd juge, was the Caus of that grit Repuls; for sum ascryved the Schortnes of the Lethers to him: Bot that omitted, quhilk micht have proceedid of Negligence, his Absence from the Pursuit of his Quarter was the Caus that the *Frenche*, quhilk war apointed thare to defend, seing no Pursuit, came to the Relief of thair Fellows; and so the twa joyned together, with grit Slauchter, gave the Repuls to our Company. The *Frenche* Mens Harlotis, of quhome the maist Parte war *Scotis* Hures, did no les Cruelties than

than did the Souldiours; for beſeid that thay charged thair Pieces, and miniſtrate unto thame uther Weaponis, ſum continewally caſt Stones, ſum caryed Chimneys of burning Fyre, ſum brocht Timber, and uther Impedients of Weicht, quhilk with grit Violence they threw over the Wall upoun our Men, bot eſpecially quhen they began to turne thair Backes. Now albeit in all this we acknowledge the ſecret Wark of God, quho by ſick Meanes wald beate down all well the Pryde of *England* as of *Scotland*, yit aucht nether the Feblenes nor Falſeit of Man to be excuſit, nether yit the Cruelty of the Adverſaries be concilled. The Quene Regent ſat at the Tyme of the Aſſault (quhilk was bothe terribell and lang) upoun the Foir-wall of the Caſtell of *Edinburghe*, and quhen ſche perceived the Overthraw of us, and that the Enſenyeis of the *Frenche* war again diſplayed upoun the Walls, ſche gave an Gawf of Lauchter, and ſaid, *Now will I go to the Mes, and prays God for that quhilk my Eyis have ſein.* And ſo was Freir *Black* ready for that Purpois, quhome ſche herſelf a litell beſoir had deprehended with his Harlote in the Chapell. Bot Huredome and Idolatry agrie weill together, and that our Court can witnes this Day, the 16th of *May* 1560.

The *Frenche* proude of the Victory, ſtrypped naiked all the Slane, and laid thair Carcaſes beſoir the hott Sone alang thair Wall, quhare they ſuffered thame to lye mo Days than one: Unto the quhilk, quhen the Quene Regent luiked, for Mirthe ſche hopped, and ſaid, *Yonder ar the faireſt Tapeſtrie that evir I ſaw, I wald that the haill Feildes betwix this plaice and you wer ſtrewed with the ſame Stufe.* This Fact was ſein of all, and hir Words war hard of ſum, and miſlyked of mony; againſt the quhilk *Johne Knox* ſpak opinly in Pulpit, and bauldly affirmit, *That God ſould revenge that Contumelie done to his Image, not onely in the furious and godles Souldiours, bot evin in ſick as rejoyſit thairat.* And the very Experience declaired, that he was not deceaved; for within few Dayes efter (yea ſum ſay the ſam Day) began hir Belly and loatheſum Leges to ſwell, and ſo continewed, till that God did execute his Jugementes upoun hir, as efter we ſall heir.

The Defait received, it was fully perſwaded to the Quene Regent, and hir Faction, that the Seige wald rys, and that the *Engliſche* Army wald departe. And ſo began the Papiſtes wonderouſly to brage; and yit God did fruſtrate thair Expectatioun: For the Army determined to remain till new Adverteiſement come from the Quene and Counſaill.

The Duke of *Northfolk*, quho then lay at *Berwick*, comanded the Lord *Gray* to continew the Seige, and promeiſit, *That he ſould not want Men, ſo lang as they war to be had betwix Trent and Tweid; for ſo far was he Lieutenant.* He farther promeiſit his awn Preſence, in Caiſ he ſould be required; and for Assurance thairof he ſent his awn Paviliounes, ſick as ſeldome beſoir had been ſein in *Scotland*, with his Officiaris and Proviſioun. And with Expedition war ſent two thouſand freſche Men, quhareby the Camp, greitly comforted, began to forget the former Diſcomfitour, and to ſuſtein the dayly Skirmiſcheing, as they did beſoir: In the quhilk the *Frenche*, efter the Day of the Aſſault, did evir receive the Hurt and the Repulſ, as the Slauchter of mony that came to the *Cole-raik* did witnes. The gritteſt Damage that outhir *Engliſche* or *Scotis* received efter that Day, was the Slauchter of twa Gentlemen, the ane Maifter of Houſhold to my Lord *James*, *Robert Colvane* of *Cleiſche*, a Man ſtout, modeſt and wyſ, quho was ſchote in the Thie, with an Facone or Hagbyte of *Groicke*, and departed the Miſery of this Life within twa Hours

etter. The uther was *Alexander Lockhart*, Brother to the Laird of *Bar*, quho rashely discovering himself in the Trenches, was schote in the Heid, and immediatly thairefter departit this Lyif.

Quhill the Seage thus continewed, a suddane Fyre chanced in *Leythe*, quhilk devoured mony Houses and mekle Victuell; and so began God to fecht for us, as the Lord *Erskine* said to the Quene Regent in plane Wordis, *Madame* (quoth he) *I can sie no moir, bot seing that Men may not expell injust Possessours furth of this Land, God himself will do it; for yon Fyre is not kindellit by Man.* Quhilk Words offended the Quein Regent not a littell; quhose Seiknes dayly incressing, grit Craft sche ussit, that *Monsieur d'Osell* nicht have bein permitted to have spoken with her; belyke sche wald have bidden him fairwell; (for thair auld Familiarity was grit) bot that denyed, sche wrote, as it had bein to hir Chirurgiane and Hepothecary, schawing hir Graces Seiknes, and requiring sum Drogen. The Letter being presented to the Lord *Gray*, he espyit the Craft; for few Lynes being wryttin above, and sa mekill quhyte Paper left, he said, *Drogen ar mair abundant and frescheare in Edinburghe, then they can be in Leyth; thare lurkethe heir sum uther Misterie.* And so he began to try, and be halding the Paper to the Fyre, he perceaved sum Wrytting to appeir, and so began he to reid; bot quhat it was no uther Man can tell, for immediatly he brunt the Bill, and said to the Messinger; *Albeit I have bein hir Secretary, yit tell hir, I sall keip hir Counsaill. Bot say to hir, Sick Waires will not sell till a new Mercat.*

The Answer receaved, sche was nothing content; and then travellit sche earnestly, that sche nicht speik with the Erles *Argyll*, *Glencairne*, *Mersbell*, and with the Lord *James*. Efter Deliberatioun it was thocht expedient that they sould speik hir, bot not all together, least that sum of the *Guyssanes* Practeis had lurkit under the Cullour of sick Freindschip. Hir Regreat was unto thame all, *That sche had behavit hirsell so fulschelie, as that sche had compellit thame to seik the Supporte of utheris, then of thair awin Soverane, and said, That sche soir repentit that evir it come to that Extremitie: Bot sche was not the wyte, bot the wicked Counsaill of hir Freindis one the ane Parte, and the Erle of Huntly one the uther Parte: For if he had not bein, sche wald have agreid with thame at thair Comuning at Prestoun.* They gave unto hir bothe the Counsaill and the Comforte quhilk they culd in that Extremity, and willit hir to send for sum godly learnit Man, of quhome sche nicht receive Instruccion, for these ignorant Papiests that wer about hir, understude nothing of the Mystery of our Redemptioun. Upoun thair Motive was *Johne Willock* send for, with quhome sche talkit a ressonable Space, and quho did planely schaw unto hir alsweill the Vertew and Strenthe of the Deyth of *Jesus Christ*, as the Vanity and Abhominatioun of that Idolle the Mefs. Sche did opinlie confes, *That thair was no Salvatioun, bot in and by the Deyth of Jesus Christ; bot of the Mefs we hard not hir Confessioun.* Sum say sche was anoynted of the Papiistical maner, quhilk was a Signe of small Knowlege of the Treuthe, and of les Repentance for hir former Superstitioun: Yet howsoevir it was, *Christ Jesus* gat no small Victory over sick ane Enemy. For albeit before sche had avowit, That in Despyte of all *Scotland*, the Preicheours of *Christ Jesus* sould eyther die or be banished the Realme; yet was sche not onely compellit to heir, that *Christ Jesus* was preached, and all Idolatry openly rebuiked, and in many Places suppressed: Bot also sche was constrayned to heir one of the principall Ministers of the Realme, and to approve the cheif Heid of Religioun, quhare-

quharein we dissent from all Papists and Papistry. Schort thareafter sche finished hir unhappy Lyf; unhappy, we say, to *Scotland*, from the first Day sche enterit into it, unto the Day sche departit this Lyfe, quhilk was the nynte of *Junii*, the Yeir of God 1560 Yeirs. God for his grit Mercies Saik rid us from the rest of *Guyfane* Bluid. *Amen, Amen.* For of the Tyrannie of the *Guyfane* Bluid in hir, that for our Unthankfulness, now reignethe above us, we have had sufficient Experience; bot of ony Vertew that evir was espyit in King *James* the fyft (quhose Dochter sche is callit) to this Hour we have nevir sein any Sparkle to appeir.

Upoun the 16th Day of *Junii*, efter the Deyth of the Quene Regent, came in *Scotland* Monsieur *Randame*, and with him the Bischope of *Vallance* in Comission from *France*, to intreate of Peace: From *England* thare came Sir *William Cecil*, cheif Secretary, and Doctour *Wittoun*. Thair Negotiatioun was langsum, for bothe *England* and we feiring Deceat, socht by all Means that the Contract sould be suir. And thay upoun the uther Part, meaning to gratify sick as had send thame (quho meanit nothing bot mere Falscit) protractit Tyme to the uttermost: Yea, quhille that thame of *Leyth* war very scanty of Victuells, and these of the *Inche* had perished, had not bene that by Policy they gat a Schip with Victuells, and sum † Invention, quhilk was upoun *Midfomer-erin*, quhareof they made no small Triumphe, quhilk also for a Season stayit the Apointment, yet in the End Peice was concludit, in Forme as follows.

The Articles transacted and agreit by the Reverent Father in God Johne Bischope of Vallance, and Monsieur Randame, Deputtis to the King and Quein of Scotland, upoun the Matteris presentit to thame, be Wey of Petitioun, for the Part of the Nobilitie and Pepill of Scotland.

IN the first, Upoun the Complaynt and Petitioun of the said Nobility and Pepill of this Cuntrey, anent the Numer of Men of Weir susteined be thair Majesties in thir Parts in Tyme of Peice; It is humilly requestit be the said Deputtes, that they wald provyde oportune Remedy thareupoun, to the Solace and Relcief of the Cuntrey. The saids Deputtes considerand the said Desyre to be just, and conforme to Ressoun, concludit, concordit, and affirmit, That the King and Quene sall procure na *Frenckemen* of Weir, nor na uther Natioun to cum to thir Parts in Tyme cuming. Bot if Strangers wald pretend to enter in this Realme with ane Army or Navy, to occupy the same: In the quhilk case Provisioun sall be maid by thair Majesties, the Jugements and Counsaill of the Estautes of the Realme being had thareto, and that the *Frenche* Men of Weir now being in the Town of *Leyth*, sall be sent to *France* the same Tyme that the Army and Navy of the *Englischemen* and *Scottis* men be scailled and departit bayth by Sea and Land, the quhilk sall be done in the best maner may be, as at mair lenth Consideratioun sall be had thareupoun: And as to the Bands of *Scottis* Men of Weir being at the said Place, they sall be brokin, and the Men of Weir licentiat to departe. Mareover, as to the Fortis of *Dunbar* and *Inchekeitke*, thair sall remane in thame ane hundreth and twenty *Frenchemen* allanerly, quhilk sall be parted and distributed in thir twa Places, and thair sall remane na ma in *Dunbar* bot threscoir Men of Weir, sua it be

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† It seems that this Word should be *Munitionn*.

not affirmed be the Captanes chosen to that Effect by bayth the Parties, that for keeping of the same, ane grither Number is not neidfull: Also to departe quhen the Estait of the Realme can find ane sure and gud Remedy, upoun the Expenses maid in the saids Places, to keip the same fra Perrell of Invasioun or Deprivatioun thareof fra thame that wald pretend to occupy the same, they fall schaw the same to thair Majesties als haistely as may be done; and in the mein Tyme the Number of the said Men of Weir fall not be augmentit. And in lyk maner, it fall not be lesun to the said Men of Weir, to do any Injureis to any Persons, nor yet to mantein or defend ony *Scottisman*, of quhat Quality soevir he be, against the Will and Authority of the Magistrates of the Realme, or to receive thame in the saids Places, that the Minister of Justice may not put Hands in thame; nor yet fall intromet with thame ony maner of Way, with the Querrells and Discords of the Lords, or uther particular Men of this Realme: Bot they thamefelfis fall be obleist, in cas of any Quarrell, to be punitcht efter the Laws and Consuetude of this Realme, and to answer for thamefelfis befor the Judges Ordinares for the same. Last of all, that fra this Tyme furth, they be not compellit to take one Credite, they fall be every Moneth satisfeit of thair Wages, sua that twa *Scottis* Lords chosin be the Counsaill, may present it, at Weapoun-schawin and Moustours of the said Men of Weir, and also to visite the saids Forts, to sie if the Nummer of thame be eiked; and it fall not be lesull to the said Men of Weir to tak any Victuellis for thair Sustentatioun, to the Munitioun of the saids Places, bot be Payment of reddy Money numerat, and with the Plesour of thame that delivers the same to thame; and tharefore the saids Lords obliis thame to gif thame sa mekill as is neidfull to thame, they having to pay tharefore.

Item, Upoun the Petitioun presentit to the saids Lords Deputis, anent the Demolitioun of the Fortificatiounis, the saids Deputis consentis, concordit, and affirmit, That the Fortificatioun of *Leyth* fall be demolisched, and that two or thrie or four Captanes fall be chosen to bayth the Parties, to visite the Castell of *Dunbar*, and if it beis fundin be thame, that the Reparatioun, Amplificatioun, and Fortificatioun maid thareof now efter the Peice, grither Number of Men is required to the keeping thareof, the Reparatioun and Fortificatioun thareof fall be demolisched, sa sone as may be done, and fall remane onely untuitched, that Thing quhilk may mak the said Castell mair suir, and in least Danger fra Invasioun. Provyding not the less that na grither Numer of Men tharein be required for keeping of the same. Mairover, in Tymes cuming the King and Quein fall mak na ma new Forts within this Realme, and fall not augment thame that ar ellis maid, nor fall repair thame that ar demolisched without Counsaill and Consent of the Estaitis, nor yit fall transport to thir Partis, any Attaillyerie, Munitioun of Weir, Powder or Victuellis, bot sa mekill as may gane for keeping of the saids Plaices be the Spaice of sex Monethis or ane Yeir.

Item, Anent the Petitioun maid anent the Debtis contracted be the *Frenche* Men of Weir in this Cuntrey, the saids concordit, that the King and Quein fall caus restoir all that quhilk happenis to be found gevin and granted to the Kingis Lieuetenent and his Captanes, and utheris Officiaris, for the Nurischment, Sustentatioun, and Manteinance of the said *Frenchemen*, or that quhilk beis found aucht be the Lieutenant for Service of his Majesty, that may appear be Writ, or Confessioun of Parties.

Item,

Item, Upoun the Petitioun maid anent the Conventioun of Estaitis of this Realme, the saids Deputis consentit, concordit, &c. that the Estaitis of the Realme may convey and hauld Parliament the twenty Day of the Monethe of *Julii* nixt to cum; upoun the quhilk Day the Parliament sall be continew-ed, as Use is, unto the first Day of the Monethe of *Augusti* following. Provyding alwayis, That befor or they begin to treate any Thing in the said Parliament, all Tumult of Weir be dischairgit, and ceis, that they that ar present may be free without feir of Men of Weir or utheris; and that in the meane Tyme ane Messinger be send be the said Deputis to the King and Quene, to certifie thame of they Things agreit, treatit and concordit, re-queisting thair Majesties humilly to be contented with the samyn. And the said Conventioun sall be als lawfull in all Respectis, as the samyn had bein ordeyned and done be expres Comandiment of thair Majesties. Provyding that na Matter tharein be treated befor the said first Day of *Augusti*.

Item, Upoun the Artickle presented anent Weir and Peace, the saids Deputis consentis, concordis, &c. that the King and Quene nether mak Peice nor Weir in thir Parts, bot be the Jugement, Counsaill, and Consent of the thrie Estaitis, according to the Ordinance and Consuetude of the Cuntrey; and as was observed be thair Predecessours.

Item, Upoun the Petitioun presentit to the saids Deputes anent the Govern-ment and Regiment of the Policy, they have consentit, &c. that twenty four worthy Men of this Realme be chosen be the thrie Estaitis, of the quhilks the King and Quene sall chuis seven, and the Estaitis seven; quhilks in thair Majesties Absence sall tak Ordour, and mak ane ordinary Counsaill for Administratioun foirsaid, sa that na Man of quhatsoever Quality he be, sall have the Power to ordour any Thing to be done tuitching the saids Bussines, without the Meditatioun, Authority, and Consent of thame; sa that the saids Counsaillours sall convey together, als oft as they may, bot they sall convey no les than twelf together. And quhen ony Matter of Importance occurs, they sall be all called to consult, and tak Ordour be thame, or the maist Parte of thame, if neid beis. And if it happens ony of the said seven chosen be the King and Quene to deceis, thair Majesties sall chuis ane uther furth of the said Number of 24, in plaice of him that deceises. And if ony of the saids 17 chosen be the Estaitis deis, the remanent foirchosen be thame sall name ane uther of the said Numer of 24. Mareover, if it bes thocht expedient to the saids Estaites, that uther twa be augmented to the said Numer of 12, then and in that cas the King and Quene sall chuse ane, and the Estaites ane uther. And sa was this Artickle agreed under Conditoun, that is to say, That the same be na Prejudice in Tyme cuming to the King and Quene, and Richts of the Crown. And the saids Deputes offered thair Labours to mak Meditatiouns to the King and Quene, for menteining Pensiouns and Expenses of the saids Counsaillours, and ordinary Officers of the said Counsaill, to be provyded of the Rents and Proventis of the Crown.

Item, Upoun the Petitioun maid to the saids Deputes, anent the Officers of this Realme, &c. they consented and concorded, &c. That in Tyme cuming the King and Quein sall not depute ony Strangers in the Administratioun of the civill and criminall Justice, and in lykewaves in the Office of Chancellary, Keeper of the Seall, Thesaurer, Comptroller, and uther lyke Offices, and sall not use thame, bot sall be content with thair awn Subjectis, borne within this Realme. Mareover, it sall not be lesfull to put the Offices of

Theſaurie, Controllerie, into the Hands of ony Kirkman, or uthers quhilks are not abell to exerces the ſaids Offices, the quhilks Controller and Theſaurer ſall be provyded of ſufficient Comiſſioun to uſe the ſaids Offices. Bot it ſall not be leſull to thame to diſpoin, or ſell Wards of Marriages, or uther Casualties, or ony uther Thing quhatſumevir they be, perteing to thair Offices, without Counſaill and Conſent of the ſaid Counſaill, to that Effect that the Counſaill may know, that all Things be done to the Profite of the King and Quein; and yit they will not bynd, or aſtriēt the King and Quein be this Artickle, that they may not giſe quhen they think expedient.

Item, They concorded, That in the firſt Conventioun and Parliament of the Eſtats of this Realme, there ſall be conſtitute, ordained, and eſtabliſhed a Law of Oblivioun, whiche efterwards ſall be confirmed by the King and Queins Majeſties: By the whiche all Remembrance of bearing of Armour, and uther Things whiche hes bene done, ſall be buryed, earthed, and forget, fra the ſext Day of the Monthe of *Merche*, in the Yeir of God 1558 Yeirs. And be the ſam Law, they which have contravened the Lawis of this Realme ſall be eximed, and fre of all Paynes contained tharein, ſicklyk as if it had nevir bene contravened; provyding that the Priviledges of the ſaid Law be not extended to thame whiche the Eſtats of the Realme ſall think unworthie thareof.

Item, It is agreed and concluded, That in the ſaid Conventioun, or Parliament, the Eſtats of the Realme, as Uſe is, and of the Maner is requyred, ſall be called; in the whiche all they that have uſit to convein, and be preſent, may cum without all Fear or Force done, or to be done to thame be ony Perſone, ſua that the ſaids ſall obleis thame, that quhare in Tyme cuming ony Seditioun, or Conventioun of Men of Weir ſall hapen to be, without the Comand of the Counſaill, being of the Number of twelf, the Realme and Cuntrey ſall repute the Cauſers thareof, and thame that conveins, as Rebellis, and ſall purſew thame as ſicklyk, that they may be puniſhed by the Lawis of the Realme, ſo that the King and Quein ſall not be compelled in Tymes cuming to ſend ony Men of Weir, or Strangears in thir Partes, for obteneing of dew Obedience of thair Subjectis.

Item, They offered to concord and agree, That thare ſall be a generall Peace and Reconciliation among all Lords and Subjects of this Realme; ſo that they that ar called of the Congregatioun, and they whiche ar not of the ſam, ſall put no Reproche to uthers of the Things whiche are done fra the ſaid ſex Day of *Merche* 1558.

Item, They offered, concorded, and affirmed, That the King and Quein ſall not perſew, revenge, nor mak ony Perſecution of the Things that have bene done, nor yit ſall they ſuffer the ſam to be done be thair Subjects, *Frenchemen*, bot ſall have all Things in Oblivioun, as if the ſam had nevir bene done. And ſicklyk, the Lords of this Realme of *Scotland* ſall do in all Buſineſſes betwix thame and the *Frenchemen* in thir Partes. And if, by ſiniſter Informatioun, or ony uther Occaſioun, thair Majeſties have conceived an evill Opinioun againſt thair Subjects, they ſall utterlie forget and change the ſam; nor they ſall not depryve ony of thame, nor devyde ony of thame, or of thair Subjects, of the Offices, Benefices, or Eſtats whiche they have bruiked in the ſaid Realme befor, be Reſſoun of ony Things they have medled with, fra the ſaid ſex Day of *Merche* 1558. And farder, ſall mak na Occaſioun of Deprivation, or depoſing of thame by ony uther Cullour without Caus, bot rather they

they fall esteim and treate thame in Tyme cuming as gude and obedient Subjects, provyding that the saids Lords and uthers Subjects, one thair Parte, mak to thair Majesties haill Obedience, sicklyk as uther naturall and saythfull Subjects aucht to thair Soveranes.

Item, It is concorded and agreed, That it fall be lesum to nane of the Lords of the Nobility of *Scotland*, or ony uthers, to mak Convocation of Men of Weir, bot in the ordinary Causes approved be the Lawis and Consuetude of the Realme; and that nane of thame fall caus ony Men of Weir, Strangers, to cum in thir Partes, and mekell less fall attempte to do ony Thing against the King and Quein, or against the Authority of the Counsaill, and uther Magistrates of the Realme; and they whiche have presented the said Petitioun, fall be oblisched thareunto. And in case ony of thame, or uthers, find Occasioun to invaid, or tak Armour aganst ony Man, as he pretends, efter that he have communicate the Matter with the Counsaill of the Realme, he fall present his Complaint to thair Majesteis; and generally they fall obleis thame, under the saids Paynes, to do the Things whiche pertains to gude and saythfull Subjects, for the Quietnes and Tranquillitie of the Realme, and Richts of thair Soveranes.

Item, It is agreed, &c. That if ony Bischopis, Abotis, or ony uther Kirkmen, fall plaint or alledge thame to have received ony Injuries, eyther in thair Persones or Gudes, the Plaint fall be sein and considered be the Estaits in the said Conventioun and Parliament, and thare fall be maid Redres as they fall find according to Ressone: And, in the meane Tyme, no Man fall stoppe thame, bot they fall bruke thair Gudes; nor fall do ony Skayth, Injury, or Violence to thame. And if ony does contravein to this Artickle, he fall be persewed be the Lords, as ane Perturber of a gude Comoun-welthe.

Item, It is concorded, &c. That the saids Lords fall obleis thame to observe, and caus to be observed, all and fundrie Points and Artickles agreed in this Treatise: And if it happens that ony of thame, or ony uther, wald contravein the same, the remanent Lords, and Residew of the haill Pepill, fall be Enemies to him, and fall persew him till he be chastised and punished according to his Demerites.

Item, It is concorded, &c. That all the haill Realme may know, that the King and Quene are not willing to ony Remembrance of ony of the Trubils and Differences bygane, and so far as concernes the Nobility, and uther Subjects of the Realme, that thair Majesties desyre to treate thame humanelie, and to be favourabell unto thame; the saids Deputs hes promisit and concorded, that the Duke of *Chattellerault*, and all uthers Nobill Men of *Scotland*, fall be remitted, and put agane in all thair Gudes and Benefices, whiche they had and joyssed in *France*, that they may bruke and joyse the sam in the sam Maner as they did of befor the Differences, the sext Day of *Merche* 1558 Yeirs, forsaid, evin as the said Contraverfies had nevir chanced: And also, that all Capitulationis and Artickles agreed upoun in Tymes bygane, and specially they that war appointed in the King and Quenes Contract, fall be observed and keipit, alsweill for the Parte of thair Majesties as for the Parte of the Nobilitie and Pepill of *Scotland*. And as concerning *David Sone* to the said Duke of *Chattellerault*, now being in *Boys de Vincent*, Libertie fall be granted to him to returne to *Scotland*, and to do as he pleises. Mair-over, quhen the saids Deputs exponed, that sum Tyme it micht chance, that the King micht mister of his grit Gunis and Artillyrie in *France*,

the saids Lords haveing Consideratioun thareof, concorded, that na uther Artillirie be transported or translated out of this Realme, bot they whiche wer sent and brocht in fra the Day of the Deceis of *Francis* King of *France*, of gude Memory, to thir Partes; and that all uther Artilliry and Munitioun be reponed in Places quhare they wer takin furth, and in speciall that have the Armes of *Scotland*, fall be put in the Places quhare they wer takin furth of, and thare fall be Nobill Men of *Scotland* apointed tharefoir, and twa for the Parte of the Kings Majestie ar to be depute, to recognosce the same asfor the schipping thareof.

And mareover, that quhare for the Parte of the Nobilitie and Pepill of *Scotland*, certane Artickles concerning the Religioun, and uther Points, wer presented, whiche the saids Deputes wald not twitche; bot considdering the Wecht and Importance of thame, remitted the same to be recognosced and decyded by thair Majesties. The saids Lords and Nobilitie promesit, that ane certane Nummer of Nobill Men sould be chosin in the nixt Conventioun and Parliament, to be sent to thair Majesties, whiche fall expone to thair Heinesses the Things whiche fall be thocht neidfull for the Estait of thair Buines; and for the formentioned, and uther Artickles and Pointes undecyded with the saids Deputes, to the Effect that they may know thair Majesties Intentioun and Benevolence, upoun the Things whiche fall be exponed for the Parte of the Cuntry, the quhikls als fall have with thame ane Confirmatioun and Ratificatioun by the Estaits of the Realme, of the Artickles quhilks ar concorded and agreed be the saids Deputes, to quhome als the same Tyme, or of befor, fall be gevin and delivered ane lyke Confirmatioun and Ratificatioun maid by thair Majesties, so being that the saids Estaits send thair Ratificatioun forsaid.

The Proclamatioun of thir Thingis above written and maid, the 8th Day of *Julii*, the Yeir of God 1560.

TO the Loving of the most Puissant Lord and Comfort of all Christianes, the maist puissant Prince and Princes, and maist Christiane King and Quein *Francis* and *Marie*, be the Grace of God King and Quein of *France* and *Scotland*, and by the most puissant Princes *Elizabeth*, by the same Grace, Quein of *England*, &c. it is concordit, and Reconciliatioun of Peace and Amity maid, quhilk is to be observed inviolable amongis thame, thair Subjectis, Realmes and Cuntreyis, forasmekill as in Name of the said Prince and Princess, it is commanded and straitly chaired to all Maner of Persones under thair Obedience, or being in thair Service, fra this Tyme furth, to desist fra all Hostilitie, bayth by Sey and Land, and to keip ane gude Peice, the one with the uther, and with Chairge to the Breakeris, under thair grit Perrill.

These Things transacted, and the Peice proclaimed, as said is, suddane Provisioun was maid for transporting of the *Frenche* to *France*, of quhome the most Parte war put into the *Englische* Schipis, quho also caryed with thame the haill Spoyllie of *Leyth*; and that was the secund Benefite, quhilk they received of thair late promiseid Liberty, the End quhareof is not yit cum. The *Englische* Army by Land departed, the 16th of *Julii*, the Yeir of God 1560 Yeirs. The most Parte of our Nobility Protestantes honorably convoyed thame (as in very deid they had weill deserved) Bot the Lord *James* wald not leave the Lord *Gray*, with the uther Nobilmen of *England*, till that they entered in

Berwick

Berwick. Efter quhais returning the Counsaill began to luke alsweill upoun the Affairs of the Comoun-welthe, as upoun the Matters that micht concerne the Stability of Religion. As befor we have hard, the Parliament was concluded to begin the 20 of *Julii*, and to be continewed till the 1st of *August* nixt; and therefore the Lords maid the gritter Expeditioun, that all Things micht be put in convenient Ordour. Bot before all Things, the Preicheours exhorted thame (for then in *Edinburghe* wer the cheif Parte of the Ministers of the Realme) to be thankfull unto God; and nixt to provide, that the Ministers micht be distributed, as the Necessity of the Cuntrey required. A Day was statute, quhen that the haill Nobility, and grittest Parte of the Congregation, assembled in Sanct *Gyles* Kirk in *Edinburghe*, quhare efter the Sermon maid for that Purpose, publiſt Thankes wer gevin unto God, for his mercifull Deliverance, in Forme as follows.

Thanksgiving for our Deliverance, with Prayeris.

O Eternell and Everlasting God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, quho hes not onely comanded us to pray, and promiseit to heir us, but also willest us to magnifie thy Mercies, and glorifie thy Name, quhen thou schawest thy self pitifull and favourabell unto us; especially quhen thou delivers us from disperat Dangers: For so did thy Servantis, *Abraham*, *David*, *Jehosaphat* and *Ezechias*, yea, thy haill Pepill of *Ijrael* omitted not the sam, quhen thou by thy mighty Hand did confound thair Enemies, and did deliver thame from Feir and Danger of Deyth intended. We aucht not, nor can we foryet, O Lord, in how miserabell Estait, stude this pure Cuntrey, and we the just Inhabitanes of the same, not mony Days past; quhen Idolatry was mantained, quhen cruell Strangers did impyre, quhen Virgines war defloured, Matrones corrupted, Mens Wyfis violently and villanously oppressed, the Bluid of Innocentes sched without Mercy; and finally, quhen the injust Comandments of proude Tyrantes wer obeyed, as ane Law. Out of those Miseries, O Lord, culd neyther our Wit, Pollicy nor Strenthe deliver us; yea, thou didest schaw to us, *how vane was the Helpe of Man*, quhair thy Blessing gevethe not *Victorie*. In those our Anguishes (O Lord) we sobbed unto the, we cryit for thy Helpe, we proclaimed thy Name, as thy troubled Flock, persecuted for thy Treuthes Saik. Mercifully hes thou hard us, O Lord, mercifully, we say, becaus that nether in us, nether yit in our Confederates, was thare any Caus quhy that thou souldest have gevin unto us so joyfull and suddane a Deliverance; for nether of us bothe ceassit to do wickedly, even in the Middelt of our grittest Troubles; and yit hes thou luiked upoun us sa pitifully, as that we had gevin unto the most perfyte Obedience: For thou hes disappointed the Counsaills of the Crafty; thou hes brydilled the Raige of the Cruell, and thou hes of thy Mercy set this our perisching Realme at aressonable Liberty. Oh give us Hairts (thow Lord that onely gives all good Giftes) with Reverence and Feir, to meditat thy wondrous Warks late wrocht in our Eyis. Lat not the Remembrance of the sam unthankfully to slipe out of our wavering Mynds. We grant and acknowlege, O Lord, that quhatsoever we have received sall fall in Oblivioun with us, and so turne to our Condemnation; unles thou by the Power of thy Holy Spreit, keip and retene us in recent and perpetuall Memory of the sam. We beseik the therefore, O Father of Mercies, that as of thy undeserved Grace, thou hes partely removed our

Darknes, suppressed Idolatry, and talking from above our Heids the devouring Sword of merciles Strangears, that so it will pleis the, to proceed with us in this thy Graice begun. And albeit that in us thare is nothing that may move thy Majesty to schaw us thy Favour ; O yit, for Christ Jesus thy onely weil beloved Sone's Saik (quho's Name we beir, and quho's Doctrine we profes) we beseik the nevir to suffer us to forsaike, or deny this thy Verity, quhilk now we profess: Bot seing that thow hes mercifully hard us, and hes caussit thy Verity to triumphe in us ; so we crave of the Continewance to the End, that thy godly Name may be glorified in us thy Creatures. And seing that nothing is more odious in thy Presence (O Lord) then is Ingratitude, and Violatioun of an Othe, and Covenant maid in thy Name ; and seing that thow hes maid our Confederates of *England*, the Instruments, by quhome we ar now set at this Liberty, to quhome we in thy Name have promiseit mutuall Fayth agane ; Let us nevir fall to that Unthankfulnes, O Lord, that eyther we declair ourselfis unthankfull unto thame, or Prophaneris of thy holy Name. Confound thow the Counsaills of those that go about to break that most godly League contracted in thy Name, and retene thow us so firmly together, by the Power of thy holy Spreit, that Sathan have nevir Power to set us agane at Variance nor Discord. Geve us thy Graice to lyve in that Christian Charity, whiche thy Sone our Lord Jesus, hes so earnestly commandit to all the Members of his Body, that uther Natiouns, provoiked by our Example, may set alyde all ungodly Weir, Contentiouns and Stryfe, and study to live in Tranquillity and Peice, as it becums the Scheip of thy Pasture, and the Peple that dayly luiket the for our finall Deliverance, by the Cuming again of our Lord Jesus. To quhome, with thee, and the Holy Spirit, be all Honour, Glory and Prays now and evir. *Amen.*

Heirefter wer the Comissioneris of Burghes, with sum of the Nobility and Baronis, apointed to sie the equall Distributioun of Ministers, to change and transporte, as the most Parte sould think expedient. And so wes *Johne Knox* apointed to *Edinburgh*, *Christopher Gudeman* (quho the most Parte of the Trubells had remained in *Air*) wes apointed to Sanct *Androis*, *Adame Heriot* to *Aberdene*, Mr. *Johne Row* to Sanct *Johnestown*, *Paul Meffane* (to quhome was no Infamy than knawn) to *Jedburghe*, *William Christesone* to *Dundie*, and *David Fergusoun* to *Dumfermling*, and Mr. *David Lindefay* to *Leytb*. Thare war nominat for Superintendents, Mr. *Johne Spottiswode* for *Lauthiane*, Mr. *Johne Winrame* for *Fyfe*, Mr. *Johne Willock* for *Glasgow*, the Laird of *Dun* for *Angus* and *Mernes*, Mr. *Johne Carswell* for *Argyll* and the *Illes*. These to be elected at the Days apointed, unles that the Cuntreys, quharein they war to be appointed, could in the mein Tyme find out Men more abill or sufficient, or ells schaw sick Causes, as micht inhabill thame from that Dignity.

The Parliament aproching, dew Adverteisment was maid be the Counsaill to all sick, as by Law and ancient Custome had, or micht clame to have Vote tharein. The Assembly was grit, notwithstanding that sum, alsweill of these that wer called spirituall as temporall Lords contemptuously did absent thame-selves. And yit the cheif Pilleres of the Papisticall Kirk gave thair Presens, sick as the Bischopes of Sanct *Androis*, *Dumblane* and *Dunkeld*, with uthers of the inferiour Sort, besydes thame that had renuncit Papistry, and opinly professit Jesus Christ with us, sick as the Bischope of *Galloway*, the Abbottes of *Lendores*, *Culrofs*, Sanct *Colmes Inche*, *Newbottell* and *Halyrudebous*, the Pryour of Sanct

Sanct Androis, Coldinghame and Sanct Marie Ile, the Suppriour of Sanct Androis, and divers uthers, quhome we observed not.

At the same Tyme of Parliament, *Johne Knox* publictly taucht the Prophet *Haggai*; the Doctrine was proper for the Tyme. In Applicatioun quhareof he was so speciall, and so vehement, that sum, having grither Respect to the World then to God's Glory, seilling thameselfis pricked, said in Mockage, *We man now forget ourselfis, and beir the Barrow, to build the Hous of God.* God be mercifull to the Speiker; for we seir, that he sall have Experience, that the Building of his awn Hous (the Hous of God being despyit) sall not be so prosperous, and of sick Firmity, as we desyre it wer. And albeit sum mocked, yit uthers wer godly moved, quho did assemblill thameselfis together to consult quhat Things wer to be proponed to that present Parliament; and efter Deliberatioun was this subsequent Supplicatioun offerit.

The Baronis, Gentillmen, Burgeses, and uthers trew Subjectis of this Realme, professing the Lord Jesus within the same,

To the Nobilitie and Staitis of Parliament presentlie assembled within the said Realme, desyre Graice, Mercie and Peice, from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Incres of his Holie Spirit, &c.

PLeas your Honours to reduce to Remembrance, how divers and sundry Tymes, we (with sum of yourselves) most humilly suited at the Feet of the late Quene Regent, Fredome and Liberty of Conscience, with a godly Reformatioun of Abuses, quhilk, be the Malice of Sathan and Negligence of Men, ar croppen in, in the Religioun of God, and ar menteined be sick as tak upoun thame the Name of Clergy. And albeit that our godly and maist ressonable Suit wes then disdaynefully rejected, quhareof no small Trubles have ensewed, as your Honours well knaw, yet seing that the same Necessity yet remanethe that then moved us; and mareover, that God of his Mercy hes now put into your Hands to tak sick Ordour, as God thareby may be glorified, this Comoun-welthe quieted, and the Policy thareof establisched. We cannot ceas to crave of your Honours the Redres of sick Enormities, as manifestly ar, and of lang Tyme have bene, comitted by the Place-holders of the Ministry, and uthers of the Clergy within this Realme. And *first*, Seing that God of his great Mercy, by the Licht of his Word, hes manifested to no small Nummer of this Realme, that the Doctrine of the *Romane* Kirk, receaved by the said Clergy, and menteined throw thair Tyrany by Fyre and Sword, containeth in itself mony pestiferous Errours, quhilk cannot bot bring Damnatioun to the Saulls of sick as tharewith sall be infected; sic as ar the Doctrine of Transubstantiatioun; of the Adoratioun of Christs Body, under the Forme of Bread, as they tearme it; of the Merits of Warks, and Justificatioun that they allege cumeth thareby; together with the Doctrine of the Papisticall Indulgences, Purgatory, Pilgrimage, and praying to Sanctis departed; quhilk all eyther repugne to the plane Scriptures, or ells have no Ground of the Doctrine of our Master Jesus Christ, his Prophets, nor Apostles.

First, We humilly tharefore crave of your Honours, That sick Doctrine and Idolatry as by God's Word ar bothe condemned, so may they be abolisched be Act of this present Parliament, and Punischment apointed for the Transgressours.

Secundlie, Seing that the Sacraments of Jesus Christ ar most schamefully abused and prophaned by that *Romane* Harlot and hir sworne Vassalls; and also becaus that the trew Disciplin of the ancient Kirk is utterly now amongs us and that Sect extinguished: (For quho within the Realme ar more corrupt in Lyfe and Maners, than ar they that ar called the Clergy, living in Huredome, Adultery, desloring Virgins, corrupting Matrones, and doing all Abhominatioun, without fear of Punischment;) We humilly tharefore desyre your Honours to find Remedy against the one and the other.

Thridlie, Becaus that *Man of Sin* most falsly doeth clame to himself the Tittles of, *The Vicare of Christ*, *The Successour of Peter*, *The Heid of the Kirk*, *That he cannot erre*, *That all Power is granted unto him*, &c. by the quhilk usurped Authority, he takes upoun him the Distributioun and Possessioun of the haill Patrimony of the Kyrk, quhareby the trew Ministers of the Worde of God lang Tyme hes bene altogether neglected, the godly Learning despyfed, the Schuilles not provyded, and the Pure not onely defrauded of thare Portioun, bot also most tyrrounously oppressed: We lykways hereof desyre Remedy.

And least that your Honours sould dout in ony of the former Premises, we offer our selves evidently to prove, That in all the Rabill of the Clergy thair is not ane lawfull Minister, if God's Word, the Praetes of the Apostles, the Sincerity of the primitive Kyrk, and thare awn ancient Laws, fall juge of lawfull Electioun. We farder offer our selfis to prove thame all Theves and Murtherers, yea, Rebels and Tratours to the lawfull Authority of Emperours, Kings and Princes, and tharefore unworthy to be suffered in ony reformed Comoun-wealth. How maliciously they have murthered our Brethren, for no uther Caus, bot for that they have offered unto us the Licht of God's Word, your Honours cannot be ignorant; and in quhat Hafsard thair Tyranny hes brocht this haill Realme, the Ages efter will consider. If ye luke in thame for any uther Frute in Tymes to cum, then ye have sene in thame quhome we accuse, we ar assured ye fall be deceived. Now hes God, beyond all Expectatioun of Man, made yourselves, quho sumtymes wer Suppyantes with us for Reformatioun, Juges, as it war, in the Cause of God: At least, he hes so subdewed your Enemies unto yow, that by Violence they ar not able to suppress the Verity, as haretosor they have done. We tharefore, in the Bowells of Jesus Christ, crave of your Honours, that eyther they may be compelled to answer to our former Accusatiouns, and unto sick uther Things as we justly have to lay to thare Charges, or ells that (all Affectioun layd asyde) ye pronounce thame sick by Censment of this Parliament, and caus thame to be so reputed, as by us most justly they ar accused: Especialy, that they may be decerned unworthy of Honour, Authority, Charge, or Cure within the Kirk of God; and so from hencefurth never to joy Vote in Parliament. Quhilk if ye do not, then, in the Fear of God, and by the Assurance of his Word, we forewarne yow, that as ye leave a greavous Yock and a Burden intollerabell upoun the Kyrk of God within this Realme, so fall they be Thornes in your Eyes, and Pricks in your Sydes, quhome efter, quhen ye wald, ye fall have no Power to remove. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ give yow upricht Hearts, seking his Glory, and trew Understanding, quhat this Day he quho hes delivered yow from Bondage both Spirituell and Temporall, cravethe of yow by his Servantes: And your Answer maist humilly we require.

This

This our Supplication being red in Audience of the haill Assembly, divers Men wer of divers Jugementes; for as sum thare war that uprichtly favoured the Caus of God, so war thare maney that for worldly Respects abhorred a perfyte Reformatioun, (for how mony within Scotland that have the Name of Nobility, ar not injust Possessours of the Patrimony of the Kirk) and yet wer the Barrones and Ministers called, and Comandment geven unto thame, to draw in plane and severall Heads, the soun of that Doctrine quhilk they wald mantene, and wald desyre that present Parliament to establishe, as holsome, trew, and onely necessary to be beleved and received within that Realme. Quhilk they willingly accepted, and within four Days presented this Confessioun as it followethe, without Alteratioun of any ane Sentence.

The Confessioun of Fayth professed and beleved by the Protestantis within the Realme of Scotland, publisked by thame in Parliament, and by the Estaitis thare-of ratifeit and aprovit, as holsome and sound Doctrine, grounded upoun the infallibill Treuthe of Godis Word.

Mathei xxiv. And this glaid Tydingis of the Kingdome shall be preiched throw the haill World, for a Witnes unto all Natiounis, and then shall the End cum.

The P R E F A C E.

The Estaites of Scotland, with the Inhabitants of the same, professing Christ Jesus his holy Evangell, to thair naturall Cuntreymen, and unto all uther Realmes and Natiouns, professing the same Lord Jesus with thame, wisch Grace, Mercy and Peice from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirit of rychteous Jugement, for Salutatioun.

LAng have we thristed (dear Brethren) to have notified unto the World the Soun of that Doctrine quhilk we profes, and for the quhilk we have susteined Infamy and Danger. Bot sick bes bene the Rage of Satban against us, and against Christ Jesus his eternell Verity laity borne among us, that to this Day na Tyme bes bene granted unto us, to cleir our Consciencs, as maist gladlie we wald have done: For how we have bene tossed a haill Yeir bypast, the maist Parte of Europe (as we suppois) dois understand. Bot seing that of the infinite Gudeness of our God (quho never sufferetbe his afflicted utterly to be confounded) above Expectation, we have obtained sum Rest and Liberty, we culd not bot set furth this breve and plane Confessioun of sick Doctrine as is proponed unto us, and as we beleve and profes, partely for Satisfactioun of our Brethren, quhos Hairts we dout not have bene and yet ar wounded by the despytfull raylling of sick as yet have not learned to speik well: And partely for stopping of the Mouths of impudent Blasphemers, quho bauldlie condemne that quhilk they have nouthir hard nor understude: Not that we juge that the cankerit Malice of sick is abill to be cured by this simple Confessioun; No, we know that the sweet Savour of the Evangell is and shall be Deyth to the Sones of Perdition. Bot we have cheif respect to our waik and infirme Brethren, to quhome we wald communicat the Bottome of our Hairts, least that they be troubled and caryed away be Diversitie of Rumours quhilk Satban sparseth contrair

trair us, to the defacing of this our godlie Interpryis; protesting, That if any Man will note in this our Confessioun any Artickle or Sentence repugning to Gods Holie Word, that it wald pleis him, of his Gentilnes, and for Christiane Cheriteis Saik, to admonische us of the same in Writte, and we of our Honours and Fidelitie do promise unto him Satisfaction fra the Mouthe of God, that is, fra his Holie Scriptures, or ells Reformatioun of that quhilk he sall prove to be amiss. For God we tak to Record in our Consciences, That from our Hairts we abhorre all Sectis of Herefie, and all Teichers of erroneous Doctrine; and that with all Humilitie we embrace the Puritie of Christs Evangell, quhilk is the onelie Fude of our Sauulls; and therefore so precious unto us; that we ar determined to suffer the Extremitie of waridlie Danger, rather than that we will suffer our selvis to be defrauded of the same; for herof we ar maist certanely perswaidit, That quhosoever denys Christ Jesus, or is aschamed of him, in Presence of Men, sall be denyed befor the Father, and befor his holy Angells; and thairfoir be the Assistance of the michtie Spirit of the same Lord Jesus, we firmele purpois to abyde to the End in the Confessioun of this our Fayth.

I. Of GOD.

WE confese and acknowledge ane onely God, to quhome onely we most cleave, quhome onely we most worschip, and in quhome onely we put our Trust, quho is eternall, infinite, unmeasurabill, incomprehensibill, omnipotent, invisibill, ane in Substance, and yit distinct in thre Persones, the Father, the Sone, and the Holie Ghost; Be quhom we confese and beleve all Things in Heaven and in Earth, alsweill visibill as invisibill, to have bene created, to be reteined in thair Being, and to be rulled and guided be his unscrutabill Providence, to sick End as his Eternall Wisdome, Gudnes and Justice, hes apointed thame, to the Manifestatioun of his awn Glorie.

II. Of the Creatioun of Man.

We confese and acknowledge this our God to have created Man, (to wit, our first Father *Adame*) of quhome also God formed the Woman to his awn Image and Similitude, to quhome he gave Wisdome, Lordschip, Justice, fre Will and clear Knowledge of himself; so that in the haille Nature of Man thare culd be noted no Imperfectioun; frome quhilk Honour and Perfectioun Man and Woman bothe fell; the Woman be deceived by the Serpent, and Man obeying the Voice of the Woman, bothe conspyring aganst the Soverane Majestie of God, quho in expres Words had befoir threatned Deyth, if they presumit to eit of the forbidden Tree.

III. Of Originall Sinne.

By quhilk Transgressioun, comounlie called *Originall Sinne*, was the Image of God utterlie defaced in Man, and he and his Posteritie of Nature became Enemies to God, Slaves to *Sathan*, and Servants to Sine, in sa mekell that Deyth everlasting hes had, and sall have Power and Dominioun over all that hes not bene, ar not, or sall not be regenerat from above, quhilk Regeneratioun is wrocht be the Power of the Holie Ghost, working in the Heartis of the Elect of God, ane assured Fayth in the Promises of God, reveiled to

us in his Word; by quhilk Fayth they apprehend Jesus Christ, with the Graces and Benefites promisit in him.

IV. *Of the Revelatioun of the Promeis.*

For this we constantlie beleve, That God, efter the feirfull and horribill Defectioun of Man from his Obedience, did seik *Adame* agane, call upoun him, rebuik his Sine, convict him for his Sine, and in the End maid unto him a most joyfull Promeis, *to wit, that the Seyd of the Woman shall break down the Serpents Heid*; that is, *should destroy the Workis of the Devill*; quhilk Promeis as it was repeited and maid more cleir from Tyme to Tyme, so was it embraced with Joy, and most constantly reteined of all the Faythfull from *Adame* to *Noah*, from *Noah* to *Abraham*, from *Abraham* to *David*, and so furth to the Incarnatioun of Jesus Christ, quho all (we mein the faythfull Fatheris under the Law) did sie the joyfull Dayis of Christ Jesus, and did rejoyce.

V. *The Continewance, Increase, and Preservatioun of the Kirk.*

We most constantly beleve, That God preservit, instructit, multipleit, honourit, decorit, and frome Death callit to Lyf his Kirk in all Ages, fra *Adame*, till the cuming of Christ Jesus in the Flesche: For *Abraham* he callit frome his Fathers Cuntrey, him he instructit, his Seid he multipleit, the same he marvellously preservit, and more marvellously deliverit frome the Bondage of *Pharaoh*; to thame he gave his Laws, Constitutiouns and Ceremonies; Them he possessit in the Land of *Canaan*; to them after Juges, and efter *Saul*, he gave *David* to be King; to quhome he made Promeis, *That of the Frute of his Loyns should one sit for ever upoun his regall Sete*. To this same People frome Tyme to Tyme he sent Prophets to reduce thame to the right Way of their God, frome the whiche oftentimes they declyned by Idolatry. And albeit for thair stuborne Contemp of Justice, he was compellit to give thame into the Hands of thair Enemies, as before was threatnit be the Mouthe of *Moses*: Insomuche that the haill City was destroyed, the Tempel brunt with Fyre, and the hole Land left desolat the space of seventy Yeirs; yet of Mercy did he reduce thame agane to *Jerusalem*, quhere the City and Temple were re-edified, and thay, against all Temptatiouns and Assaults of Sathane, did abyde till the *Messias* came, according to the Promeis.

VI. *Of the Incarnatioun of Christ Jesus.*

When the Fulnes of Tyme came, God sent his Sone, his eternall Wisdom, the Substance of his awn Glory, into this Warld, quho tuk the Nature of Manhod, of the Substance of a Woman, *to wit, of a Virgine*, and that by the Operatioun of the Holy Ghost; and so was borne, The just Seid of *David*; The Angel of the great Counsaill of God; The very *Messias* promised, quhom we acknawlege, and confes; *Emanuel*, veray God and veray Man, two perfect Natures united and joyned in one Person. By whiche our Confessioun, we dampne the damnable and pestilent Heresies of *Arrius*, *Martion*, *Eutiches*, *Nestorius*, and such uthers, as eyther deny the Eternity of his Godhead,

or the Verity of his humane Nature, or confound thame, or yet divide thame.

VII. *Quby it behovit the Mediatour to be veray God and veray Man.*

We acknowlege and confes, That this most wondrous Coniunctioun betwix the Godhead and Manhood in Christ Jesus, did procede frome the eternall and immutable Decree of God, quhence also our Salvatioun springethe and dependethe.

VIII. *Electioun.*

For that samyn eternall God, and Father, quho of mere Mercy elected us in Christ Jesus his Sonne, befor the Fundatioun of the Warld was laid, appointed him to be our Heid, our Brother, our Pastour, and grit Bischope of our Saulls: Bot becaus that the Enmitie betwix the Justice of God and our Sinnes, was suche, that no Flesche by itself, could, or might have attained unto God, it behoved that the Sonne of God sould descend unto us, and tak himselfe a Body of our Body, Flesche of our Flesche, and Bones of our Bones, and so becam the perfeyte Mediatour betwix God and Man; giving Power to so mony as beleve in him, to be the Sonnes of God, as he himselfe dothe witnes. *I pas up to my Father and your Father, to my God and unto your God:* By whiche most holy Fraternity, quhatsoever we have lost in *Adame*, is restorit to us agane. And for this Caus ar we not afrayd to call God our Father, not sameikell in that he hes created us (quhilk we have comoun with the Reprobate) as for that he hes gevin to us his onely Sone to be our Brother, and gevin unto us Grace to embrace him for our onely Mediatour, as befor is said. It behovit farther the *Messias* and Redemar to be veray God and veray Man, becaus he was to underly the Punischment dew for our Transgressiouns, and to present himselfe in the Presens of his Fathers Jugement, as in our Persone, to suffer for our Transgressioun and Inobedience, by Deyth to overcum him that was Author of Deyth. Bot becaus the only Godhead culd not suffer Deyth, neyther culd the onely Manhod overcum the same; he joyned bothe together in one Persoun, that the Imbecilitie of the one sould suffer and be subject to Deyth (quhilk we had deservit) and the infinite and invincibill Power of the other, *to wit*, of the Godhead, sould triumphe, and purchas unto us Lyfe, Libertie, and perpetuall Victorie. And so we confes, and most undoubtedlie beleve.

IX. *Christs Deyth, Passioun, Burial, &c.*

That our Lord Jesus Christ offerit himselfe a voluntarie Sacryfice unto his Father for us; that he sufferit Contradietioun of Sinneris; that he was wounded and plagued for our Transgressiouns; that he being the cleane and innocent Lambe of God, was dampne in the Presens of ane earthlie Juge; that we micht be absolved befor the Tribunall Seit of our God: That he sufferit not onelie the cruell Deyth of the Crosse (whiche was accursit by the Sentence of God) bot also, that he sufferit for a Season the Wrathe of his Father, which Sinneris had deservit. Bot yit we avowe, That he remainit the onely wellbelovit and blessit Sonne of his Father, even in the midst

midest of his Anguifche and Torment, whiche he sufferit in Bodye and Soule, to mak the full Satisfactioun for the Sinnes of his People. Efter the quhilk, we confesse and avowe, that thare remanes no uther Sacrifice for Sinnes; whiche if any affirme, we nothing dout to avow, that thay ar Blasphemaris against Christs Dyth, and the everlasting Purgatioun and Satisfactioun purchassit unto us by the samyn.

X. Resurrectioun.

We undoubtedly beleve, That insomuch as it was impossibill that the Dolours of Deyth shold reteine in Bondage the Authour of Lyfe, that our Lord Jesus Christ crucified, deid, and buryed, quho descendit into Hell, did rise agane for our Justificatioun, and destroying him quho was Authour of Deyth, brought Lyfe agane to us that wer subject to Deyth, and to the Bondage of the same: We know that his Resurrectioun was confirmit by the Testimonie of his veray Enemies. By the Resurrectioun of the deid, quhose Sepulchres did open, and thay did aryse and appeirit to mony within the Citie of *Jerusalem*. It was also confirmit by the Testimonie of Angels, and by the Sences and Jugements of his Apostles and uthers, quho had Conversatioun, and did eat and drink with him efter his Resurrectioun.

XI. Ascensioun.

We nothing dout, bot that the self-same Body, quhilk was born of the Virgine, was crucified, deid and burried, and quhilk did rays agane, did ascend into the Heven, for the Accomplishment of all Thingis: Quhare, in our Names, and for our Comfort, he hathe resumed all Power in Heven and Eirthe: Quhare he sittethe at the Richt Hand of the Father, inaugurate in his Kingdome, Advocat, and onely Mediatour for us; quhilk Glory, Honour, and Prerogative, he alone amongis the Brethrein fall possesse, till that all his Enemeis be maid his Fute stuell, as that we undoutedly beleve they fall be in the finall Jugement, to the Executioun quhareof, we certanely beleve, that the sam our Lord Jesus fall visibly and apparently returne, as that he was sein ascende. And than we firmly beleve, that the Tyme of Refreshing and Restitutioun of all Things fall cum, insamikell that thos that from the Beginning have suffered Violence, Injury and Wrong, for Righteousnes Sake, fall inheryte that blessed Immortality promised from the Beginning. Bot contrary-wayis the stuborne, creuell, inobedient Oppressours, filthy Persones, Adulterars, and all Sortes of unfaythfull Men, fall be caste into the Dungeoun of utter Darknes, quhare thair Worme fall not dye, nether yit thair Fyre be extinguished: The Remembrance of the quhilk Day, and of the Jugement to be executed in the sam, is not onely to us a Brydell, quhareby our carnall Lustis are restrained, bot also suche inestimabell Comfort, that nether may the Threatning of warldly Princes, nether yit the Feir of temporall Deith and present Danger move us to renunce and foresaik that bleffit Society, quhilk we the Members have with our Heid and onely Mediatour Christ Jesus, quhome we confes and avowe to be the Messias promiseit, the onely Heid of the Church, our just Lawgevir, our onely Hie Preiste, Advocat and Mediatour. In quhilk Honouris and Offices, if a Man or Angel presume to intrude thame selfis, we utterly detaist and abhorre thame, as blasphemous to our soveraigne and supreim Governour Christ Jesus.

XII. *Fayth in the Holie Ghost.*

This our Fayth, and the Assurance of the sam, proceides not frome Flesche and Blude, that is to say, from na naturall Poweris within us: bot is the Inspiratioun of the Holy Ghost, quhome we confes God equall with the Father, and with the Sone, quho sanctifyeth us, and bringethe us in all Verity, by his awn Operatioun, without quhome we sould remane for ever Enemyes to God, and ignorant of his Sone Christ Jesus. For of Nature we ar so deid, so pervers and blind, that neather can we feill, quhen we ar pricked, sie the Lycht quhen it schynes, nor assent to the Will of God quhen it is reveilled, onely the Spreit of the Lord Jesus quickneth that whiche is deid, removethe the Darknes from our Myndis, and boweth our stubborne Heartis to the Obedience of his blef-sit Will: And so as we confes, that God the Father created us, quhen we war not, as his Sone our Lord Jesus redeamed us, quhen we wer Enemies to him: So also we confes, that the Holy Ghost does sanctifie and regenerat us, without all Respect to any Merite proceeding from us, be it befoir, or be it efter our Regeneratioun. To speik this one Thing yit in more plane Wordis, as we willingly spoyle ourselfis of all Honour and Glory of our awin Creatioun and Redemptioun; so do we also of our Regeneratioun and Sanctificatioun: For of ourselves we ar not sufficient to think ane gude Thocht; bot he quho hes begune the gude Wark in us, is onely he that contineweth us in the sam, to the Praise and Glory of his undeserved Graice.

XIII. *The Caus of guid Warkis.*

So that the Caus of guid Warkis, we confes to be, not our Frie-will, bot the Spreit of the Lord Jesus, quho dwelling in our Heartis be trew Fayth, bringis furth sick guide Warkis, as God hathe prepared for us, to walk into: For this we most baldly affirme, that Blasphemy it is to say, that Christ Jesus abydis in the Hart of sick, as in quhome thare is na Spreit of Sanctificatioun: And tharefoir we feir not to affirme, that Murtheraris, Oppressouris, cuell Persecutaris, Adulteraris, Whoremongaris, fylthy Persones, Idolateris, Drouinkardis, Theavis and all Workaris of Iniquity, have neather trew Fayth, neather ony Portioun of the Spreit of Sanctificatioun, whiche proceidethe fra the Lord Jesus, sa lang as they obstinately continew in thair Wickednes. For how sone that evir the Spreit of the Lord Jesus (whiche Godis elect Childrein receive by trew Fayth) takis Possessioun in the Hart of ony Man, so sone dois he regenerat and renew the sam Man; so that he begynes to hait that, whiche befoir he luffit, and begynes to luif that whiche befoir he hated; and frome thence comis that continewall Battell, quhilk is betwix the Flesche and the Spreit in Godis Childrein, whylle the Flesche and naturall Man (according to thair awn Corruptioun) lustis for Thingis pleising and delectabell to the self, grudges in Adversity, is lysted up in Prosperity, and at every Moment is prone and ready to offend the Majesty of God. Bot the Spreit of God, whiche geveth Witnesing till our Spreit, that we ar the Sones of God, makis us to resist the Devill, to abhorre fylthy Pleisoures, to grone in God's Presens, for Deliverance from this Bondage of Corruptioun; and finally, to triumphe over Syne, that it reigne not in our mortall Bodyes. This Battell hes not the carnall Men, being destitut of Godis Spreit, bot do follow and obey Syne with Greadynes, and with-
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out Repentance, even as the Devil and thair corrupt Lustis do prick thame. Bot the Sones of God (as befoir is said) does fecht against Syne, do sobb and murne, quhen thay perceave thame selfis tempted to Iniquity; and gif they fall, they rylse agane with Earnest, and unfeaned Repentance. And these Thingis thay do not, be thair awn Power, bot the Power of the Lord Jesus (without quhome they war abill to do nothing) warkethe in thame all that is guid.

XIV. *Quhat Warkis ar reputed guid befoir God.*

We confes and acknowlege, that God hes gevin to Man his holy Law, in whiche not onely ar forbiddin all sick Warkis, whiche displeis and offend his godlie Majesty; bot also ar comanded all sick as pleis him, and as he hath promised to rewarde. And these Workis be of two Sortes, the one ar done to the Honour of God, the uther to the Profeit of our Nychtbours: And bothe have the reveilled Will of God, for thair Assurance. To have one God, to worshipspe and honour him, to call upoun him in all our Trubells, to reverence his holy Name, to hear his Worde, to beleve the sam, to comunicat with his holy Sacramentis, ar the Warks of the first Table. To honour Father, Mother, Princes, Reullaris and superiour Poweris, to love thame, to supporte thame, yea, to obey thair Charges (not repugning to the Comandement of God) to save the Lyves of Innocentis, to repres Tyranny, to defend the Oppressit, to keip our Bodys cleane and holy, to lyve in Sobriety and Temperance, to deall justly with all Men, bothe in Worde and Deid; and finally, to repres all Appetite of our Nychtbouris Hurte, ar the guid Warks of the secound Table, whiche ar most pleasing and acceptabell unto God, as these Warks that ar comanded by himself. The contrary quhareof is Syne most odious, whiche alwayis displeises him and provockis him to Anger; as, not to call upoun him allone, quhen we have Nead; not till hear his Word with Reverence, to contempne and despyse it; to have or to worshipspe Idolles, to mantene and defend Idolatrie; lychtly to esteame the reverent Name of God; to prophane, abuse, or contempne the Sacramentis of Christ Jesus; to disobey or resist ony that God hes placed in Authority (whill they pas not over the Boundes of thair Office) to murther, to consent thareto, to bear Hatrent, or suffer innocent Bluid to be sched, gif we may ganestand it; and finally, the transgressing ony uther Comandment in the first or secound Table, we confes and affirme to be Syne, by the whiche God's hote Displeisour is kendilled against the proude and unthankfull Warld: So that guid Warkis we affirme to be these onely that ar done in Fayth at Godis Comandment, quho in his Law hes expressed quhat be the Thingis that please him. And evill Warks we affirme, not onely these that ar expressedly done against God's Comandment; but these also that, in Materis of Religioun and worshipping of God, have na Assurance, bot the Invention and Opinioun of Man, whiche God from the Beginning hes ever rejected, as by the Prophete *Esaiah*, and by our Maister Christ Jesus, we ar taucht in these Wordis, *In vane do they worshipspe me, teiching the Doctrine being Preceptis of Men.*

XV. *The Perfection of the Law, and Imperfection of Man.*

The Law of God, we confes and acknowlege, most just, most equall, most holy, and most perfite, comandng thois Thingis, whiche being wrocht in Perfection, war abell to geve Lyfe, and to bring Man to eternall Felicity. Bot our Nature is so corrupted, so weak and imperfite, that we ar never abell to fulfill the Warkes of the Law in Perfection; yea, *gif we say we have na Syne* (even efter we ar regenerat) *we deceave ourselfis, and the Verity of God is not into us.* And tharefoir, it behoved us to apprehend Christ Jesus, with his Justice and Satisfaction, quho is the End and Accomplishment of the Law, to all that beleve, by quhome we ar sett at this Liberty, that the Curs and Malediction of the Law fall not upoun us, albeit we fulfill not the sam in ali Pointis. For God the Father, behalding us in the Body of his Sone Christ Jesus, accepteth our imperfite Obedience, as it war perfite, and covereth our Warks, whiche ar defyled with mony Spottis, with the Justice of his Sone. We do not meane, that we ar set so at Liberty, that we aw no Obedience to the Law (for that befoir we have planely confessit) bot this we affirme, that na Man in Eirth (Christ Jesus onely excepted) hath gevin, geveth, or fall geve in Wark, that Obedience to the Law, quhilk the Law requyrethe; bot quhen we have done all Thingis, we must fall down, and unfeanedly confes, *That we ar unprofitable Servants:* And tharefoir, quhosoevir boast thamefelves of the Meritis of thair awn Warks, or put thair Trust in the Warks of Supererogation, thay boast thamefelfis of that whiche is not, and put thair Trust in damnable Idolatry.

XVI. *Of the Kirk.*

As we beleve in ane God, Father, Sone, and Holy Ghost, so do we most earnestly beleave, that from the Beginning thare hes bein, now is, and to the End of the World fall be a Church, that is to say, a Company and Multitude of Men chosen of God, quho rychtly worships and embrace him, by trew Fayth in Christ Jesus, quho is the onely Heid of the sam Kirk, whiche also is the Body and Spous of Christ Jesus; whiche Kirk is Catholik, that is, Universall, becaus it contains the Elect of all Aiges, all Realmes, Natiouns and Tounes, be they of the *Jewis*, or be they of the *Gentiles*, quho have Communion and Society with God the Father, and with his Sone Christ Jesus, throch the Sanctification of his Holy Spreit; and tharefoir it is called Communion, not of prophane Persones, bot of Sanctis, quho far Citiezens of the hevinly *Jerusalem*, have the Fruition of the most inestimable Benefits, to wit, of ane God, ane Lord Jesus, ane Fayth, and of ane Baptisme, without the quhilk Kirk, there is neather Lyfe, nor eternall Felicity: And tharefoir we utterly abhorre that Blasphemy of thois that affirme, that Men that live according to Equity and Justice, fall be saved, what Religioun soevir they have professit. For as without Christ Jesus there is neather Lyfe nor Salvation; so fall there nane be participant thareof, bot sick as the Father hes gevin unto his Sone Christ Jesus, and those in Tyme cum to him, avow his Doctrine, and beleve into him (we comprehend the Childrein with the faythfull Parents) This Kirk is invisable, knawn onely to God, quho allone knaweth it, quhome he hes chosin, and comprehends alsweall (as said is) the Elect that be departed
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(commonly called the Kirk Triumphant) as those that yet live, and fight against Syne and Sathan as shall live hereafter.

XVII. *The Immortalitie of the Soullis.*

The Elect departit are in Peace, and rest from thair Labors; not that they sleip, and cum to a certane Oblivioun (as sum fantastick Heids do affirme) bot that they ar deliverit frome all Feir, all Torment, and all Temptatioun, to whiche we and all Gods Elect ar subject in this Lyfe; and tharefore do beir the Name of the Kyrk militant. As contrary alwayes the Reprobate and Unfaythfull departit, have Anguische, Torment and Payne, that cannot be expressit. So that neyther ar the one nor the uther in suche Sleip, that they feell not Joye or Torment, as the Parabell of Christ Jesus in the sixteenth of *Luke*, his Words to the These, and these Wordis of the Soulls crying undar the Altare, *O Lord, thou that art rychteous and just, how lang sall thou not revenge our Bluid upoun thame that dwell upoun the Erthe*, dothe plainlie testifie.

XVIII. *Of the Notes by the whiche the true Kyrke is discerned from the false, and quho shall be Juge of the Doctrine.*

Beacus that Sathane frome the begining hathe laboured to deck his pestilent Synagogue with the Title of the *Kyrke of God*, and hathe inflaymit the Heartis of cruell Murthereris to persecute, trouble and molest the true Kyrk and Memberis thareof, as *Cayn* did *Abell*, *Ishmaell*, *Isaac*, *Esau*, *Jacobe*, and the holle Priesthode of the *Jewes*, Jesus Christ himselfe, and his Apostles efter him; It is a Thing most requisite, that the true Kyrk be discernit frome the filthie Synagogue, by clear and persyte Nottes, lest we being deceivit, receive and embrace to our awn Condemnatioun the ane for the uther. The Nottis, Signes, and assurit Tokens quhareby the Immaculate Spouse of Christ Jesus is knawne from the horribill Harlote the Kyrk malignant, we affirme, are neyther Antiquity, Titill usurpit, lineall Descent, Place appointit, nor Multitude of Men approving ane Errour; for *Cayn* in Age and Titill was preferit to *Abell* and *Sethe*. *Jerusalem* had Prerogative above all Places of the Erthe, quhere also war the Preists lineally descendit frome *Aaron*, and gitter Multitude followit the Scribes, Pharisees, and Preists, then unfaynedly belevit and approvit Christ Jesus and his Doctrine; and yet (as we suppos) no Man of holle Jugement will grant that any of the forenamit war the Kyrk of God. The Nottis tharefore of the true Kyrk of God, we beleve, confesse, and avowe, to be *first*, The trew Preiching of the Worde of God; into the whiche God hath revealit himselfe to us, as the Writings of the Prophetis and Apostles doe declare. *Secundlie*, The right Administratioun of the Sacramentis of Christ Jesus, whiche man be annexed to the Worde and Promeis of God, to seill and confirme the same in our Heartis. *Lastly*, Ecclesiasticall Discipline uprightly ministred, as Gods Worde prescribit, quhareby Vice is repressit, and Vertew nurisched. Quharesoever then these formar Nottis ar sene, and of any Tyme continew (be the Numer never so few above twa or thrie) thair, bot all dout, is the trew Kyrk of Christ, who according to his Promeis is in the midst of thame; not of that universell (of whiche we have befor spoken) bot particular, suche as was

in *Corinthus*, *Galatia*, *Ephesus*, and urther Plaices in whiche the Ministrie was playnted by *Paull*, and were of himselfe trew named the Kyrks of God. And suche Kyrks we the Inhabitantis of the Realme of *Scotland*, Professours of Christ Jesus, confes us to have in our Cities, Townes, and Places reformed: For the Doctrine taught in our Kyrks is contained in the writtin Worde of God, *to wit*, in the Bookes of the New and Old Testamentis; in those Buiks we mene, whiche of ancient have bene reputed Canonically, in the whiche we affirme that all Things necessary to be beleved for the Salvatioun of Mankind is sufficiently expresse. The Interpretatioun quhareof, we confes, neyther aperteinethe unto any private nor publicke Person; neyther yet to any Kyrk for any Preheminance or Prerogative personall or locall, whiche one hath above another, bot aperteinethe to the Spirit of God, by the whiche also the Scripture was writtin. When Contraversty then hapneth for the right Understanding of any Place or Sentence of Scripture, or the Reformatioun of any Abuse within the Kyrk of God, we ought not samekill to look what Men befor us have said or done, as unto that whiche the Holy Ghost uniformly speikerthe within the Body of the Scriptures, and unto that whiche Christ Jesus himselfe did, and commandit to be done. For this is a Thing universally grantit, That the Spirit of God, whiche is the Spirit of Unitie, is in nothing contrarious to himselfe. If then the Interpretatioun, Determinatioun, or Sentence of any Doctours, Kyrk or Counsaill, repugne to the plain Worde of God, writtin in any urther Place of Scripture, it is a Thing most certain that thair's is not the true Understanding and Meaning of the Holy Ghost; supposing that Counsaills, Realmes, and Natiouns have approvit and receivit the same. For we dare not receive and admit any Interpretatioun, whiche directly repugnethe to any principall Point of our Faith, to any urther plain Text of Scripture, or yet to the Rule of Cheritie.

XIX. *The Authoritie of Scripture.*

As we beleve and confesse the Scriptures of God sufficient to instruct, and mak the Man of God perfeit, so do we affirme and avowe the Authoritie of the sam to be of God, and neyther to depend on Men nor Angels: We affirme tharefore, That suche as allege the Scriptures to have no Authority, bot that which is received from the Kyrk, to be blasphemous against God, and injurious to the true Kirk, whiche alwayes hearth and obeyethe the Voyce of her awn Spouse and Pastour, bot takethe not upoun her to be Mistressse over the sam.

XX. *Of the Generall Counsaills, of thair Power, Authoritie, and Caus of thair Conventioun.*

As we not rashly dampne that whiche godly Men assemblit together in Generall Counsaills, lawfully gatherit, have approvit unto us: So without just Examinatioun dare we not receive quhatsoever is obrusifit unto Men, under the Name of Generall Counsaills; for plain it is, that as they were Men, so have some of thame manifestly errit, and that in Matters of grit Weight and Importance. So far then as the Counsaill provethe the Determinatioun and Comandment that it givethe by the plain Worde of God, so far do we reverence and imbrace the sam. Bot if Men, under the Name of
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a Counsaill pretend to forge unto us new Artickles of our Faith, or to mak Constitutiouns repugning to the Worde of God, then utterly we man refuis the sam, as the Doctrine of Devills, whiche drawethe our Soulls frome the Voyce of our onely God, to follow the Doctrines and Constitutiouns of Men. The Caus then quhy Generall Counsaills convenit, was neyther to mak any perpetuall Law (which God befoir had not maid) neyther yet to forge new Artickles of our Beleif, neyther to give the Worde of God Authority, much lesse to mak that to be his Worde, or yit the true Interpretatioun of the sam, whiche was not befoir by his holly Will expressit in his Worde. Bot the caus of Counsaills (we mean of sick as merited the Name of Counsaills) was partly for Confutatioun of Herysies, and for giving publike Confessioun of thair Faith to the Posterities following, quhilk bothe they did by the Authority of Gods writtin Worde, and not by any Opinioun or Prerogative that they culd not err, by reason of thair Generall Assembly. And this we juge to have bein the cheif caus of Generall Counsaills. The uther was for gude Policie and Ordour to be constitut and oblervit in the Kyrk, in whiche (as in the Hous of God) it becumethe all Things to be done decently, and in Ordour: Not that we think that ane Policie, and ane Ordour in Ceremonies can be appointit for all Ages, Tymes, and Places; for as Ceremonies (suche as Men have devysit) are bot temporall, so may and ought they to be changit, quhen they rather foster Superstitioun, then that thay edify the Kyrk using the same.

XXI. Of the Sacramentis.

As the Fathers under the Law, betydes the Veritie of the Sacryfices, had two cheif Sacramentis, *to wit*, Circumsioun and the Passeover, the Despisers and Contemnaris quhareof war not reputit for God's People: So we acknowlege and confesse, That we now, in Tyme of the Evangell, have two Sacramentis onely, institutit by the Lord Jesus, and commandit to be usit by all thos that will be reputit Memberis of his Body, *to wit*, Baptisme, and the Supper, or Table of the Lord Jesus, callit, *The Communion of his Body and Blood*. And these Sacramentis (as well of the Old as of the New Testament) were institutit of God, not onely to make a visibill Difference betwixt his People, and thos that war without his League; bot also to exercise the Fayth of his Children; and by Participatioun of the sam Sacramentis, to seill in thair Hearnis the Assurance of his Promeis, and of that most blessed Conjunctioun, Union, and Society, whiche the Elect have with thair Heid, Christ Jesus. And thus we uterly dampne the Vanity of thos, that affirme Sacramentis to be nothing els bot nakit and bare Signes. No, we assuredly beleve, That by Baptisme we ar ingraftit into Jesus Christ, to be maid Partakeris of his Justice, by the whiche our Sinnes ar coverit and remittit. And also, That in the Supper, rightly usit, Christ Jesus is so joyned with us, that he becumeth the very Nurischment and Foode of our Saullis. Not that we imagine any Transubstantiatioun of Breid into Christs naturall Body, and of Wine into his naturall Blood, (as the Papists have perniciously taught, and damnably beleved) but this Unioun and Communion whiche we have with the Body and Blood of Christ Jesus in the right Use of the Sacramentis, is wrought by Operatioun of the Holy Ghost, quho by trew Fayth carrieth us above all Thingis that ar visibell, carnall, and earthly, and makethe us to

feid upoun the Body and Blood of Christ Jesus, whiche was once broken, and schēd for us, whiche now is in the Heaven, and appeirethe in the Presence of his Father for us. And yet notwithstanding the far Distance of Place, whiche is betwixt his Body now glorified in the Heaven, and us now mortall in the Erthe; Yit we most assuredly beleve, That the Bread that we breake is the Communion of Christs Body, and the Cupe whiche we blesse, is the Communion of his Blood. So that we confesse and undoubtedly beleve, That the saythfull, in the right Use of the Lords Table, so do eat the Body, and drink the Blood of the Lord Jesus, that he remainethe in thame, and thay in him: Yea, that thay ar so mad Flesche of his Flesche, and Bones of his Bones, that as the eternall Godhead hathe gevin to the Flesche of Christ Jesus (whiche of the owne Condition and Nature was mortall and corruptible) Lyfe and Immortality; so dothe Christ Jesus Flesch and Blood eaten and drunken by us, give to us the sam Prerogatives; quhill albeif we confesse, ar neyther gevin unto us at that onely Tyme, neyther yit by the proper Power and Vertue of the Sacraments onely; yet we affirme, That the saythfull in the right Use of the Lords Table hath suche Coniunctioun with Christ Jesus, as the naturall Man cannot comprehend: Yea, and farder we affirme, That albeif the saythfull oppreffit by Negligence, and manly Infirmitie, doeth not profit so muche as thay wald at the veray instant Actioun of the Supper, yit fall it efter bring forthe Fruite, as lively Seid sōwen in gude Grund; for the Holie Spirit whiche can never be dividit from the right Institutioun of the Lord Jesus, will not frustrat the saythfull, of the Frute of that mysticall Actioun. Bot all this we say cumeth by trew Fayth, whiche apprehendeth Christ Jesus, who onely maketh his Sacramentis effectuell unto us; and tharefore, quhosoever slandereth us, as that we affirm it or belevit Sacramentis to be onely nakit and bare Signes, do Injury unto us, and speak against a manifest Treuth. Bot this liberally and frankly we must confesse, That we mak a Distinction betwix Christ Jesus in his naturall Substance, and betwix the Elementis in the Sacramentall Signes. So that we will neyther worship the Signes, in place of that whiche is signified by them, neyther yit do we despise and interpret thame as unprofitable and vane, bot do use thame with all Reverence, examining our selves diligently befor that so we doe, becaus we ar assurit by the Mouth of the Apostle, *That suche as eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup unworthily, ar guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord Jesus.*

XXII. *Of the right Administratioun of the Sacramentis.*

That Sacramentis be rightly ministred, we jūge two Things requisite: The ane, that thay be ministred be lawfull Ministers, quhom we affirme to be onely they that ar appointit to the Preaching of the Worde, or unto quhose Mouthes God hathe put sum Sermone of Exhortatioun, they being Men lawfullie chusin thereto by sum Kyrk. The uther, That they be ministred in suche Elementis, and in suche Sorte as God hathe appointit. Els we affirme, That they ceas to be right Sacramentis of Christ Jesus. And tharefore it is, that we flie the Society with the Papisticall Kyrk, in Participatioun of thair Sacramentis; *first*, Becaus thair Ministers ar no Ministers of Jesus Christ (yea, whiche is more horribill) they suffer Women, quhome the Holy Ghost will not suffer to teach in the Congregatioun, to baptise. And *secondly*, Be-
caus

caus they have so adulterate, bothe the one Sacrament and the uther, with thair awn Inventionis, that no Part of Christs Actioun abyde in the originall Purity, for Oyle, Salte, Spittle, and suche lyke in Baptisme, are bot Mens Inventionis; Adoratioun, Veneratioun, bearing throw Streetes and Townes, and keiping of Breid in Boxes, ar Prophanatioun of Christs Sacraments, and no use of the same: For Christ Jesus said, *Tak and eat, &c. Do ye this in Remembrance of me.* By whiche Words and Charge he sanctified Bread and Wine to be the Sacrament of his Body and Blood; to the end, that one shuld be eaten, and that all shuld drink of the uther, and not that they shuld be kept to be worschipit and honourit as God, as the blind Papists have done heretofore, quho also have comittit Sacrilege, stealing frome the People one Part of the Sacrament, *to wit*, The blest Cupe. Mair over, that the Sacramentis be rightly usit, it is requirit, That the End and Caus quhy the Sacramentis wer institutit, be understode and observit, as well of the Minister as the Receivers: For if the Opinioun be changit in the Receiver, the right Use ceiseth: Whiche is most evident by the Rejection of the Sacrifices (as also if the Teacher teach fals Doctrin) whiche war odious and abominabill unto God (albeit thay war his awn Ordinances) becaus that wicked Men usit thame to another End then God hathe ordayned. The sam affirme we of the Sacramentis in the Papistick Kyrk, in whiche we affirme the hole Actioun of the Lord Jesus to be adulterate, as well in the externall Forme, as in the End and Opinioun. Quhat Christ Jesus did, and commandit to be done, is evident by the thrie Evangelists, quho speak of the Sacrament, and by St. Paull. Quhat the Preist doeth at his Altar, we neid not to rehearse. The End and Caus of Christs Institutioun, and quhy the self-sam shuld be usit, is expressit in these Words, *Do ye this in Remembrance of me. As oft as ye shall eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cupe, ye shall shew forth* (that is, extoll, preach, and magnify) *the Lords Death till he cum.* Bot to quhat end, and in quhat Opinioun the Preists say thair Masses, lat the Words of the sam, thair awn Doctours and Writings witnesse, *to wit*, That thay as Mediatours betwixt Christ and his Kyrk, do offer unto God the Father, a Sacrifice propitiatory for the Sinnes of the quick and the dead. Whiche Doctrin, as blasphemous to Christ Jesus, and making Derogatioun to the Sufficiency of his onely Sacrifice once offerit for Purgatioun of all thos that fall be sanctified, we utterly abhorre, detest, and renounce.

XXIII. *To quhome Sacramentis apperteane.*

We confes and acknowlege, that Baptisme appertaeneth alswell to the Infantis of the Faythfull, as unto thois that be of Age and Discretioun: And so we dampne the Errour of *Anabaptistes*, quho deny Baptisme to apperteane to Childrein, befor that they have Fayth and Understanding. Bot the Suppar of the Lord, we confes to apperteane only to sick as have bein of the Household of Fayth, cane try and examyn thame selfis, asweill in thair Fayth, as in thair Dewty towardis thair Nychbours. Suche as eat at that holy Table without Fayth, or being at Discentioun and Divisioun with thair Brethren, do eat unworthely: And therefore it is, that in our Kirkis our Ministers taiks publick and particulare Examinatioun of the Knowlege and Conversatioun of suche, as ar to be admitted to the Table of the Lord Jesus.

XXIV. *Of the Civile Magistrat.*

We confes and acknowlege Empyres, Kingdomes, Dominiouns and Cities, to be distincted and ordaned by God, the Powers and Authorities in the sam (be it of Emperours in thair Impyris, of Kingis in thair Realmes, Dukis and Princes in thair Dominiouns, or of utheris Magistrates in frie Cities) to be God's holy Ordinance, ordeaned for Manifestatioun of his awn Glorie, and for the singulare Profeit and Comodity of Mankynd. So that quhosoever goes about to taik away, or to confound the holy Stait of Civile Policies, now lang establisched, we affirme the sam Men not onely to be Enemies to Mankynd, bot also wickedly to feycht against God's expressed Will. We farther confes and acknowlege, that sick Persones as ar placed in Authority, ar to be loved, honoured, feared, and holdin in most reverent Estimatioun; becaus they ar the Lieutennentis of God, in whose Sessioun God himself doeth sit and juge (yea, evin the Juges and Princes thamefelfis) to quhome by God is gevin the Sword, to the Prayse and Defence of guid Men, and to revenge and punishe all open Malefactours. To Kingis, moreover Princes, Reullaris and Magistratis, we affirme, that cheisly and maist principally the Reformatioun and Purgation of Religioun apperteanes; so that not onely they ar appoynted for civile Policey, bot also for Maintenance of the trew Religioun, and for suppressing of Idolatry and Superstitioun quhatsoever, as in *David*, *Josaphat*, *Ezekias*, *Josias*, and uthers hychlie comended for thair Zeal in the Caus may be espyed. And tharefoir we confes and avow, that sick as resist the supream Powaris (doing that Thing whiche apperteanes to his Charge) do resist God's Ordinance, and tharefoir cannot be giltles. And farther we affirm, That quhosoever deny unto thame thair Ayd, Counsaill and Comforte, whill the Princes and Reullaris vigilantly travaill in the executing of thair Office, that the sam Men deny thair Help, Supporte and Counsaill to God, quho by the Presence of his Lieutennent craveth it of thame.

XXV. *The Giftis frelie gevin to the Kirk.*

Albeit that the Word of God trewly preached, the Sacramentis richtly ministred, and Discipline executed according to the Word of God, be the certane and infallible Signes of the trew Kirk; yit do we not so meane, that every particular Person joyned with sick ane Company, be ane elect Member of Christ Jesus; for we acknowlege and confes, that Darnell, Cockle and Chaff may be sawn, grow, and in grit Abundance lye in the Middis of the Wheat; that is, the Reprobat may be joyned in the Society of the Elect, and may externally use with thame the Benefites of the Word and Sacramentis. Bot sick being bot temporall Professours in Mouth, bot not in Heart, do fall back, and continew not to the End: And tharefoir have they na Fruit of Christis Deyth, Resurrectioun nor Assentioun. Bot sick as with Heart unfeanedly beleve, and with Mouthe baldly confes the Lord Jesus (as befoir we have said) fall most assuredly resave these Giftis; *Firsi*, In this Lyfe, Remissioun of Synnes, and that by Fayth onely in Christ's Bluid, insomekill, that albeit Syne remane and continually abyde in thois our mortall Bodies, yit it is not imputed unto us, bot is remitted and covered with Christ's Justice. *Secundlie*, In the generall Jugement thare fall be gevin to every Man and Woman Resurrectioun

reſtjoum of the Fleſche. For the Sey ſall geve hir Deid, the Eirthe thois that tharein be incloſed: Yea, the Eternall our God ſall ſtretch out his Hand upoun the Duſt, and the Deyd ſall ariſe incorruptible, and that in the Subſtance of the ſam Fleſche that every Man now bearis, to receave according to thair Works, Glory or Puniſhement; for ſick as now delyte in Vanity, Creulty, Filthyneſſe, Superſtitious or Idolatry, ſhall be adjudged to the Fyre inextinguiſhable, in the whiche they ſhall be tormented for ever, allweill in thair awn Bodyes, as in thair Saullis, whiche now they give to ſerve the Devill in all Abominatioun. Bot ſick as continew in weill doing to the End, baldly profeſſing the Lord Jeſus, to whois glorified Body all his Elect ſhall be lyke, quhen he ſhall appeir agane to Jugement, and ſhall rander up the Kingdome to God his Father, quho then ſhall be, and ever ſhall remane All in all Thingis, God bleſſit for ever. To quhome, with the Sone, and with the Holy Ghoſt, be all Honour and Glory, now and ever. *Amen.*

Ayſe, O Lord, and let thy Enemies be confounded; let thame flye frome thy Preſence that haik thy godly Name: Give thy Servandis Strentke to ſpeik thy Word in Baldnes, and let all Natiouns atteane to thy trew Knowlege.

Thir Actis and Artickles war red in Face of Parliament, and ratified be the thre Eſtatis of this Realme, at *Edinburgh* the 17th Day of *July*, the Yeir of God 1560 Yeirs.

This our Confeſſioun was publictly red, firſt in Audience of the Lordis of the Artickles, and eſter in Audience of the haill Parliament, quhare wer preſent, not onely ſick as profeſſit Chriſt Jeſus, bot alſo a grit Number of the Adverſaries of our Religion, ſick as the foirnamed Biſchopis, and ſum uthers of the temporall Eſtair, quho wer comandit in God's Name, to object, if they could, ony Thing againſt that Doctrine. Sum of our Miniſters wer preſent, ſtanding upoun thair Feit, redy to have answerit, in cais ony wald have defendit the Papiſtry, and impugnat our Affirmatives: But quhill that no Objectioun was maid, there was a Day appointed to voitting in that and uther Heidis. Our Confeſſioun was red every Artickle by itſelf over agane, as they war writin in Ordour, and the Voites of every Man war required according. Of the temporall Eſtair onely voited in the contrair, the Erle of *Atkoill*, the Lords *Somervell* and *Borthwick*; and yit for thair diſſaſenting they produced no better Reſſoun, bot, *We will beleve as our Forefatheris belevit.* The Biſchopis (papiſticall we meane) ſpak nothing. The reſt of the haill thrie Eſtates, by thair publict Voites, affirmed the Doctrine; and mony the rather becauſe that the Biſchopis wald, nor durſt ſay nothing in the contrary; for this was the Voit of the Erle of *Mershell*. *It is lang ſen I have had ſome Favour unto the Truethe, and ſen I had a ſuſpicioun of the papiſticall Religion; bot I prayes God, this Day hes fully reſolved me, in the ane and in the uther: For ſeing that my Lords Biſchopis, quho for thair Leirning can, and for that Zeall they ſould beir to the Verity, wald (as I ſuppois) gayneſay ony Thing that directly repugnis to the Verity of God. Seing, I ſay, my Lordis Biſchopis beir preſent ſpeiks nothing in the contrair of the Doctrine proponed, I cannot bot hald it to be the verie Treuthe of God, and the contrair to be deceaveable Doctrine: And thareſoir, in ſo far as in me lyethe, I approve the ane and damne the uther. And do farther aſk of God, that not onely I, bot alſo all my Poſterity, may injoye the Comfort of the Doctrine, that this Day our Earis have hard. And yit moir, I*

man voit, as it wer be *Way of Protestatioun*, that if ony Persones Ecclesiasticall fall efter this oppone thameselfis, to this our Confessioun, that thay have no Plaiçe nor Credite, considering that thay haveing lang Advyisement, and full Knowlege of this our Confessioun, none is now fund in lawfull, free and quyet Parliament to oppone thameselfis, to that quhilk we profes: And tharefoir, gif ony of this Generatioun pretend to do it efter this, I protest he be repute rather ane that loveth his awn Commoditie, and the Glorie of the World, then the Treuthe of God, and the Salvatioun of Menis Saullis.

Efter the voiring, and Ratificatioun of this our Confessioun, by the hail Bo-die of the Parliament, thare war also pronuncit two Actis, the ane against the Mefs, and the Abuis of the Sacramentis, and the uther against the Supremacy of the Paip. The Tenour quhareof followis.

The Act against the Mefs.

IN the Parliament baldin at Edinburgh, the tent Day of Julii, the Yeir of God 1560 Yeirs, the said Parliament being continewed to the first of August nixt thairefter following, with Continewatioun of Days, upoun the 24th Day of the said Moneth of August, the thre Estaits then being present: The quhilk Day, for samekill as Almightie God, by his maist trew and bleffit Word, hes declaired the Re-verence and Honour that sould be gevin to him, and, by his Sone Jesus Christ, hes declaired the trew Use of the Sacramentis, willing the sam to be ussit according to his Will and Word; by the quhilk it is notorious and perfytilie knawn, that the Sacramentis of Baptisme and of the Bodie and Blude of Jesus Christ, hes bein in all Tymes bygane corrupted by the Papisticall Kirk, and by thair Ministeris; and presentlie, notwithstanding the Reformatioun alreddie maid according to God's Word; yit not the les thare is sum of the sam Papes Kirk, that stubburnelie perseveris in thair wicked Idolatrie, sayand Mefs, and baptising conforme to the Paipes Kirk, prophaning tharethrow the Sacramentis foirsaid, in quiet and in secreit Places, regairdand tharethrow nouter God nor his Word.

Tharefoir it is statute and ordeined in this present Parliament, that no Maner of Persone or Persones, at ony Tyme cuming, administrate ony of the Sacramentis secreitlie, or ony uther Maner of Way, bot they that ar admitted, and have Power to that Effect; nor say Mefs, nor yit heir Mefs, nor be present thareat, under the Pane of Confiscatioun of all thair Guids, and punisching of thair Bodies, at the Discretioun of the Magistrates, within quhais Jurisdictioun sick Persones happins to be apprehended, for the first Falt: Banisching of the Realme, for the secund Falt: And justefeing to the Deid, for the third Falt. And ordainis all Shereffs, Stewartis, Bailyeis and thair Deputes, Proveists and Bailyeis of Burrows, and uther Juges quhatsumevir within this Realme, to tak diligent Sute and Inquisitioun within thair Boundis, quhair ony sick usurped Ministrie is used, Mefs saying, or thay that beis present at the doing thareof, ratifeand and approveand the samyn, and to tak, and apprehend thame, to the Effect that the Painis above writtin may be execute upoun thame.

Extractum de libro parliamenti, per me Jacobum Mackill de Rankellour Nether, clericum rotulorum.

Sic subscribitur,

JACOBUS M'GILL.

The

The Act for abolishing the Jurisdiction of the Paip.

IN the Parliament holdin at Edinburghe, the tenth Day of Julii, the Yeir of God 1560 Years, and thairefter continewed to the first Day of August next thairefter following, with Continewatioun of Days, upoun the twentieth four Day of the said Moneth of August, the thre Estaitis then being present, understanding that the Jurisdiction and Authoritie of the Bischope of Rome, called the Paip, usit in this Realme in Tymes bypast, hes bein very hurtisome and prejudiciall to our Soverane's Authoritie, and Comoun-weill of this Realme: Therefore hes statute and ordainit, That the Bischope of Rome have no Jurisdiction nor Authoritie in this Realme in Tymes cuning, and that nane of our saidis Soveranes Subjectis sute or desyre, in ony Tyme thairefter, Tiill or Richt, by the said Bischope of Rome, or his Sect, to ony Thing within this Realme, under the Panis of Baratrie, that is to say, Proscriptioun, Banishment, and never to bruik Honour, Office nor Dignitie within this Realme: And the Contraveineris heirof to be callit befor the Justice or his Deputis, or befor the Lordis of the Session, and puneist tharefor conforme to the Lawis of this Realme; and the Furneissaris of thame with Fynance of Money, and Purchesseris of thair Tittils of Richt, or Manteiners or Defenderis of thame, sall incur the samyn Paines: And that no Bischope, nor uther Prelate of this Realme, use ony Jurisdiction in Tymes cuning, be the said Bischope of Rome's Authoritie, under the Paines foirsaid.

Extractum de libro parliamenti, per me, &c.

Et subscribitur ut supra.

Thir and uther Thingis ordourly done, in lawfull and frie Parliament, we directit to France, to our Soveranes, Sir James Sandilandis Lord of Sanct Jobne, with the Actis of the said Parliament, that by thame they micht be ratefeit, according to the Promeis of thair Hienes Comissioneris to us, as by the Contract of Peice most evidently may appeir. Bot how the said Lord of Sanct Jobne wes intreated we list not to rehers; bot alwayis no Ratificatioun brocht he unto us. Bot that we little regairded, or yit do regaird; for all that we did was rather to schaw our debtfull Obedience, then to begge of thame ony Strenthe to our Religioun, quhilk from God hes full Power, and neidethe not the Suffrage of Man, bot in sa far as Man hes Neid to beleve it, if that evir he sall have Participatioun of the Lyif everlasting. Bot sumquhat man we answer to sick, as since have quhisperit, that it was bot a pretendit Parliament, and privy Conventioun, and no lawfull Parliament. Thair Ressonis ar, the King and Quein war in France, thare was nouthre Scepture, Sworde nor Crown borne, &c. and sum principall Lordis wer absent.

We answer, That we rather with the Papistis to be quite, then to cuirously to travell unto that Heid; for it may be, that quhill they think to hurt us, they tak the Quein and hir Authoritie a grit Blaw, and yit amend thamefelfis nothing. For in quhais Defalt, we pray yow, was the Quein absent from this Realme? We think they will not be so schameles, as that they will blame the Protestantis thareof. Hir Persone was absent, and that to no small Greif of our Hairtis. Bot wer not the Estaitis of the Realme assembled in hir Name? Yea, had thay not hir full Power and Comissioun, yea, the Comissioun and Comandement of hir Heid the King of France, to

convocat that Parliament, and to do all Things that may be done in lawfull Parliament, even as if our Soveranes had bene thare in proper Persones? If they will limitate the Power of the Princes, to the Places onely quhare thair bodely Presens is, it will be thocht strange; for so, fall Kingis not onely be compelled to content thame with ane Realme, bot also with ane City: For the bodely Presens of Kings can no more be in divers Cities at ane Instant, then that they can be in divers Realmes. Hitherto we have understude, that quharesoever the Counsaillours of the King, with his Power and Comission, ar assembled, to do ony Thing at his Comandement, that thare is the King's sufficient Presens and Authority, quharesoever his awn Body be leving at Freedom and Liberty; quhilk if the Papistes do deny, we will find Fault with thame, and with the Princes that they have abuised, quhilk mair will annoy thame, than ony Thing that we can loise, by the Insufficiency of that Parliament: Quhilk not the less we ar bauld to affirme, to have bene more lawfull and more free, than ony Parliament they ar able to produce this hunderethe Yeirs befor it, or yit ony that hes insewed since it was; for in it the Votes of Men wer free, and gevin of Conscience; in uthers they wer bocht, or gevin at the Devotioun of the Prince. All Things in it concluded ar able to abyde the Tryell, and not be consumed at the Prove of the Fyre; of uthers the Godly may justly call in Doubt Things determined.

To the Sworde and Sceper, nor yit the Absence of sum Lords, we answer Nothing: For our Adversaries know weill aneuche, that the ane is rather a Pompe and glorious vane Ceremony, than a substantiall Point of Necessity, required to a lawfull Parliament: And the Absence of sum prejudices not the Powers of thame that ar present, provyding that dew Adverteisement be maid unto thame. Bot now we returne to our History.

The Parliament dissolved, Consultatioun was had, how the Kirk might be established in a gude and godly Policy, quhilk by the Papistes was altogether defaced. Comission and Chairge was gevin to Maister *Johnne Winram* Sub-prior of Sanct *Androis*, Mr. *Jobne Spottiswode*, Mr. *Johnne Douglas* Rectour of Sanct *Androis*, Mr. *Johnne Row* and *Johnne Knox* to draw in a Volume the Policy and Discipline of the Kirk, alsweill as they had done the Doctrine, quhilk they did, and presented it to the Nobility, quho did peruse it mony Days. Sum approved, and willit the sam to have bein set furth as a Law; uthers perceaving thair carnall Liberty and warldly Commodity sumquhat to be impaired thareby, grudged, in sa mekill that the Name of the Buik of Discipline became odious unto thame. Every Thing that repugned to thair corrupt Affectionis, was tearmed in thair Mockage, *Devoit Imaginatiounis*. The Caus we have befor declaired; sum wer licentious, sum had greedily grippit the Possessiouns of the Kirk, and uthers thocht they wald not lack thair Parte of Christ's Cote; yea, and that befor that ever he was hanged, as by the Preicheours they wer oft rebuiked. The cheif grit Man that had professit Christ Jesus, and refused to subscribe the Buik of Discipline, was the Lord *Erskin*. And no Wonder, for besyids that he hes a very *Jesabell* to his Wyfe, if the Pure, the Scullis, and the Ministry of the Kirk had thair awn, his Kitcheing wald want twa Partes and mair, of that quhilk he now injustly possesses. Assuredly sum of us have wondered, how Men that profess Godlines could, of sa lang Continewance, heir the Threatnings of God against Thevis, and against thair Houses, and knowing thame selfis guilty of sick Things,

Things, as wer opinly rebuiked, and that they never had Remors of Conscience, nether yit intended to restoir any Thing of that, quhilk lang they had stollin, and rest. Thare war nane within the Realme more unmercifull to the puir Ministeris thane war they that had the grittest Rentes of the Kirkes. Bot in that we have perceaved the auld Proverbe to be trew; *Nothing can suffice a Wretche*; and again, *The the Belie has na Earis*. Yit the sam Buik of Discipline was subscriyved, by a grit Parte of the Nobility; to wit, the Duikes Grace, the Erle of Arrane, the Erles of Argyll, *Glencairne*, *Merschell*, *Menteithe*, *Mortoun*, *Rothoifs*, Lord James, now Erle of Murray, Lord Yester, *Boyd*, *Uchiltrie*, Maister of Maxwell, thairefter Lord Herise, Lord *Lindesay* elder, and the Maister now Lord; Barones, *Drumlanrig*, *Lochinvar*, *Garliss*, *Barganie*, Mr. *Alexander Gordoun* Bischope of Galloway, *Alexander Campbell* Dean of Murray, with a grit Number mo, subscriyved and approved the said Buik of Discipline, in the Tolbuythe of *Edinburghe*, the 27th Day of *Januare* 1560 Yeirs, by thair Approbatioun in these Words.

WE quibilk have subscriyved this Presentis, haveing advysit with the Artickles heirin specifeit, and as is above mentionat, from the Beginning of this Buik, think the sam gude, and conforme to God's Word in all Pointis, conforme to the Notes and Additiounes thareto eiked; and promittis to sett the sam fordward, at the uttermost of our Powers, provyding that the Bischopes, Abbotes, Pryors and uther Prelates and beneficed Men, quibilkis ellis have joyned thameselfis to us, bruike the Revenewis of thair Benefices during thair Lyfetymes, they susteining and upholding the Ministry and Ministeris, as is heirin specifeit, for preaching of the Word, and ministrating of the Sacramentis.

Quhat be the Contents of the haill Buik, and how that this Promeis was illuded from Tyme to Tyme, we will efter heir.

Schort efter the said Parliamant war send from the Counsaill Ambassadours to *Ingland*, the Erles of *Mortoun* and *Glencairne*, together with *William Maitland* of *Lethingtoun* younger. The cheif Point of thair Comissioun was earnestly to crave the constant Assistance of the Quenes Majesty of *Ingland*, against all forane Invasioun, and to propone the Erle of *Arrane* (quho then was in no small Estimatioun with us) to the Quene of *Ingland* in Marriage.

That same Tyme was the Castell of *Sempill* besieged and tane, becaus the Lord thareof disobeyed the Laws and Ordinances of the Counsaill in mony Things, and especially in that, that he wald mantein the Idolatry of the Mefs, and also that he beset the Way to the Erle of *Arrane*, with a grit gathering, as he was ryding with his accustomed Cumpany. The Papiests wer proude, for they luiked for a new Army from *France* at the next Spring, and thareof was thair no small Apeirance, if God had not utherways provydit. For *France* utterly refused the Confirmatioun of the Peice contracted at *Leyth*, and wald ratifie no Parte of our Parliament, and demissit the Lord of St. *Johne*, without ony resolute Answer, began to gader new Bands of Throt-cutters, and to mak grit Preparatiouns for Schipis. They farther send before thame certane Practiseirs, (amongis quhom the Lord *Seytoun* quho had departit with the *Frenche* out of *Leythe* was one) to rais up new Trubles within this Realme. And all this come partelie of the Malice of the Hous of *Guyse*, quho had avowit to revenge the Displeisour of thair Sister both upoun *England* and *Scotland*, and partely be the Instigatioun of proude *Betoun*, falsly callit Bischope

of *Glasgow*, of *Durie*, Abbote of *Dumfermeling*, *Saulles Seytoun*, and Mr. *Johne Sinclair* Deane of *Reslraig*, with sick uthers of the *Freneche* Factioun, quho had openly spoken that they had refusit all Portioun of *Scotland*, unless that it war under the Government of a *Frencheman*. *Recompence thame (O Lord) as thow knowis maist expedient for thy awn Glory, and for the perpetuall Schame of all Tratours to thair Comoun-welthe.*

The certane Knowlege of all these Things came to our Ears, quhareat mony wer afrayde, for divers suspectit that *England* wald not be so fordwart in Tymes to cum, considdering that thair former Expenses wer so great. The principall Comfort remainit with the Preicheours, for they assured us in Gods Name that God sould performe in all Perfection that work in our Hands, the beginning quhareof he had so michtelie mantained, becaus it was not oures, bot his awn. And tharefore exhortit us, That we sould constantly procede to reforme all Abusses, and to plant the Ministry of the Kyrk, as by Gods Word we micht justifie it, and then comitt the Successe of all to our God, in quhos Power the Disposition of Kingdomes stands. And so we began to do, for Troubles appeiring, maid us geve Eare to the Admonitiouns of Gods Servands. And quhill that we had scarcely begun agane to imploir the Helpe of our God, and to schaw sum Signes of our Obedience to his Messingers and holy Word, Lo the potent Hand of our God from above sent unto us a wonderfull and most joyfull Deliverance: For unhappy *Francis*, Husband to our Soverane, suddanely perischit of a rotten Eare. Bot becaus the Deyth of that Chyld was not onely the Caus of Joy to us in *Scotland*, bot also by it war the faythfull in *France* delivered, as it wer, from the present Deyth; We think expedient to intreate the same sumquhat more lairgly.

These cruell and conjured Enemies of God and of all Godlines, the Duck of *Guyse*, the Cardinall of *Lorane*, and thair Factioun, quho then at thair awn Appetites played the Tyrantes in *France*, had determined the Destruction of all that professit the trew Knowlege of Jesus Christ within that Realme. Quhat Tyranny laitly befor they had ussit at *Amboys*, the History of *France* doeth Witnes: Now in *Orleance* in the Monethe of *November*, conveynt the King unhappy *Francis*, the Quene our Soverane, and the Quene Mother, the Duck of *Guyse*, with all his Factioun, the King of *Navar*, and the Prince his Brother. So that great was the Confluence of the Nobility, bot gritter was the Assembly of the Murtheraris (for thair was not ane Hangman in all *France* quhilk was not thare.) The Presones wer full of the trew Servands of God: The King of *Navar*, and the Prince his Brother wer constitute Presoners. The Schereff of *Orleance*, a Man feiring God, was taken, and so wer mony uthers of the Town. Breisly thair was nane that professit God or Godlines within that Toun, that luiked not for the Extremity, for the Walls and Yets wer Nicht and Day keaped with the Garisones of the *Guyssanes*, miserabill Men war daylie brocht in to suffer Jugement, bot nane was suffered to departe furth, bot at the Devotioun of the Tyrantes.

And so they proceded till the tent or twelft of *December*, quhen that they thocht Tyme to put thair bludy Counsaill in Executioun, and for that Purpois Conclusioun was tane, That the King sould departe of the Toun, and ly at a certane Place; quhilk was done to this Intent, That thair sould be no Sure made to the King for Saifty of any Mans Lyfe, quhom they thocht worthy
of

of Deyth. And so was the Kings Hous in *Orleanse* broken upe, his Beds, Coffers, and Tapystry send away, his awn Buittes put one, and he sitting at the Mels, immediately tharefter to have departed, and so thair Tyranny to have begun.

Quhen all Things (we say) wer into this Redines to sched the Blude of Innocents, the Eternell, our God, *quha evir watches for the Preservatioun of his awin*, began to work, and sudounely did put his awn Work in Executioun, for as the said King sat at Mels, he was suddanelly strickin with ane Apoltome, in that deafe Ear that never wald heir the Treuthe of God. And so was he caried to a voyde Hous, layed upoun a Pallayes of a Bed, unto sick Tyme as a Cannaby was set upe unto him, quhare he lay till the 15. Day of *December* 1560 Years, quhen his Glory perished, and the Pryde of his stubburne Hairt evanished in Smoke; and so was the Snair broken, the Tyrants disappointed of thair Cruelty; they that war apoynted to Deyth, war raysed, as it war, out of thair Graves; and we, quho by our Fulischnes had maid ourselves Slaves to Strangears, wer restored agane to Fredome and Liberty of a free Realme.

O that we we had Hairts deiply to consider quhat ar thy wondrous Works, O Lord, that we micht prays the in the mids of this maist obstinate and wicked Generation, and leave the Memoriall of the same to our Posteritie, quhilk allace, we feir sall forget these thy inestimabill Benefites. The godly in France upoun this suddane Deyth set furth these in Verses, an Admonitioun to Kings.

Ad hujus temporis monarchas protrepticon carmen.

Consiliis christum oppugnans, & fraudibus ingens,
regum ille terror Carolus:

Ipsis ridiculus pueris, furiosus, & excors,
totus repente corrui.

Tuque Henrice malis dum consultoribus uteris
sitis piorum sanguinem:

Ipse tuo vecors, inopina, cade peremptus
terra imbuiisti sanguine.

Henrici deinceps, sectans vestigia patris
Franciscus infelix puer

Clamantem Christum surda dum negligit aure
aure putrefacta corrui.

Versuti, fatui, surdi, hæc spectacula, reges,
vos sapere vel mori jubent.

The meanying quhairof is that followis,

Kynge Charles that Tyrane terrible
Withstanding Christ with Witt and Craft;
As mocking Stock most miserable,
Endit at anes ragine and dast.
Then Henrie through evill Company,
Thrusting the Blood of godlie Men,
With his awin Blood sched suddantlie,
Was maid to wait the End ye ken.

Leift *Frances* that unhappie Child
 His Fathers Footsteps following plane,
 To Chriff crying, deafe Ears did yeild,
 Ane rotten Eare then was his baine.
 O craftie deif and foolifch Kyngs,
 Thefe feirfull Jugements gone befor you
 Biddeth you be wyfer in your Reignes,
 Or fchamefull Death will fone devour you.

The Deyth of this King maid great Alteratioun in *France*, *England* and *Scotland*. *France* was erected in fome Esperance, that the Tyranny of the *Guyfanes* fould no langer rigne above thame, becaus that God at unwares had brokin the Staf quhareupoun they leaned; bot allace, they wer deceived: For the Simplicity of fum was fo abused, that againft the Laws of the Re- alme, to the Quene Mother was comitted the Regiment, quhilk lifted up al- well the Duck of *Guyfe*, as the cruell Cardinall, for a Seaoun.

The Quene of *England*, and the Councell, remitted our Ambaffadours with Answer, That fche wald not marie haftely, and tharefor willit the Councell of *Scotland*, and the Erle of *Arrane* foirfaid, not to depend upoun anie Hoipe thareof. Quhat Motives fche had, we omitt.

The Pryde of the Papifts of *Scotland* began to be abated, and fum that e- ver had fchawen thamefelfis Enemies unto us, began to think, and playnely to fpeak (amongis quhome the auld Sheref of *Air* was ane) that they per- ceavit God to fecht for us. The Erle of *Arrane* himfelf did more patiently abyde the Repuls of the Quene of *England*, becaus that he was not altogether without Hope, that the Quene of *Scotland* buir fum Favour unto him: And fo he wrote unto her, and fend for Credite a Ring, quhilk the faid Quene our Soverane knew well yneuche. The Letter and Ring wer both presented to the Quene, and of her receaved. Answer was returned to the faid Erle, ef- ter the quhilk he made no farther Perfute in that Matter: And yet not the lefs, he bare it heavenly in Heart, and mor heavenly then mony wald have wifched.

The Certainty of the Deyth foresaid wes fignified unto us both by Sey and Land. By Sey receaved *Jobne Knox* (quho then had grit Intelligence both with the Kyrk, and fum of the Court of *France*) Letters, That the King was mortally feik, and could not well efchape the Deyth. Quhilks Letters receaved that fame Day at Efternone, he paff to the Duckes Grace, to his awn Ludgeings at the Kyrk of *Feild*, with quhome he fand the Lord *James* in Confe- rence toghether: (The Erle of *Arrane* was in *Jedburgh*) to quhome he opened fick News as he had receaved, and willet thame to be of gude Comforte; for, faid he, the Advertifare hes never yet abusit me: (It was the fam Gentil- man that gave us firft Knowlege of the Slauchter of *Harie* the King of *France*) and fchew unto thame the Letter, bot wald not expres the Mans Name. Quhill they war reffoning in divers Purpoifes; and he upoun the ane Parte comfort- ing thame, and thay upoun the uthar Parte comforting him, (for he was in no fmall Hevines, be reffoun of the late Deyth of his dear Bed-fellow *Marie Bowis*;) quhill, we fay, they thre wer familiarly communing toghether, thare cam a Meflinger from the Lord *Gray* furth of *Berwick*, with Letters, affuring him of the Deyth of the King of *France*. Quhilk divulgat and noysed abroad,

a generall Conventioun of the haill Nobility was apointed to be halden at *Edinburgh* the fyft Day of *Januare* following, in the quhilk the Buik of Discipline was perused newly over agane, for sum pretended Ignorance, be reſſon they had not hard it.

In that Aſſembly was Mr. *Alexander Anderſoun* Subprincipall of *Aberdene*, a Man mor ſubtell and crafty than outhir learned or godly, called, quho reſuſed to diſpute of his Faythe, abuſſing a Place of *Tertulliane* to cloke his Ignorance. It was answered unto him, That *Tertulliane* ſould not prejudice the Authority of the Haly Ghoſt, quho by the Mouthe of *Peter* comandis us to give Reſſoun of our Fayth to every one that requires the ſam of us. It was farther answered, That we nouthir required him nor yet ony Man to diſpute in any Poynt concerning our Fayth, quhilk was grounded upoun Gods Word, and fully expreſſed within his Holy Scriptures, for all that we beleved without Contraverſie. Bot we required of him, as of the reſt of the Papiſts, that they wald ſuffer thair Doctrines, Conſtitutiouns, and Ceremonies, to cum to Tryell; and principally, that the Meſs, and the Opinioun thareof, be thame taucht unto the Pepill, micht be layde to the Square-rewill of Gods Worde, and unto the richt Inſtitutioun of Jeſus Chriſt, that thay micht underſtand quhidder that thair Preicheours offended or not, in that, that they affirmed, The Actioun of the Meſs to be expreſſitly repugning unto the laſt Supper of the Lord Jeſus; the Sayer of it to comitt horribill Blaſphemy, in uſurping upoun him the Office of Chriſt; the Hearers to comit damnabill Idolatry, and the Opinioun of it conceaved to be Derogatioun, and as it war diſſanulling of Chriſts Deyth. Quhill the ſaid Mr. *Alexander* denyed, that the Preiſt tuk upoun him Chriſts Office, to offer for Sin, as it was alledged, a Mes Buik was produced, and in the begyning of the Canone wer theſe Words red, *Suscipe ſancta trinitas hanc oblationem, quam ego indignus peccator, offero tibi vivo Deo & vero, pro peccatis meis, pro peccatis totius ecclesie vivorum & mortuorum, &c.* Now ſaid the Reſſoner, if to offer for the Sines of the haill Kirk, was not the Office of Chriſt Jeſus, yea that Office that to him onely micht, and may apertein, let the Scripture judge. And if a vylle Knave, quhome ye call the Preiſt, proudly takes the ſame upoun him, let your awn Buke Witneſ. The ſaid Mr. *Alexander* answered. Chriſt offered the Propitiatory, and that nane culd do bot he; bot we offer the Remembrance. Quhareunto it was answered, We thank God that ye have denyed a Sacrifice propitiatory to be in the Meſs; and yet we offer to prove, that in mo than ane hundreth Places of your papiſticall Doctours, this Propoſitioun is affirmed, *The Mes is a Sacrifice propitiatory.* Bot to the ſecund Parte, Quhare ye allege that ye offer Chriſt in Remembrance; we aſk firſt, Unto quhome ye do offer him? Next, by quhat Authority ar ye aſſured of well-doing? In God the Father thare failis no Oblivioun: And if ye will yet ſchiſt and ſay, that ye offer it not, as if God wer forgetfull, bot as willing to apply Chriſts Merittes unto his Kirk; We demand of you, quhat Power and Comandment have ye ſo for to do? We know that our Maſter Chriſt Jeſus comanded his Apoſtells to do that quhilk he did in Remembrance of him. Bot plane it is, that Chriſt tuk Bred, gave Thanks, brak Bred, and gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying, *Tak ye, eit ye, this is my Body quhilk was brokin for you; do this in Remembrance of me, &c.* Here we find a Comandment, to tak, to eit, to tak and to drink; but to offer Chriſts Body eyther for Remembrance or Applicatioun, we find not: And tharefore we ſay, To tak upoun you ane Office quhilk is not geven unto you,

is injust Usurpatioun, and no lawfull Power. The said Mr. *Alexander* being more then astonished, wald have schifit; bot then the Lords willit him to answer directly. Quhereto he answered, That he was better sein in Philosophy, then in Theology. Then was commanded Mr. *Johnne Leslie* (quho then was Persone of *Une*, and now Lord Abbote of *Lendores*, and efter maid Bischope of *Ros*) to answer to the former Arguments; and he with Gravity began to answer, *If our Master have nothing to say to it, I have nothing; for I know nothing bot the Canone Law: And the grittest Ressoun that ever I culd find thare, is, Nolumus & Volumus; and yet we understand that now he is the onely Patrone of the Mefs. Bot it is no mervell, for he understude that he is a Preists Gett, and tharefore we sould not wonder, albeit that the auld Trewane Vers be trew, Patrem sequitur sua proles.* The Nobility hearing that neyther the ane nor the uther wald answer directly, said, *We have bene miserably deceaved heirtofor; for if the Mefs may not obtean Remissoun of Sines to the quick and the dead, quharefore war all the Abbacies so richly dotit with our Temporall Lands?*

Thus much we thocht good to insert here, becaus that sum Papiests are not aschamed now to affirme, That they with thair Reasones could never be heard, bot that all that we did, we did it by mere Force; quhen that the quholle Realme knowes, That we ever requyred thame to speak thair Judgements freely, not onely promising unto thame Protectioun and Defence, bot also that we sould subscrivve with thame, if they be Gods Scriptures culd confute us, and by the same Word establische thair Assertiouns. *Bot quho can correct the Leifings of sick as in all Thingis schaw thameselfis the Sones of the Father of all Lies. Preserve us, O Lord, from that pervers and malicious Generatioun. Amen.*

At this same Assembly was the Lord *James* apointed to go to *France* to the Quene our Soverane, and a Parliament was apointed to begin the 20. of *Maie* next following; for at that Tyme was the Returne of the said Lord *James* luided for. And so was that Conventioun dissolved, without ony uther Thing of Importance concluded. The said Lord *James* prepared himself for his Journey; (for albeit he past in the publick Effairs, he susteined the Charges and his own Expenses; and yet thair never past fra this Realme in the Cumpany of ane Man so many, and sa honest throuche *England* to *France*;) befor he departed, he was foirwarned, alsweill of the Danger of *France*, as of the Quenes Craft (not that we then suspected her Nature, bot that we understude the Malice of her Freinds;) he was planely premeisit, That it ever he condescended that sche sould have Mes publicly or privately within the Realme of *Scotland*, that then betrayed he the Caus of God, and exponit the Religioun even to the uttermost Danger that he culd do. That sche suld have Mes publicly, he affirmed that he suld never consent: Bot to have it secretly in her Chalmer, Quha culd stope her. The Danger was schawin; and so he departed. The Electioun of the Superintendents heirefter follows in this Maner.

The Forme and Ordour of the Electioun of the Superintendents, quhilk may serve also in Electioun of all uther Ministers. At Edinburghe the 9th of Merche 1560 Feiris, Johne Knox being Minister.

First, was maid a Sermone, in the quhilk thir Heids war intreated. *First*, The Necessity of Ministers and Superintendents. 2. The Crymes and Vyces that nicht unable thame. 3. The Vertues required in thame. And *Last*, Quhidder sick as by publiſt Consent of the Kyrk wer callit to sick Office, nicht refus the same.

The Sermone finisched, it was declared be the same Minister, Maker thareof, that the Lords of Secrete Councell had gevin Charge and Power of the Kirks of *Louthiane*, to chuse Mr. *Johne Spottiswode* Superintendent; and that sufficient Warning was made be publiſt Ediſt to the Kirks of *Edinburghe*, *Linlithgow*, *Striveling*, *Tranent*, *Haddingtoun* and *Dunbar*; as also to Earles, Lords, Barones, Gentilmen, and uthers, having, or quho nicht clame to have Voite in Electioun, to be present that Day, at that same Hour. And tharefore Inquisition was made, Quho wer present, and quho wer absent. Efter was called the said Mr. *Johne*, quho answering the Minister, demanded, Gif ony Man knew ony Cryme or Offence to the said Mr. *Johne*, that mycht unabill him to be called to that Office? And this he demanded thryis. *Secundlie*, Questioun was moved to the haill Multitude, if thair was ony uther quhome they wald put in Electioun with the said Mr. *Johne*. The Pepill wer asked, If they wald have the said Mr. *Johne* Superintendent? If they wald Honour and obey him as Christ's Minister, and comfort and assist him in every Thing pertaining to his Charge?

They answerit,

We will; and we do promeis unto him sick Obedience, as becomethe the Scheip to give unto thair Paster, sa lang as he remains saythfull in his Office.

The Answers of the Pepill, and thair Consents receaved, thir Questiouns wer proponit unto him that was to be elected.

Questioun.

Seing that ye heir the Thrift and Desyre of this People; do ye not think yourself bund in Conscience befor God to support thame, that so earnestly call for your Comfort, and for the Fruit of your Labours?

Answeir.

If anie Thing wer in me abill to satisfie thair Desyir, I acknowlege myself bound to obey God calling by thame.

Questioun.

Do ye seik to be promoted to this Office and Charge, for ony respect of warldly Comoditie, Riches or Glory?

Answeir.

God knowes the contrarie.

Questioun.

Beleve ye not that the Doctrine of the Propheits and Apostles, contained in the Buiks of the Auld and New Testaments, is the onely trew and most absolute Foundatioun of the universall Kirk of Christ Jesus, infamekill that in the same Scriptures ar contained all Things necessary to be beleved for the Salvatioun of Mankind?

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Answer,

Answeir.

I verely beleve the same, and do abhorre and utterly refuis all Doctrine alleged necessary to Salvatioun, that is not expressedly contained in the same.

Questioun.

Is not Christ Jesus Man of Man, according to the Flesche, to wit, The Sone of David, the Seid of Abrahame, conceived by the Holy Gaist, borne of the Virgin Marie his Mother, the onely Heid and Mediatour of his Kirk?

Answeir.

He is, and without him thair is nouthir Salvatioun to Man, nor Lyfe to Angell.

Questioun.

Is not the same Lord Jesus, onely trew God, the eternell Sone of the eternell Father, in quhome all that fall be saved wer elected befor the Fundatioun of the World was layd?

Answeir.

I confes and acknowlege him in the Unitie of his Godheid, to be God above all Thingis bleffit for evir.

Questioun.

Sall not they quhome God in his eternell Councell hes electit, be callit to the Knowlege of his Sone, our Lord Jesus, and fall not they, quho of Purpois ar elected in this Lyfe, be justified; and is not Justificatioun and fre Remissioun of Sines obtained in this Lyfe by free Grace? Sall not this Glorie of the Sones of God follow in the generall Resurrextioun, quhen the Sone of God fall apeir in his glorious Majefty?

Answeir.

I acknowlege this to be the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the most singular Comfort of God's Childrein.

Questioun.

Will ye not contain yourself in all Doctrine within the Boundes of this Foundatioun? Will ye not study to promote the sam, alsweill by your Lyfe, as by your Doctrine? Will ye not, according to the Graces and Utterance that God fall grant unto yow, profes, instructe and mantene the Purity of the Doctrine, contained in the sacred Word of God? And, to the uttermost of your Power, will ye not ganestand, and convince the Gaynsayers and Teichers of Mens Inventionis?

Answeir.

That I do promise in the Presence of God, and of his Congregatioun heir assembled.

Questioun.

Know ye not, that the Excellency of this Office, to the quhilk God hes called yow, requires that your Conversatioun and Behaviour be sick, as that ye may be irreprehensible; yea, even in the Eyis of the Ungodly?

Answeir.

I unfaynedly acknowlege, and humilly desyre the Kirk of God, to pray with me, that my Lyfe be not scandalous to the glorious Evangell of Jesus Christ.

Questioun.

Becaus ye ar a Man compassed with Infirmities, will ye not charitably and with Lawlines of Spirit, receive Admonitioun of your Brethren? And if ye fall happin to slyid, or offend in ony Point, will ye not be subject to the Discipline of the Kirk, as the rest of your Brethren?

The

The Answer of the Superintendent, or Minister to be elected.

I acknowledge myself to be a Man, subject to Infirmitie, and one that bes Neid of Correction and Admonition; and therefore I maist willingly submit and subject myself to the hailsome Disciplin of the Kirk; yea, to the Discipline of the sam Kirk, by the quhilk I am now called to this Office and Charge; and heir in God's Presens and youris, do promise Obedience to all Admonitiones, secretly or publickly gevin; unto the quhilk, if I be found inobedient, I confes myself most worthie to be ejected, not onely from this Honour, bot also from the Society of the Faythfull, in cais of my Stubburnnes: For the Vocation of God, to heir Charge within his Kirk, make the not Men Tyrantes, nor Lordis, bot apoyntet the thame Servandis, Watchmen and Pastoris of the Flock.

This ended, Questiou man be asked agane of the Multitude.

Questioun.

Require ye ony farther of this your Superintendent? If no Man answer, lat the Minister proceed. Will ye not acknowledge this your Brother, for the Minister of Christ Jesus? Will ye not reverence the Word of God, that proceedis fra his Mouthe? Will ye not receive of him the Sermon of Exhortation with Patience, not refusing the hailsome Medicine of your Saulls, althocht it be bitter and unpleising to the Flesche? Will ye not finally, mantere and comferte him in his Ministry, against all sick as wickitly wald rebell against God, and his holy Ordinance?

The Peple answereth.

We will, as we will answer to the Lord Jesus, quho hes commandit his Ministeris to be had in Reverence, as his Ambassadors, and as Men that cairfully wathe for the Salvation of our Saullis.

Let the Nobility also be urged with this.

Ye have hard the Dewty and Professioun of this your Brother, by your Consentis apointit to this Charge; as also the Dewty and Obedience, quhilk God requireth of us towards him heir in his Ministry: Bot becaus that neyther of bothe ar abill to performe ony Thing without the especiall Grace of our God in Christ Jesus, quho hes promised, *to be with us present, even to the Consumation of the World*; with unfayned Hairtis, lat us crave of him his Benediction and Assistance in this Work begun, to his Glory, and for the Comfort of his Kirk.

The Prayer.

O Lord, to quhome all Power is gevin in Heavin and in Eirthe, thou that art the Eternell Sone of the Eternell Father, quho hes not onely so luist thy Kirk, that for the Redemptioun and Purgatioun of the sam, thou hes humilled thyself to the Deyth of the Croce; and thareupoun hes sched thy most innocent Bluid, to prepar to thyself a Spous without Spote; bot also to retein this thy most excellent Benefite in Memory, hes apointed in thy Kirk, Teichers, Pastures, and Apostles, to instruct, comfort and admonishe the sam: Luk upoun us mercifully, O Lord, thou that onely art King, Teicher and Hie Preist to thy awn Flock; and send unto this our Brother, quhome in thy Name we have charged with the cheif Cair of thy Kirk, within the Boundis of *Lauthiane*, sick Portioun of thy Holy Spreit, as thareby he may richtly devyde thy Word to the Instructioun of thy Flocke, and to the Confutatioun of pernicious Erroures, and damnable Superstitiones. Give unto him, gude Lord,

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a Mouth.

a Mouthe and Wisdome, quhareby the Enemeis of thy Truthe may be confounded, the Wolfis expellit, and driven from thy Fauld, thy Scheip may be fed in the wholsom Pastures of thy most holy Word, the Blind and Ignorant may be illuminated with thy trew Knowlege; Finally, That the Dregis of Superstitioun and Idolatry, quhilk yit restis within this Realme, being purged and removed, we may all, not onely have Occasioun to glorifie the our onely Lord and Saviour, bot also dayly to grow in Godlines and Obedience of thy most holy Will, to the Distructioun of the Body of Synne, and to the Restitutioun of that Image, to the quhilk we wer anes created, and to the quhilk, efter our Fall and Defectioun, we ar renewed, by Participatioun of thy Holy Spirit, quhilk by trew Fayth in the, we do profes, as the blissit of thy Father, of quhome the perpetuall Incres of thy Graces, we crave, as by the our Lord and King, and onely Bischope, we ar taucht to pray, saying, *Our Father that art in Hevin, &c.*

The Prayer ended, the rest of the Ministers, if ony be, and Elders of that Kirk present, in Signe of thair Consents, fall tak the Electèd be the Hand, and then the cheif Minister fall gif the Benedictioun, as follows.

God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, quho hes comanded his Evangell to be preiched, to the Comfort of his Elect, and hes called the to the Office of a Watchman over his Peple, multiply his Graces with the, illuminat the with his holy Spirit, comforte and strenthen the in all Vertewe, governe and gujde thy Ministry, to the Prayis of his holy Name, to the Propogatioun of Christ's Kingdome, to the Comforte of his Kirk; and finally, to the plain Discharge and Assurance of thy awn Conscience in the Day of the Lord Jesus; to quhom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghoist, be all Honour, Prays and Glory, now and ever. So be it.

The last Exhortatioun to the Electèd.

TAKE Heid to thy self, and unto the Flock comitted to thy Chairgè; feid the same cairfully, not as it wer of Compulsioun, bot of very Love, quhilk thow bearest to the Lord Jesus. Walk in Simplicity and Purenes of Lyfe, as it becumethe the trew Servand and Ambassadour of the Lord Jesus. Usurpe not Dominioun, nor tyranicall Impyre over thy Brethrein: Be not discouraged in Adversity, bot lay befor thyself the Exemple of Prophets, Apostles, and of the Lord Jesus, quho in thair Ministry susteained Contradiotioun, Contempt, Persecutioun and Deyth. Feir not to rebuik the World of Sine, Justice, and Jugement. If ony Thing succeid prosperously in thy Vocation, be not puffed up with Pryde; nether yit flatter thy self, as that the gude Succes proceded from thy Vertew, Industry or Cair: Bot let ever that Sentence of the Apostle remane in thy Hairt; *Quhat hes thow, quhilk thow hes not receavit? If thow hes receavit, quhy gloriest thow?* Comfort the Afflicted, support the Puir, and exhort utheris to support thame. Be not solist for Things of this Lyfe, bot be fervent in Prayer to God, for Incres of his Holy Spirit. And finally, behave thyself in this holy Vocation, with sick Sobriety, as God may be glorified in thy Ministry: And so fall thow schortly obtain the Victory, and fall receive the Crown promised, quhen the Lord Jesus fall apeir in his Glory, quhois Omnipotent Spirit assist the, and us unto the End. *Amen.* Then sing the 23. Psalme.

The Ordour of the Electioun of Elderis and Deaconis in the privie Kirk of Edinburgh in the begynning, quhen as yet thair was no publict Face of a Kirk, nor opyn Assemblies, bot secreit and privie Conventiounis in Houses, or in the Feildis.

BEfoir that thare wes any publict Face of a trew Religion within this Realme, it pleased God of his grit Mercie, to illuminat the Hairts of mony privat Persones, so that they did perceave and understand the Abusses that wer in the Papistickall Kirk, and thareupoun withdrew thamefelfis from Participatioun of thare Idolatrie. And becaus the Spirit of God will never suffer his awne to be idle and voyde of all Religion, Men began to exercise thamefelfis in reading of the Scriptures secretly within thair awne Houses; and Varietie of Persones culd not be kept in gud Obedience and honest Fame, without Overseers, Elders and Deacones: And so begane that small Flocke to put thamefelfis in sick Ordour, as if Christ Jesus had planely triumphed in the middes of thame, by the Power of his Evangell. And thay did elect sum to occupie the supream Place of Exhortatioun and Reading, som to be Elderis and Helperis unto thame, for the Oversight of the Flocke: And som to be Deacones for the Collectioun of Almes to be distributed to the Poore of thair awn Bodie. Of this small begynning is that Order, quhilk now God of his grit Mercie hes gevin unto us publictly within this Realme. Of the principalls of thame that wer knowne to be Men of gude Conversatioun and honest Fame in the privy Kirk, wer chosen Elders and Deacones to reull with the Minister in the publike Kirk: Quhilk Burdene thay patiently susteined a Yeir and mair. And then becaus they culd not (without neglecting of thair awen private Houses) langer wait upoun the publict Charge; they desyred that they might be releaved, and that uthers might be burdened in thair Rounge: Quhilk was thocht a Petitioun ressonabill of the haill Kirk. And therefore it was granted unto thame, that thay sould nominate and gif up in Electioun sick Personages as thay in thair Consciences thocht maist apte and abill to serve in that Charge; provyding that they sould nominate double ma Personis then war sufficient to serve in that Charge, to the end that the haill Congregatioun might have thair free Vote in thair Electioun. And this Ordour hes bene ever observed sen that Tyme in the Kirk of *Edinburgh*, that is, that the auld Sessioun befor thair Departure nominat 24 in Electioun for Elders, of quhom 12 ar to be chosen, and 32 for Deacones, of quhome 16 ar to be elected; quhilk Persones ar publictly proclaimed in the Audience of the haill Kirk, upoun a *Sunday* Befoirnone, efter Sermon; with Admonitioun to the Kirk, that if any Man know any notorious Cryme or Caus, that might unabill any of these Persones to enter in sick Vocation, that they sould notifie the same unto the Sessioun the next *Thursday*: Or if any know any Persones mair abill for that Charge, they sould notifie the same unto the Sessioun, to the end that na Man cyther present or absent (being ane of the Kirk) suld complayne that he was spoyled of his Liberty in Electioun. The *Sunday* following Befoirnone, in the end of the Sermon, the hole Communicants ar comandit to be present Efternone, to gif thair Voites as they will answer befor God, to sick as they esteeme most abill to beir the Charge of the Kirk with the Ministers. The Votes of all being receaved, the Scroles of all ar delyvered to any of the Ministers, quho keeps the same

secreit fra the Sicht of all Men till the next *Thursday*; and then in the Sessioun he produces thame that the Voites may be counted, quhare the moniest Voites without respect of Persones, have the first Place in the Elderschip, and so proceeding till the Numer of 12 be compleit; so that if a pur Man exceed the riche Man in Voites, he preceeds him in Place; and it is called the first, second and thrid Elder, even as the Voites answerethe. And this same is observed in the Electioun of Deaconis.

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nes;

A NEW BOOK,

OF

UNUSUAL VIVACITY AND RARE VIGOR,

ON A SUBJECT

VITALLY INTERESTING TO EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN,

ENTITLED,

POPERY, THE FOE OF THE CHURCH,

AND OF

THE REPUBLIC.

BY

REV. JOSEPH S. VAN DYKE, A. M.

ILLUSTRATED WITH SUPERIOR ENGRAVINGS.

THE position, efforts, and expressed purposes of Political Romanism in our country have awakened an interest which earnestly calls for an array of the facts bearing upon Popery's relation to Christianity and to Civil Liberty. No thoughtful observer of passing events, no lover of the pure Gospel, no friend of our free institutions can fail to discern its deadly hostility to all the American Christian holds dear. It is with this stupendous system of error, which is now laboriously endeavoring to bind upon this nation the fetters of despotism, that this work successfully does battle. Able, comprehensive, and scholarly, written in a fresh, clear, energetic, and elegant style, it meets the demand of the day. It deals with living questions, presents a fearful compendium of startling facts, and a series of arguments which must force conviction upon the mind of every unbiassed reader.

The Author's long familiarity with the subject, his extensive correspondence with those in positions to ascertain the spirit of the Romish Church, and his preparation of numerous articles on the subject for the secular and religious press, are a sufficient guaranty that the subjects which occupy his pen are treated in an able and interesting manner.

Some idea of the varied character of the work may be obtained from a brief summary of the topics discussed :

"Shepherd," Allegan, Mich.

THE PAPACY, PREDIC

As a political power ; as the foe of the Church and of Republics ; as a perpetuation of that meaningless formalism which is the enemy of true Christianity ; as Paganism under a new name ; as an unwearied antagonist of the true Church and of liberty, civil and national.

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TO AGENTS.

POPERY HOSTILE TO CHRISTIANITY.

As evinced in the despotism now strenuously defended; in the infallibility dogma; in the disgusting and heaven-insulting ruses; in the frauds unblushingly palmed upon the credulous; in the violation of the faithful; in the lying wonders, denominated miracles, and shamelessly recounted in recent publications; and in the inerrancy and immutability.

and is destined to a state of permanent usefulness, is earnestly desiring an eager desire for more copies, both on the platform and in the work upon the altar. It is not a work to be read only of practical, living, vital citizen. It is a work to be read by all, and it is a work to be read by all, and it is a work to be read by all.

ROMANISM THE FOE OF LIBERTY.

Unchanged and unchangeable, the same in spirit in this enlightened nineteenth century as in the world's midnight, Rome's noonday of glory; opposed to civil liberty, to religious liberty, to a free press, to the education of the masses, to our Public School System, to the separation of Church and State, to freedom of conscience, to the free distribution of the Bible, to liberty of opinion and free discussion; in short, to every safeguard of popular liberty, being an emphatic protest against the civilization, progress, hopes, aims and government of the present age, and so far as circumstances will permit, the same relentless persecutor she has ever been.

These several topics, and others equally interesting, are discussed in a manly, frank, outspoken manner, and in a condensed, forcible, and popular style. Dealing little in denunciation, the positions maintained in the body of the work are irrefragably proved by quotations in foot-notes from prominent papal writers of the present day; forcing upon the mind the conviction that Popery, as it now exists, is the FOE OF GOD AND MAN, OF THE CHURCH, AND OF REPUBLICANISM.

CONDITIONS:

The work contains about 300 pages, printed from new electrotype-plates, from large, clear, beautiful type, on good white paper, made to order. It also contains 16 appropriate full-page illustrations, by the best engravers of Philadelphia and New York, from special designs by the celebrated artist, A. L. Rawson, of New York city.

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N. B. — Persons wishing a copy of the work will please write to the Publishers, and they will have a great deal of call on them. It is sold only through our Agents, and not to the book-stores, hence booksellers cannot honestly get them.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

Rev. ALEXANDER T. MCGILL, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, says:

"I most earnestly commend it as an effort of great merit, in the diligence and skillful array of the facts which are of such fearful moment to the Church and to the country at this hour. This book will do great good in awakening the apathy, and engaging a more earnest inquiry among Protestant people respecting the insidious, busy, and baleful advances of this anti-Christian power."

Rev. W. HENRY GREEN, D. D., Professor of Hebrew in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, says:

"It bears the evidence of careful preparation, and is vigorously written, and in a style adapted to secure readers and carry conviction. The second part particularly, which deals with important, practical, and living issues, will be sure to attract attention. Upon these points the position is manly, outspoken, and decided."

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nes:

I have been truly surprised that, amid the pressing duties of an important pastoral charge, Mr. Van Dyke has been able to prepare so extended and thorough a discussion of the subject. He has certainly done a valuable service in collecting and presenting, in a popular and impressive form, such an array of facts and authorities, demonstrating the hostility of Popery to our free institutions and to evangelical Christianity. The book has confirmed the conviction I have long entertained, that the magnitude of the dangers to be apprehended from the increase of Popery in our country is not fully appreciated. The press and the pulpit of the past generation, when the actual evil was far less than it is now—were far more *outspoken* on the subject than they are at the present day. I believe this is due not to the fact that the evil is diminishing, but because the leaders of public opinion are reluctant to excite the enmity and opposition of a power that has become so formidable. Surrounded as we are by the followers of "The Man of Sin," it requires a good degree of moral courage to expose the atrocities of what they regard as sacred. I am glad that the author has not shrinked from the work, and it gives me pleasure to say that he has accomplished the task with *zeal and ability*. What is needed is not simple declaration, but facts and authorities which cannot be gainsaid, and which must carry conviction to every unprejudiced mind that duty comes from them. This his work furnishes, and I therefore cordially commend it. I trust that it may be received with the public favor it deserves, and that it may contribute to arrest the progress of the most formidable enemy with which we, as patriots and as Christians, have to contend.

JOHN T. DUFFIELD, D.D., Prof. of Mathematics in Princeton College.

The book, entitled "Popery the Fox," etc., is very able, and its publication seems noble. It cannot fail to do great good.

WM. H. CAMPBELL, D.D., LL.D., President of Rutgers College.

I have read with interest and profit the work entitled "Popery the Fox," etc. It is an excellent summary of principles and facts bearing upon the controversy with the Papal Church. The arrangements and appeals are sound and strong. It is a timely contribution to the cause of true religion and civil liberty.

JOSEPH T. DURYEA, D.D., Pastor of Clason Ave. Pres. Ch., Brooklyn, N. Y.

It is forcibly written, and presents a convincing array of facts not generally known, proving the dangerous character and designs of the Romish Church as the common enemy of civil and religious liberty. Its circulation will therefore do great good in arousing Protestants to a realization of their danger, and in inciting them to withstand the further aggressions of this unscrupulous foe.

REV. J. D. RANDOLPH, Pastor of the First Pres. Ch., Frenchtown, N. J.

If I should express my very decided opinion of your book in a single sentence, it would be this: you have succeeded in setting forth, in vigorous and popular style, facts which it is of vital importance should be widely disseminated. I hope it may be extensively circulated. Its reading must be profitable of good to our country and to the Church of God.

REV. JOSEPH G. SYMMES, Pastor First Church, Cranberry, N. J.

I have examined Popery, etc., and find it eminently readable, abounding with facts strongly stated and well arranged.

REV. J. W. CHAMBERS, D.D., Pastor Reformed Church, New York City.

I have been very much interested in "Popery the Fox of the Church and the Republic." It fills a niche which is occupied by no other work with which I am acquainted. I consider it a useful work, well calculated to inform the public as to the true character of Popery. The paper is excellent, the type so clear and beautiful that the book almost reads itself. The binding is all that can be desired.

REV. J. A. BLAUVELT, Pastor Presbyterian Church, German Valley, N. J.

Mr. Van Dyke is an earnest foe to the whole system of the Papacy, and gives his reasons therefor in this book. His special object in the book is to show that Popery is still the same that it was in the days of its great power, the enemy of Liberty in Church and State. He does this by an array of facts, and by the quotation of frank avowals made by high Catholic authorities, which ought to be convincing. Mr. Van Dyke deals with Popery in its modern aspect, and with the events of its present history, and therefore his book is fresh and interesting. The style is direct and vigorous—the style of a man intent upon his work.

THE PRESBYTERIAN, Philadelphia, Pa.

Eminently able and timely. It will go like fire, and I hope will be a part of the "brightness of that coming" which will destroy the "man of sin."

REV. M. C. SUTPHEN, D.D., New York City.

It is another successful effort to keep the minds of Americans, and especially of all Protestants, awake as to the real genius and constant aims of their common foe.

REV. H. JUDD, Rector "Good Shepherd," Allagan, Md.

I have such a high estimate of the author as a thinker and scholar that I do not hesitate to commend any of his productions and ask for them the consideration of all thoughtful persons.

REV. W. C. CATTELL, D.D., Prest. Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

The array of facts is startling. The style is vigorous, elevating and ennobling, and we speak for the work a widespread circulation and a useful mission.

REV. G. A. POLLOCK, Pastor First Free Church, Effingham, Ill.

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Y y y dam-

secreit fra the Sicht of all Men till the next *Thursday*; and then in the Sessioun he produces thame that the Voites may be counted, quhare the moniest Voites without respect of Persones, have the first Place in the Elderschip, and so proceeding till the Numer of 12 be compleit; so that if a pur Man exceed the riche Man in Voites, he preceeds him in Place; and it is called the first, secund and thrid Elder, even as the Voites answerethe. And this same is observed in the Electioun of Deaconis.

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nes: Be mercifull to the Puir, and support thame to the uttermost of your Power; and so fall ye receive the Benediction of God, present and everlasting. God save the Kings Majesty, and gif unto him the Spirit of Sanctification in his young Age: Blis his Regent, and sick as assist him in upright Counsaill, and eyther fruitfully convert, or suddanely confound the Enemies of trew Religion, and of this afflicted Comoun-welthe. *Amen.*

As the Servands of God uprightly travellit to have Vyce punished, and Vertew planted, so did the Devill ever steir up sum in the contrair of bothe. Thare was a Law maid against Fornicatours and Adulterers, that the ane and the uther could be cairted throuche the Touns, and so banished, till thair Repentance war offered and received. And albeit this was not the Severity of Gods Law, especially against Adulterers, yet was it a grit Brydill to Malefactours, quhareat the Wickit did wonderfully storme. It chanced that ane *Sanderlone* a Fleischeour was deprehendit to have put away his lawfull Wyif (under Cullour that he was lawfully parted efter the maner of the Papistickall Religion) and had takin to him ane uther in his Hous. The Complaynt and Sklander proponit to the Kirk, and Tryell takin, That he was not maryed with the secund Woman, nether that he was abill to prove that he was divorced by any Ordour of Law from the first, he was comitted in the Hand of the Magistrates, quho, according to the Laws, comandit him to be cairted. Bot the Rascall Multitude inflamed by sum ungodly Craftsmen, maid Insurrection, brake the Cairte, boastit the Officiars, and tuke away the Malefactour. This was the begyning of farder Evills, as we will efter heir.

In this meane Tyme, quhill Lord *James* (we say) was in *France*, thair came ane Ambassadour from *France*, suborned (no dout) with all Craft that might truble the Estait of Religion. His Demands war, first, *That the League betwix us and England should be brokin.* Secundlie, *That the ancient League betwix France and Scotland should be renewed.* And, Thridlie, *That the Bischopis and Kirkmen should be reponed in thair former Plaices, and be sufferit to intromet with thair Levings.* The Councell delayit Answeir till the Parliament apointed in *Maii*. In the meane Tyme the Papistis of *Scotland* practeisit with him. The Erles of *Huntlie*, *Atholle*, *Bothwell*, and uthers, intendit to have tane *Edinburghe* befor the said Parliament. The haill Bischopis assemblit, and held Councell at *Strivling*. Sum quhispering thare was, that the Duik, and the Bischope of Sanct *Androis* war over familiare; and sum feirit that the Authoritie of the Quene could have bene usurped, be resson of hir Absence, and that the Duik was secund Persoune, for thareat had sum of his preassit immediatly efter the Deyth of the King of *France*. The Protestants thareof adverteisit, preventit thame, and came to *Edinburghe*. The Erle of *Arrane* stude constant with his Brethren; thare wer sum that painfully and cairfully travellit that nothing prejudiciall to the Quenes Authoritie, could be done in Absence of the Lord *James*, to quhome the Quene hes recompensit evill for gude Service. Mr. *James Macgill* in that Point did bothe stoutely and trewly, for *Johne Knox* and he wer then fallin in Familiarity, in quhilk they yit continew (this 20. of *October 1567*) be resson the said Mr. *James* had embraced the Religion, and professit it publictly.

The Papists and the Bischopes disapointed of thair principall Purpois and Interprys, did yet mak Broyle for Trouble: For the Rascall Multitude wer steired up to mak a *Robin Huid*, quhilk Inormity was of mony Yeirs left and

dammed by Statute and Act of Parliament ; yet wald they not be forbidden, bot wald disobey and truble the Toun, especially upoun the Nicht : Quhareat the Bailyeis offender, tuk from thame sum Swords and ane Ensenye, quhilk was Occasioun that they the same Nicht made a Mutiny ; kept the Ports of the Toun, and intendit to have persewit sum Men within thair awn Houses ; bot that upoun Restitutioun of thair Swords wes stayet. Bot yet they ceassit not to molest, alswell the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, as divers Cuntreymen, taking from thame Money, and threatning sum with farder Injureis : Quharewith the Magistrates of the Toun hiely offender, tuk more deligent Heid to sikk as resortet to the Toun, and apprehendet ane of the principall of that Misfordour, named *Kyllone*, a Cordinar, quhome they put to ane Assyis ; and being convicted (for he culd not be absolved, for he was the cheif Man that spoylled *Johne Moubry* of ten Crowns of the Sone) they thocht to have executed Jugement upoun him, and erectet a Gibbet benethe the Croce. Bot (quhider it came be Paction with the Provest and sum uther, or by Instigatioun of the Craftsmen, quho ever have bene bent over mekle to mantean sikk Vanity and Ryotousnes, we fully know not) suddanely thair did rys a Tumult, the Tolbuthe was brokin upe, and not onely the said *Kyllone* was violently taiken furthe, bot also all uther Malefactours war set at Freedome, the Gibbet was pullet doun, and despytfully broken. And tharefter, as the Provest, and sum of the Cuncell, assemblet to the Clerks Chalmer for Consultatioun, the haill rascall Multitude bandet togither, with sum knawn and honest Craftsmen, and intendet Invasioun of the said Chalmer ; quhilk perceaved, the Provest, and sikk as wer in his Company, past to the Tolbuthe, suspecting nothing that they wald bene so intraged, as to mak new Persute, efter that they had obteinete thair Intent : Bot thay wer suddanely deceaved ; for from the *Castellhill* they came with Violence, and with Stanes, Gunes, and sikk uther Weapons as they had, begun to assault the said Tolbuthe, ran at the Duir of it, quhill it partely by Stones cast from above, and partely by ane Pistol schot by *Robert Norwall* (quhilk hurt ane *Twedie*) they wer repulsit from the Duir. Bot yet ceassit they not to cast and schoute in at the Windows, threatning Deyth to all that war within. And in verey Deid the Malice of the Craftsmen, quho wer suspectit to be the Occasioun of that Tumult, bare na gude Will to divers of thame that wer with the Provest.

The Arguments that the Craftsmen wer the caus of that Uproare, besydes thair first Misfordour that they had usit befor, in taking *Sanderfoun* from the Executioun of Punischement, ar two. The former, *Archibald Dewar*, *Patrik Changie*, with uther sex Deacouns of the Crafts, came to *Johne Knox*, and willit him to soleist the Provest and the Toun to delay the Executioun. Quho did answer, That he had so oft soleist in thare Favours, that his awn Conscience accusit him, that thay usit his Labours for na uther End, bot to be a Patrone to thare Impiety ; for he had befor made Intercessioun for *Williame Harlaw*, *James Frissell*, and uthers that wer convict of the former Tumult. They proudly answerit, That if it was not stayit, bayth he and the Bailyes suld repent it. Quhareunto he answered, That he wald not hurt his Conscience for ony Feir of Man : And so thay departit ; and the Tumult immediatly tharefter did arysis. The secund Argument is, The Tumult continewit frome two Hours Efternone, till efter Aucht at Nicht. The Craftsmen wer required to assemble thameselfis togither for Deliverance of thair Provest and Bailyes, bot they past to thair *four Houris Pennie*, and
in

in thair jesting, said, *They will be Magistrats allone, let thame reulle the Multitude allone.* And so, contrair the Othe that they had maid, they denyit thair Assistance, Countell and Comfort to thair Provest and Bailyes. Quhilk ar Arguments veray probabill, that the said Tumult rays be thair Procurement. The End heirof was, That the Provest and Bailyes wer compellit to gif thair hand Writes, that they sould never persew ony of thame that wer at that Tumult, for ony Cryme that was done in that Behalf. And this was proclaimed at the Mercat Croce, efter nyne Hours at Nycht; and so that Trubill quyetit. Bot the Nobility avowit, That they sould not spair it; and so a grit Numer of that Faction wer absent from the Toun, till the Arryvell of the Quene. The haill Multitude wer haldin excommunicate, and wer admittit to no Participatioun of the Sacraments, unto sick Tyme as they satisfyit the Magistrates, and maid humill Suit unto the Kirk.

Or the Deyth of the Quene Regent, we have befor spokin, bot of hir Buriell was nothing hard. And it may apeir, That sick Matters ar unworthy of Remembrance: Bot if all Things fall rychtly be weyit, we sall perceave God's just Jugements, how secreit that ever they be.

Befoir we hard of the barbarous Inhumanity that was ussit at *Leyth* by the *Frenche*, quho exponit the naiked Carcasses of the Slane, as it war in a Spectacle deipying God. We hard, that the Quene Regent rejoyisit at the Sicht, bot hir Joy was suddanelly turned in Sorrow, as we have hard. The Questiou was moved of hir Buriell: The Preicheours bauldly gaynstude, *That ony superstitious Rites sould be ussit within that Realme, quhilk God of his grit Mercie had begun to purge.* And so Conclusioun was tane, That the Buriell sould be deferrit till farther Advysement; and so was sche lapped in a Cope of Leid, and keipt in the Castell, fra the nynte of *Junii*, unto the nynetein of *October*, quhen sche by Pyneris was caryed to a Schip, and so caryed to *France*. Quhat Pompe was usit thare, we nouthar hard, nor yit regaird. Bot in it we see, that sche who wes delyttrit that uthers lay without Buriell, gat neyther so sone, as sche hirself (if sche had bein of the Counsaill in hir Lyfe) wald have requyred it, neyther so honourably in this Realme, as sumetyme sche luiked for. It may chance be a Prognosticatioun that the *Guyssane* Blude cannot have lang Rest within this Realme.

The Papistis, a litell befor Parliament, resorted in divers Bandes to the Toun, and began to bragg, as thocht they wald have defaced the Protestantis: Quhilk Thing perceaved, the Brethrein assembled together and went in sick Cumpanies, and yit in peaceabell Maner, that the Bischopis and thair Bandis forsuik the Calfey. The Brethrein understanding quhat the Papistis meint, convened in Counsaill in the Tolbuithe of *Edinburghe*, the 27th of *Maii* 1561. and efter Consultation, concluded, that ane Supplicatioun sould be presented to the Lords of Secreit Counsaill, and unto the haill Assembly, that then was convened, in the quhilk sould these subsequent Heids be requyred, and a Law to pass thareupoun.

First, *That Idolatrie, and all Monumentis thareof, sould be suppressed throuhout the baill Realme; that the Sayaris, Heiraris, Mentinaris and Ufferis of the Mess, sould be punisched according to the Act of Parliament, as said is.*

Secundly, *That speciall and certane Provisioun be maid for the Sustentatioun of the Superintendis, Ministeris, Exhorteris and Reidaris; That Superintendis*
and

and Ministeris sould be planted quhare nane wer; that Punischment sould be appointed for sick as disobeyed or contemnit the Superintendentis in thair Functioun.

Thridly, That Punischment may be apointed for the Abuisers of the Sacramentis, and for the Contemneris of the same.

Fourthly, That no Letters of Sessioun be gevin to answer or pay to any Person thair Teindis, without speciall Provisioun, that the Parochineris retein sa mekill in thair awn Handis, as is apointed for the Ministrie; and that all sick as ar ellis gevin, be called in, and dischaarged; and lykewayis that Sherifis gif Preceptis to that Effect.

Fiftly, That neyther the Lordis of Sessioun, nor ony uther Judges, proceid upoun sick Preceptis or Warraningis, past at the Instance of thame that of late have obtained Fewis of Vicarages, and Parsones Mances, and Kirk-yairds; and that sex Aikeris (if sa mekill thare be) of the Gleib be alwayis reserved to the Minister, according to the Apointment of the Buik of Discipline; and that every Minister may have Letteris thareupoun.

Sextly, That no Letteris of Sessioun, nor ony utheris, tak Place, quhill the Stipends contained in the Buik of Disciplin, for Sustentatioun of the Ministeris, be first consignat in the Hands, at the leift of the Principall of the Parochineris.

Sevently, That Punischment be apointed against sick as purches, bringis Home, or executis within this Realme, the Paipis Bullis.

The Tenour of the Supplication was this.

PLEIS your Honours, and the Wisdome of sick as ar presently conveyned with yow in Counsaill, to understand, that be mony Argumentis we perceave, quhat the pestilent Generatioun of that *Romane* Antichrist within this Realme pretendis, to wit, That they wald of new erect thair Idolatry, tak upoun thame to impyre above our Conscience; and so to comand us, the trew Subjectes of this Realme, and sick as God of his Mercy hes (under our Soverane) subjected unto us, in all Things to obey thair Apetites. Honesty craveth, and Conscience moverthe us, to mak the very Secreits of our Hairts patent to your Honours in that Behalf, quhilk is this, That befor that evir these Tyrantes and dum Dogis impyre above us, and above sick as God hes subjected unto us, that we, the Barones and Gentilmen professing Christ Jesus within this Realme, have fullie determined to bazard Lyses, and quhatsoever we have received of our God in temporall Thingis. We, maist humely tharefor, beseik your Honours, That sick Ordour may be taiken, that we have not Occasioun to tak agane the Sword of just Defence into our Handis, quhilk we have willingly (efter that God hes gevin Victory, bothe to your Honours and us) resigned over into your Hands; to the End, that God's Evangell may be publicly, within this Realme, preiched; the trew Preicheours thareof reßonably susteined, Idolatry suppressed, and the Comitteris thareof punished, according the the Lawes of God and Man. In doing quhareof, your Honours sall find us, not onely obedient unto yow, in all Things lawfull, bot also redy at all Tymes to bring under Ordour and Obedience, sick as wald rebell against your just Authority, quhilk, in Absence of our Soverane, we acknowlege to be in your Hands, beseiking your Honours, with upricht Jugement and Indifferency, to luik upoun these our few Artickles, and, by these our Brethrein, to signifie unto us sick Answer agane, as may declair your Honours worthy of that Plaise, quhareunto God (efter sum Dangers susteined) in his Mercy hath called yow.

And

force had ministered more numerous to
 part from those thought otherwise. He had
 come there to preach the gospel, he had not
~~been~~ to preach in contempt of any man, nor
 with the design of hurting any earthly creature
 but to deliver to preach next day, (unless for-
 cibly hindered,) he could not in conscience
 accept "My life," and he is the custody of him
 whose glory I seek. I desire the hand not
 weapon of no man to defend me. I only
 crave audience; which if it be denied
 here unto me at this time, I must seek
 where I may have it."

Next day he preached in the Extraordinary pulpit, before a large assembly of all classes lay and ecclesiastical. The service did not fire, nor was any other disturbance offered. His ~~theme~~^{text} was ~~In the temple~~ resolution of the profane trappings from the temple at Jerusalem Twelve years before in ~~the same~~^{the same way} he had abundantly proved that the corruption of the Jewish religion in the time of Christ was not greater than that of the Catholic Church in the 16th century. He now commenced on that ground and showed the duty resting on every man in his proper place to assist in cleansing the temple of God.

Petitioners.

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And

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PLEIS your Honours, and the Wifdome of sick as ar presently conveyned with yow in Counsaill, to understand, that be mony Argumentis we perceave, quhat the pestilent Generatioun of that *Romane* Antichrist within this Realme pretendis, to wit, That they wald of new erect thair Idolatry, tak upoun thame to impyre above our Conscience ; and so to comand us, the trew Subjectes of this Realme, and sick as God of his Mercy hes (under our Soverane) subjected unto us, in all Things to obey thair Apetites. Honesty craveth, and Conscience movethe us, to mak the very Secrets of our Hairts patent to your Honours in that Behalf, quhilk is this, *That befor that evir these Tyrantes and dum Dogis impyre above us, and above sick as God hes subjected unto us, that we, the Barones and Gentilmen professing Christ Jesus within this Realme, have fullie determined to hazard Lyfes, and quhatsoever we have received of our God in temporall Thingis.* We, maist humely tharefoir, beseik your Honours, That sick Ordour may be taiken, that we have not Occasioun to tak agane the Sword of just Defence into our Handis, quhilk we have willingly (esfer that God hes gevin Victory, bothe to your Honours and us) resigned over into your Hands ; to the End, that God's Evangell may be publicly, within this Realme, preiched ; the trew Preicheours thareof ressonably susteined, Idolatry suppressed, and the Comitteris thareof punished, according the the Lawes of God and Man. In doing quhareof, your Honours fall find us, not onely obedient unto yow, in all Things lawfull, bot also redy at all Tymes to bring under Ordour and Obedience, sick as wald rebell against your just Authority, quhilk, in Absence of our Soverane, we acknowlege to be in your Hands, beseiking your Honours, with upricht Jugement and Indifferency, to luik upoun these our few Artickles, and, by these our Brethrein, to signifie unto us sick Answer agane, as may declair your Honours worthy of that Plaice, quhareunto God (esfer sum Dangers susteined) in his Mercy hath called yow.

And

He also preached on the three following days
~~to disorder the masses sent the city by its own~~
~~proper authorities. After which the authorities~~
 of the city with the entire consent of the in-
 habitants, peacefully removed from the
 church all images and other objects of ido-
 lators veneration, and demolished the mon-
 asteries.

The example of St. Andrews was followed
 at other places. Where consecrated by the
 magistrates it was followed peacefully
 and with moderation, where opposed
 it was carried out with violence. Even
 Knox himself failed to save the ~~ancient~~^{episcopal}
~~episcopal palace at Leven, which was~~
 thrown to the ground in spite of the all
 his & most earnest persuasions. And the
 reason of that public pervolence, express-
 edly by a woman in the hearing of some
 of those who labored to stop it was perfect
 satisfaction.

and Ministeris sould be planted quhare nane wer; that Punischment sould be appointed for sick as disobeyed or contemnit the Superintendentis in thair Functioun.

Thridly, That Punischment may be apointed for the Abuisers of the Sacramentis, and for the Contemneris of the same.

Fourthly, That no Letters of Sessioun be gevin to answer or pay to any Person thair Teindis, without speciall Provisioun, that the Parochineris retein sa mekill in thair awn Handis, as is apointed for the Ministrie; and that all sick as ar ellis gevin, be called in, and dischaired; and lykewayis that Sherifis gif Preceptis to that Effect.

Fifthly, That neyther the Lordis of Sessioun, nor ony uther Judges, proceid upoun sick Preceptis or Warraningis, past at the Instance of thame that of late have obtained Fewis of Vicarages, and Parsones Mances, and Kirk-yairds; and that sex Aikeris (if sa mekill thare be) of the Gleib be alwayis reserved to the Minister, according to the Apointment of the Buik of Discipline; and that every Minister may have Letteris thareupoun.

Sextly, That no Letteris of Sessioun, nor ony utheris, tak Place, quhill the Stipends contained in the Buik of Disciplin, for Sustentatioun of the Ministeris, be first consignat in the Hands, at the leif of the Principall of the Parochineris.

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And

And let these Enemies of God assure themselves, that if your Honours put not Ordour unto thame, that we shall shortly tak sick Ordour, that they shall neyther be abell to do quhat they list, neyther yit to leve upoun the Sweit of the Browes of sick, as ar no Detteris unto thame. Let your Honours conceive nothing of us, bot all humill Obedience in God. Bot let the Papistes be yit ance agane assured, that thair Pryde and Idolatry, we will not suffer.

Direct fra the Assembly of the Kirk, the 18th of Maii 1561. And sent be these Brethren, the Maister of *Lindesay*, the Laird of *Lochmvar*, the Laird of *Phernibirst*, the Laird of *Quhittinham*, *Thomas Menzeis* Proveist of *Aberdene*, and *George Lewell* Burges of *Dundie*.

Upoun the quhilk Requeist and Artickles, the Lords and Counsaill foirsaid maid ane Act and Ordinance, answering to every ane of the foirsaid Artickles, and comanded Letteris to be answered thareupoun, quhilk divers of the Ministers rayfed, as in the Buiks of Secreit Counsaill is yit to be found.

And thus gat Sathan the secund Fall, efter that he had begun to trouble the Estait of the Religion, anes establisched by Law. His first Assalt was by the rascall Multitude, opponing themselves to the Punishment of Vice. The secund was, by the Bischopis and thair Bands, in the quhilk he thocht utterly to have triumphat; and yet he in the End prosperit wors than ye have hard: For in this meane Tyme, returned frome *France* the Lord *James*, quho besyd his grit Expensis, and the Loifs of a Box, quharein was his secreit Pois, eschaiped a disperat Danger in *Paris*: For at his returning frome our Soverane (quho then lay with the Cardinall of *Lorane* in *Rhenes*) understode of the Papists in *Paris*, they had conspyred sum tressonable Act against him; for they intended eyther to have beset his Hous by Nycht, or ellis to have assaultit him and his Company, as they walked upoun the Streits; quhareof the said Lord *James* being adverteised, by the *Rinegrave*, be Ressone of the auld Familiarity, that was betwixt thame in *Scotland*, he tuk Purpois suddanely and in gude Ordour to departe from *Paris*, as that he did, the secund Day efter that he arryved thare; and yit culd not he departe so secretly, bot the Papistis had thair privy Ambusches: For upoun the *Change-brig*, they had prepared a Processioun, quhilk met the said Lord and his Company, in the Teithe, and knowing that they wald not do the accustomed Reverence unto thame and thair Idolles, they thocht thareupoun to have pycked a Quarrell; and so as one Parte passit by, without moveing of Hates to ony Thing that was thare, they had suborned sum to cry, *Hugonets*, and to cast Stanes; bot God disapointed thair Interprys: For the said *Ringrave*, with uther Gentilmen, being with the Lord *James*, rebuiked the foolische Multitude, and over-rode some of the foremost; and so the rest wer disperfed, and he and his Company saifly eschaiped, and thairefter came with Expeditioun to *Edinburghe*, quhill that yit the Lords and Assembly wer togidder, to the grit Comforte of mony godly Hairts, and to no littell Astonishment of the Wickit: For, fra the Quene our Soverane, he brocht Letters to the Lords, praying thame to entertain Quyetnes, and to suffer nothing to be attempted against the Contract of Peice, quhilk was maid at *Leyth*, till hir awn Hame-cuming, and to suffer the Religion publictly establisched to go fordward, &c. Quhareupoun the saids Lords gave Answer to the *Frenche* Ambassadour, a Negative to every ane of his Petitiounes.

And first, That France had not deserved at thair Hands, that eyther they or thair Posteritie, suld enter agane with thame in ony League or Confederacy, offensive or defensive, seing that so traterously and cruelly, they had persecuted thame, thair Realme and Liberties, under Pretence of Amitie and Mariage.

Secundly, That besydis thair Conscience, they culd not tak suche a worldlie Schame, as without Offence comitted, to breake that League, quhilk in God's Name they had maid with thame, quhome he had maid Instrumentis to set Scotland at Fredome, from the Tyranie of the Frenche, at least from the Guyfanes and thair Factioun.

And last, That sike as they called Bischopis and Kirkmen, they knew neyther for Pastoures of the Kirk, neyther yit for ony just Possessours of the Patrimoine thareof: Bot did understande thame perfyitly to be Wolfis, Thevis, Murthereris and idell Bellies, and tharefore, as Scotland had forsakin the Paipe and Papistrie, so culd they not be Dettouris to his foirsworne Vassallis.

With these Answers departed the said Ambassadour. And the Lords of Secreit Counsaill maid ane Act, That all Places and Monumentis of Idolatry sould be destroyed. And for that Purpose wer direct to the West, the Erle of Arrane, haveing joyned with him the Erles of Argyll and Glencairne, togither with the Protestantes of the West, quho brunt Paislay (the Bischope of Sanct Androis, quha was Abbote thareof narrowly escaiped) cuist down Failfurd, Kylwinning, and a Parte of Corfraguell. The Lord James wes apointed to the Northe, quhare he maid sike Reformatioun, as nothing contented the Erle of Huntelie, and yit seamed he to approve all Things. And thus God so potently wrocht with us, so lang as we depended upoun him, that all the World might sie his potent Hand to manetein us, and to fechte against our Enemies; yea, most to confound thame, quhen that they promiseit to thamefelfis Victory without Resistance. *O that we could richtly consider the wondrous Work of the Lord our God.*

In the Treatise of Peice contracted at Leyth, thair wer cōteined certane Heids that required the Ratificatioun of bothe the Queins. The Quene of England, according to hir Promeis, Subscriptioun and Seill, without ony Delay performed the same, and sent it to our Soverane, by hir apointed Officiaris. Bot our Soverane (quhither becaus hir awn crafty Nature moved hir tharetō, or that hir Uncles cheif Counsaillours so wald, we know not) with mony Dilatours frustrat the Expectatioun of the Quene of England, as by the Copie of a Letter sent from the Ambassadour of England, to his Soverane, we may understand.

At Parise the 23d. of Junii 1561.

THe 18th of this present Junii, I sent Sommer to the Quein of Scoitis for Audience, quho apointed me to cum to hir, the sam Day efter Demer, quhilk I did. To hir I did remember your Majesties hairtie Comendatiouns, and declairved unto hir your Majesties lyk Glaidsonnes of hir Recoverie of hir lait Seiknes, quhois Want of Helthe, as it was greavous unto your Majestie, so did yow congratulate and greatlie rejoyce of the greate Fearmis of Helthe sche was presentlie in. Efter these Offices, I put hir in Remembrance agane, quhat had passit from the Beginning, in the Matter of your Majesties Demand of hir Ratificatioun, according to the

Proporte

Proporte of the said Treatie, alsweill by me at the first, as efterwarde be my Lord of Bedfurde at his being heir, and also followit synce be me agane in Audience, and by my Letter to hir being in Lorane: Adding heirto your Majesties farther Commandement, and Recharge to me agane, presentlie to renew the same Demand, as befoir had bein done.

Answeir.

THe said Quene maid Answer, Monsieur *L'Embassadour*, I thank the Quene, my gude Sister, for this gentill Visitation, and Congratulation of this my Recovery; and thoch I be not in perfyte Helthe, yet I find myself in very gude in the cuming to. And for answer to your Demand (quoth sche) of my Ratification, I do remember all these Things that ye have recited unto me: And I wald that the Quene my gud Sister sould think that I do respect the resolute Answer in this Matter, and performing thareof, untill sick Tyme as I may have the Advys of the Nobles and Estaites of my awn Realme, quhilk I trust fall not be lang a doing, for I intend to mak my Voyage thither schortely. And thoch this Matter (quoth sche) doeth tuitche me principally, yet doethe it also tuitche the Nobles and Estaites of thy Realme to: And tharefor it fall be mete that I use thair Advyses tharein. Heretofor they have seemit to be greaved, that I sould do any Thing without thame. And now they wald be moir offendit, if I sould proceed in this Matter of myself without thair Advyses. I do intend (quoth sche) to send Monsieur *d'Ossell* to the Quene your Maistres, my gude Sister, quho fall declair that unto hir from me, that I trust fall satisfie hir. By quhome I will gif her to understand of my Journey into *Scotland*. I meane to embark at *Calice*. The King has lent me certane Galayis and Schipis to convey me hame, and I intend to require of my gude Sister those Favours that Princes use to do in sick Cases. And thoch the Terms quharein heretofore we have bene, hathe bene sumquhat hard, ever till that sche may schaw her evill Will. Yet I trust that from hencefurth we fall accord together, as Cousins and gude Nychbours. I meane to retire (quoth sche) all the *Frenchmen* furthe of *Scotland*, quha have given Jealousy to the Quene my Sister, and Miscontentment to my Subjects; so that I will leave nothing undone to satisfie all Parties, trusting the Quene my gude Sister will do the lyke; and that from hencefurth none of my disobedient Subjects (if thare be any sick) fall find Ayd or Supporte at her Hands.

I answered, That I was not desyrous to fall in the Discours how those hard Terms first begane, nor by quhat Means they wer nurished, becaus tharein I must charge sum Party with Injury and Perrell offered to the Quene my Maistres, quhilk was the veray Ground of these Maters. Bot I was well assured that thare culd be na better Occasioun offered to put the former Unkindnes in Forgetfulness, than by ratifying the Treatis of Peice, for that suld repay all Injuries paste. And Madam (quoth I) quhare it pleiseth yow to suspend the Ratification, untill yow have the Advys of the Nobility and States of your Realme, the Quene my Maistres doeth nothing dout of thair Conformity in this Mater, becaus the Treaty was made by thair Consents.

The Quene answered, yea, by sum of thame, but not by all. It will apeir, quhen I cum amongs thame, quhider they be of the same Mynd that yow say they wer then of or no. But of this I assure yow, *Monsieur l'Ambassadeur*

dour (quoth sche) I for my Parte am veray desyrous, to have the perfyte and the assured Amity of the Quene my gude Sister, and will use all the Means I can to give her Occasioun to think that I meane it indeed.

I answered, Madame, the Quene my Maistres, ye may be assured, will use the lyk towards yow, to move yow to be of the same Opinioun towards her.

Then (said sche) I trust the Quene your Maistres will not supporte nor incourage any of my Subjects to continew in thair Disobedience, nor to tak upoun thame Things that apertein not to Subjects. This we most answer to her, It aperteineth to Subjects to worship God as he hes comandit, and to suppress Idolatry, by quhome so ever it be erected or mantained. Yow know (quoth sche) thare is mekill ado in my Realme about Maters of Religioun. And thoch thare be a gritter Numer of a contrar Religioun unto me then I wald thare wer, yet thare is no Ressone that Subjects sould give a Law to thair Soverane, and specially in Matters of Religioun, quhilk I feir (quoth sche) my Subjects fall tak in Hand; (answer for the Part of *Scotland*, and if so they had done, they had eschapit God's Indignatioun, quhilk harhe bene felt, and still hingeth over this Realme, for the Idolatry, and utter Abhominatiouns comitted in the same, quhilk fall not ceis till that it be suppressit.)

I answered, Madame, your Realme is in no uther cais at this Day, then all uther Realmes of Christendome are. The Pruis quhareof ye sie verified in this Realme. And yow sie quhat grit Difficulty it is to give Ordour in this Mater, thoch the King and all his Counsaill be very desyrous thareunto. Religioun is of the grittest Force that may be; yow have bene long out of your Realme, so as the contrary Religioun to yours hath wone the Upperhand, and the greatest Parte of your Realme: Your Mother was a Woman of grit Experience, of deipe Diffimulatioun, and keped that Realme in Quyetnes, till sche begane to strayne Mens Consciences; and as yow think it unmete to be constrayned by your Subjects, so it may lyke you to consider, The Matter is als intollerabill to thame to be constrayned by yow, in Maters of Conscience; for the Dewty dew to God cannot be geven to ony uther, without Offence to his Majesty. Quhy (said sche) God doeth comand Subjects to be obedient to thair Princes, and comanded Princes to reid his Law, and governe thareby thamefelfis, and the People committed to thair Charges. Answer, Yea, Madame (quoth I) in thos Things that be not against his Commandements. Well (quoth sche) I will be plane with yow: The Religioun that I profes, I tak it to be maist acceptable to God; and indeid, neyther do I know, nor desyre to know ony uther. Constancy doeth become all Folks well, but nane better then Princes, and sick as have rewle over Realmes, and specially in Maters of Religioun. The *Turk* is als constant in his *Alcoran*, as the Paip and his Sectes ar in his Constitutiouns. I have bene brocht up (said sche) in this Religioun, and quho micht credite me in ony Thing, if I sould schaw myself lichte in this Cais. And thoch I be young, and not well learned, yet have I hard this Matter oft disputed be my Uncle my Lord Cardinall, with sum that thocht they culd say sumquhat in the Mater; and I fand tharein no grit Ressoun to change my Opinioun (neyther did *Cajaphas*, quhen Christ Jesus did resson in his Presens. Bot quhat was the Cardinall compelled to confes at *Poyfye*?)

Madame (said I) if yow juge well in that Mater, yow most be conversant in the Scriptures, quhilk ar the Tuitche-stone to try the rycht from the wrange.

wrange. Peradventur yow ar so partially affected to your Uncles Argument, that yow culd not indifferently consider the uther Party: Yet this I assure yow, Madame (quoth I) your Uncle my Lord Cardinall, in Conference with me about these Maters, hath confessed, That there be grit Errours and Abuses cum into the Kirk, and grit Disfords in the Ministers and Clergy, in sa mekle that he wisst that there might be a Reformatioun of the ane and of the uther. I have oftentimes hard him say the lyke (quoth sche.) Then I said, Well, I trust God will inspire yow all that be Princes, that there may be sum gude Ordour taiken in this Mater, so as there may be one Unity in Religion throuhout all Christendome.

God grant (quoth sche;) bot for my Parte ye may perceave I ame none of those that will change thair Religion every Yeir. And, as I tauld yow in the Begynning, I meane to constrain none of my Subjects, bot wald wisst thay war all as I ame; and I trust they sould have no Supporte to constrain me. I will send Monsieur *d'Osell* (quoth sche) to yow befor he go, to know quhither ye will any Thing into *England*. I pray yow so ordour your self in this Mater, betwix the Quene my gude Sister and me, that there may be persyte and assured Amity betwix us; for I know, quoth sche, that Ministers may do mekill gude and harme.

I tauld her that I wald saythfully and trewly mak Declaratioun of all that sche had said unto me, unto your Majesty; and trustit that sche wald so satisfie your Majesty by Monsieur *d'Osell* in all Things, as I sould heirefter have no more Occasioun to treate with her of ony Things, bot of the Incref of Amity. Sche said there suld be no want thareof on her Behalf.

This is the Effect of the Quene of *Scotlands* Answer to your Majesties Demand of her said Ratificatioun, and of my said Negotiatioun with her at this Tyme.

These Adverteisments sumquhat exasperat the Quene of *England*, and not altogether without Caus; for the Armes of *England* wer befor usurped by our Soverane, and by her Husband *Francis*, and *Elizabeth* Quene of *England* was of the *Guyssianes* reputed littill better than a Bastard. It was apointed that this Titill sould be renuned. Bot heirof had our proud and vane Quene no Plesour, and especially efter that her Husband was deid; for (thocht sche) the To-luik of *England* sall allure mony Wowers to me. The *Guyssianes*, and the Papists of both the Realmes, did not a litill animate her in that Persute: The Effect quhareof will soner apeir then the godly of *England* wald desyre. And yet is sche that now rigneth over thame, nether gude Protestant nor yet resolute Papist, let the Warld juge quhilk is the thrid. Quene *Elizabeth*, we say, offended with the former Answers, wrote unto the Nobility and Estates of *Scotland*, in Forme as followeth.

The Quene of Englands Letter to the Estates of Scotland.

Richt Trustie, and richt intierly belovit Cousings, We grete yow. We dout not, bot as our Meaning is, and hethe bene always synce our Rigne, in the Sicht of Almychtie God, strecht and direct towards the Advancemant of his Honour and Treuthe in Religion, and consequently to procure Peice and mantene Concord betwix bothe these Realmes of *England* and *Scotland*; so also our outward Acts have well declared the same to the Warld, and especially to yow, being our Nychbours, quha have tastit and provit of

A a a a

these

these our Freindschip and earnest Gudewill, more than we think any of your Antecessours have ever receaved from hence; yea, more than a gude Numer of yourselfis culd well hope of us, all former Exemples being well weyed and considered. And this we have to rejoyce of, and so may ye be glad, That quhare, in the begyning of the Trubles in that Cuntrey, and of our Succours meant for yow, the Jelousie, or rather the Malice of divers, bothe in that Realme and in uther Cuntreys was sick, bothe to deprave us in yeilding, and yow in requyring our Ayde, that we wer noted to have meaned the Supprys of that Realme, by depyryng of your Soverane the Quene of her Crown, and yow, or the grittest Parte of yow, to have intended by our Succour the lyke; and eyther to prefer sum uther to the Crown, or ells to mak of that Monarchy a Comoun-welthe; Maters very sklanderous and fals. Bot the End and Determinatioun, yea, the haill Cours and Proces of the Actioun one bothe our Parts have manifested, bothe to the Sclanderers, and unto all others, that nothing was more meint and prosecuted, then to establisch your Soverane the Quene, our Cousing and Sister, in her Estait and Crown, the Possessioun quhareof was in the Hands of Strangers. And althoch no Words culd then weill satisfie the malicious, yet our Deids do now declare, That no uther Thing was socht, bot the Restitutioun of that Realme to the ancient Liberty, and as it wer to redeme it from Captivity. Of these our Purposes and Deids, thair remaineth, among uther Arguments, gude Testimony, by ane solemne Treaty and Accord maid the last Year at *Edinburgh*, by Commissioners sent bothe frome us, and from your Quene, with full Authority in wrytting under bothe our Hands, and the Greit Seilles of bothe our Realmes, in sick Maner as uther Princes our Progenitours have always usit. By quhilk Treaty and Accord, ether of us have fully accordit with uther, to keip gude Peice and Amity betwix ourselfis, our Cuntreys and Subjects. And in the same also ane gude Accorde is maid, not onely of certane Querrells happened betwix us, bot also of sum Differences betwix the Ministers of the lait *Freuche* King, your Soveranes Husband, and yow the Estaits of the Realme, for the Alteratioun of Laws and Customes of that Cuntrey attempted by thame. Upoun quhilk Accord thare maid and concluded, hath hitherto followed (as yow know) Surety to your Soveranes Estait, Quyetnes to yourselfis, and a better Peace betwix both the Realmes, then ever was had of in any Tyme past. Nevertheles, how it hapenethe we know not (we can, for sche in her Conceate thinketh herself Quene of both) that your Soverane eyther not knowing in this Parte her awn Felicity, or ells dangerously seduced by pervers Councell, quhareof we wald be most sory; being of late at sundry Tymes required by us, according to her Band remaining with us, signed with her awn Hand, and sealled with the Greate Sealle of that Realme, and allowed by yow, being the Estaits of the same, to ratifie her said Treaty, in lyke maner as we by wrytting have done, and ar redy to declair it to her, yet sche maketh sick dilatory Answers thareunto, as quhat we sall juge thareof, we perceave by her Answer, That it is meit to require of yow: For althoch sche hes always answered since the Deyth of her Husband, That in this Mater sche wald first understand the Mynds of certane of yow, befor sche wald mak answer. And so having now of lang Tyme suspendit our Expectatioun, in the End, notwithstanding that sche hath had Conference bothe by Messingers, and by sum of yourselfis, being with her, yet sche still delayeth it, alledging to our Ambassadour in *France* (quho said that this Tre-

aty was maid by your Consentis) it was not by Consent of yow all; and so wald have us to forbeir, untill sche returne to that her Cuntrey. And now seing this her Answer depends, as it sould seim by her Words, upon your Opiniouns, we cannot bot planely let yow all understand, That this maner of Answer, without sum moir Fruite, cannot lang content us: We have meinit well to our Sister your Quene in Tyme of Offence gevin to us by her. We did planely, without Dissimulatioun, charge her in her awn doutfull Estait: Quhyllis Strangears possessit her Realme, we stayit it from Danger. And now, haveing promiseit to keip gude Peice with her, and yow her Subjects, we have hitherto observed it; and fall be sory if eyther sche or yow fall give us contrary Caus. In a Mater so profitable to bothe the Realmes, we think it strange that your Quene hathe no better Advyse: And therefore we do requyre yow all, being the Staites of that Realme, upoun quhom the Burden rests, to consider this Mater deiply, and to mak us answer, quhareunto we may trust. And if yow fall think meit sche fall thus leave the Peice imperfeyte, by breaking of her solemn Promeis, contrary to the Ordour of all Princes, we fall be well content to accept your Answer, and fall be als cairless to sie the Peice kept, as ye fall give us Caus; and dout not, by the Grace of God, bot quhafoever of yow fall first inclyne thareto, fall soneft repent. Yow must be content with our plane wrytting. And one the uther Syde, if you continew all in one Mynd, to have the Peice inviolably kept, and fall so by your Advys procure the Quene to ratifie it, we also planely promise you, That we will also continew our gude Dispositioun to keip the same in sick gude Tearmes as now it is: And in sa doing, the Honour of Almightie God fall be dewly socht and promoted in bothe the Realmes, the Quene your Soverane fall injoy her Estait with Surety, and yourselfis possess that quhilk you have with Tranquillity, to the Increis of your Families and Posterities, quhilk by the frequent Weires heirtosfor your Antecessours never had long in one Estait. To conclude, we requir you to adverteis us of quhat Mynd ye be, specially if you all continew in that Mynd, that ye meane to have the Peice betwix both the Realmes perpetually kept: And if ye fall forbeir any long Tyme to adverteis us, ye fall give to us sum Occasioun of dout, quhareof more Hurt may grow than Gude. Frome, &c.

These Letters received and perused, albeit the Estaites culd not be convened, yet did the Counsell, and sum uthers also in particular, returne Answer with ressonabill Diligence. The Tenour of our Letters was this.

PLeis your Majesty, that with Jugement we have advysit your Majesties Letters: And albeit the haill Estaites culd not be suddanelly assembled, yet we thocht expedient to signifie sumquhat of our Mynds unto your Majestie. Far be it from us, that eyther we tak upoun us, that Infamy befor the World, or Grudge of Conscience befor our God, that we sould lichtely esteime the Observatioun of that Peice lastly contracted betwix these two Realmes. By quhat Motives our Soverane delayit the Ratificatioun thareof, we cannot tell: Bot of us (of us, we say, Madame, who have in Gods Presence protestit Fidelity in our Promise) her Grace bes nane. Your Majesty cannot be ignorant, That in this Realme thair ar mony Enemies; and farder, That our Soverane bes Counsaillours, quhos Jugements sche in all sick Causes prefers to ours. Our Allegiance bindeth us, not onely reverently to speik and wryte of our Soverane, bot also to juge and think: And yet your Majestie may be well assured, That in us fall be noted no Blame, if that Peace be not ratefeid to your

Majesties Contentement : For God is Witnes, That our cheif Cair in this Earthe, nixt the Glorie of our God, is, That constant Peice may remane betwix these two Realmes, quhareof your Majestie and Realme sall have sure Experience, so long as our Counsaill and Votes may stay the contrary. The Benefite that we have receavt is so recent, that we cannot suddanelly burie it in Forgetfulnes. We wald desyre your Majestie rayther to be perswaidit of us, That we to our Poweris will studie to leave it in Remembrance to our Posteritie. And thus with lawfull and humill Comendatioun of Service, we comit your Majestie to the Protectioun of the Omnipotent. Of Edinburgh the 16. of Julii 1561.

Thare war sum that answerit sum of the Ministers of *England* sumquhat mair scharpelie, and willit thame not to accuise nor threatin so scharpelie, till that they wer abill to convict sick as had promisit Fidelity of sum evident Cryme, quhilk althoch they wer abill to lay to the Charge of sum, yet respect wald be had to sicke as lang had declairit thamefelfis constant Procurers of Quyetnes and Peice.

The suddane Arryvell of the Quene made grit Alteratioun evin in the Counsaill, as efter we will heir. In this meane Tyme, the Papists by surmeising troublit quhat they micht, thair Postis, Letteris, and Complaintis wer frome Day to Day direct, sum to the Paip, sum to the Cardinall of *Lorane*, and sum to our Quene. The principall of these Curriours wer, Mr. *Stephane Wilsone*, Mr. *Jobne Leslie*, callit *Nolumus* and *Volumus*, Mr. *James Thornetoun*, and utheris, sick as levit, and still leve by the Traffique of that *Romane Harlote*.

The Preicheours vehemently exhortit us to establische the Buik of Discipline, by ane Act and publict Law; affirming, That if they sufferit Thingis to hing in suspens, quhen God had gevin unto thame sufficient Power in thair Hands, they sould efter sobe for it, bot suld not get it.

The End of the Thrid Buik.



THE



T H E
F O U R T H B U I K
O F T H E
Progres and Continuance
O F
Trew Religioun within *SCOTLAND*.



IN the former Buiks, gentill Reader, thow may clearly see, how potently God hath performed, in these our last and wicked Dayes, as weill as in the Ages that have passed befor us, the Promeises that are maid to the Servandis of God, by the Prophete *Esay*, in these Words; *They that wait upoun the Lord shall renew thair Strength, they shall lift up the Winges as the Eagles: They shall run, and not be wearit, they walk and not faint.* This Promeis, we say, suche as Sathan hes not utterly blinded, may be performed in us, the Professours of Christ Jesus within this Realme of *Scotland*, with no less Evidence, than it was in ony Age, that ever passed befor us: For quhat was our Force? quhat was our Number? Yea, quhat Wisdome or warldly Policy was into us, to have brocht to ane gude End, so great ane Interpryse? Our very Enemies can beir Witnes. And yit in how grit Purity God did establishe among us his trew Religioun, as weill in Doctrine as in Ceremonies; to quhat Confusion and Feir wer Idolaters, Adulterars, and all publict Transgressours of God's Comandements within schort Tyme brocht; the publict Ordour of the Kirk, yit, by the Mercy of God, preserved, and the Punischments executed against

B b b b

Malefactours,

Malefactours, can testifie unto the Warld. For as twiching the Doctrine taucht by our Ministers, and twiching the Administratioun of the Sacraments used in our Kirkes, we ar bauld to affirme, that thare is no Realme this Day upoun the Face of the Earthe, that hath thame in gritter Purity; yea, (we man speik the Treuth quhomsoever we offend) thare is non, no Realme we meane, that hath thame in the lyke Purity: For all uthers, how sincere that ever the Doctrine be, quhilk by some is taucht, retein in thair Kirks, and in the Ministers thareof, sum Foresteppes of Antichryst, and Dreggis of Papistry. Bot we (all Praise to God alone) have nothing within our Kirks, that ever flowed from that Man of Sinne. And this we acknawlege to be the Strenth gevin to us of God; becaus we esteemed not ourselfis wyse in our awn Eyes, bot understanding our awn Wisdome to be bot mere Foolischnes befor the Lord our God, layed it asyde, and followed onely that whiche we fand approved by himself.

In this Poynt culd never our Enemies caus us to faynt: For our first Petitioun was, *That the reverend Face of the Primitive and Apostolick Kirk shold be reduced agane to the Evis and Knowlege of Men.* And in that Poynt, we say, our God hath strenthned us, till that the Work was finisched, as that the Warld may sie. And as concerning the suppressing of Vice, yea, and the abolishing of all sick Things as mycht nurishe Impiety within this Realme, the Acts and Statutes of the principall Touns reformed, will yit testifie. For quhat Adulterar, quhat Fornicatour, quhat knawn Mesmonger, or pestilent Papist durst have bene sene in publict, within any reformed Toun within this Realme, befor that the Quene arryved? And this Victory to his Word, and Terroure to all filthy Livars, did our God work be such as yit live and remane Witness, quhither they will or not, of the forsaid Works of God. We say, Our God suffered none of these, quhom he first called to the Battell, to perische or to fall, till that he maid thame Victours of thair Enemies. For evin as God suffered none of these, quhom he called from *Egypt*, to perische in the *Red Sye*, how fearfull that ever the Danger appeired: So suffered he none of us to be oppressed, nor yit to be taken from this Lyfe, till that mo *Pharoes* then one war drowned, and we sett at Freedome, without all Danger of our Enemies; to let both us and our Posterity understand, that such as follow the Conducting of God, cannot perische, albeit they walked in the veray Schadow of Deyth. Bot from quence (allace) cometh this miserable Dispersioun of God's Peppell within this Realme this Day, in *Maii 1566*? And quhat is the Caus, that now the Just is compelled to keip Silence? Gude Men ar banished, Murtherars, and such as ar knawn unworthy of the common Society (if just Laws wer put in dew executioun) bear the hole Regiment and Swinge within this Realme? We answer, Becaus that suddanely the most Parte of us declyned from the Purity of God's Word, and began to follow the Warld; and so agane schuke Hands with the Devill and with Idolatry, as in this fourth Buke we will heir.

For quhill that Papistes wer so confounded, that none within the Realme durst more avow the Hearing and Saying of Mess, then the Theves of *Liddisdale* durst avow thair Stouth in the Presence of ane uprycht Judge; Thare wer Protestants fund, that aschamed not at Tables, and uther oppin Places to ask, *Quhy may not the Quene have hir Mess, and the Forme of hir Religioun? Quhat can that hurt us or our Religioun?* And from these two, *Quhy* and

Quhat

Qubat, at lenth sprang out this Affirmative, *The Quenes Mess and hir Preist will we mantene: This Hand and this Rapper fall fecht in thair Defence.*

The Inconveniencies wer schawn, both by Tounge and by Pen: Bot the Advertisers wer judged to be Men of unquyet Spirits; thair Credit was defaced at the Hands of such, as befoir wer not eschamed to have used thair Counsaill, in Maters of gritter Importance, then to have refused the Mess. Bot then my Lord, my Maister may not be thus used; he hes that Honour to be the Quenes Brother; and therefore we will that all Men fall understand, that he mon tender hir as his Sister: And quhosoever will counsell him to displease hir, or the leist that pertains unto hir, fall not find him thair Freind; yea, they ar worthie to be hanged, that wald so counsell him, &c.

These and the lyke Reasons tuk sick deip Rute in Flesch and Blude, that the Treuth of God was almaist forgott; and from this Fontaine, *to wit*, that Flesch and Blude was, and yit allace, is preferred to God, and to his Messingers, rebuiking Vice and Vanity, hathe all our Miserie proceded.

For as befor, so even yet, althoch the Ministers be sett to begg, the Guard and the Men of Weir mon be served; thoch the Blude of the Ministers be spilt, it is the Quenes Servand that did it. Althoch Messes be multiplied in all Quarteris of the Realme, quho can stop the Quenes Subjects to live in the Quenes Religiou? Althoch innocent Men be imprisoned, it is the Quenes Plesure. Sche is offended at such Men, althoch under Pretence of Justice, Innocentis be murdered: The Lords fall weip, but the Quenes Mynd must be satisfied. Nobles of the Realme, Barones and Counsellors ar banished, thair Escheatts dispoed, and thair Lyves most injustly persued. The Quene hes lost hir Trustie Servand *Davie*, he was dear unto hir; and therefore, for her Honours Saik, sche must schaw Rigour to reveng his Death. And yet farther, albeit that sum knew that sche hes plainlie purpoised to wrak the Religiou within this Realme; that to that *Romain* Antichryst sche hes maid her Premis; and that from him sche hath takin Money to uphould his Pomp within this Realme, yit will they lett the Pepill understand, that the Quene will establish Religiou, and provyde all Things ordourly, if sche wer once delyvered.

If such dealing, which is commune amongst Protestants, be not to prefer Flesch and Blude, to God, to his Treuth, to Justice, to Religiou, and unto the Liberty of this oppressed Realme, let the Warld juge. The Plagues have bene, and in sum Pairt ar present, that wer befor threatned; the rest approaches: And yit quho from the Hairt cryeth, *I have offended, the Lord knows? In thee onlie is the Trust of the oppressed; for vane is the Helpe of Man.* Bot now return we to our Historie.

The ninetein Day of *August* 1561 Yeirs, betwene seven and eight Hours Befoirnone, arryved *Marie* Quene of *Scotland*, then Wedo, with two Gallies furth of *France*: In her Company; besydes hir Gentilwemen called the *Maries*, wer hir thrie Uncles, the Duk d'Omal the grand Prior, the Marques d'Albuse. Thair accompanyed hir also, d'Arville Sonne to the Constable of *France*, with uther Gentillmen of inferiour Conditoun, besydes Servands and Officiars. The verie Face of the Heavin, the Tyme of hir Arryvall, did manifestly speik quhat Comfort was brocht unto this Countrey with her, *to wit*, Sorow, Darknes, Dolor, and all Impiety; for in the Memory of Man, that Day of the Yeir was nevir sene a more dolorous Face of the Heavin, thari

was at hir Arryvall, which two Days efter did so continew. For besyd the Surfece Weitt and Corruptioun of the Ayr, the Mist was so thick and dark, that scarce nycht any Man espy ane uther the lenth of two Pair of Butts: The Sone was not sene to schyne two Dayes befor, nor two Dayes efter. That Fore-wairning gave God unto us; bot alace the most Pairt wer blynd.

At the Sound of the Canons, quhilk the Gallies schott, the Multitude being advertised, happie was he and sche that first mycht have the Presens of the Quene; the Protestants wer not the slowest: And thairintill they wer not to be blamed. Becaus the Palace of *Halyrudehous* was not throuchly put in Ordour (for hir cuming was more suddane then many luiked for) sche remained in *Leyth*, till towards the Evening, and then repaired thither. In the Way betwix *Leyth* and the Abbey, mett hir the Rebelles the Craftes, of quhom we spak befor, *to wit*, those that had violated the Authority of the Magistrates, and had besieged the Provest. Bot becaus sche was sufficiently instructed, that all that they did was done in Despyte of the Religioun, they wer easilly pardoned.

Fyres of Joy wer sett furth at Nycht, and a Cumpanie of most honest Men with Instruments of Musick, and with Musicians, gave thair Salutatiouns at hir Chalmer Windo; the Melodie, as sche alledged, lyked hir weill; and sche willed the sam to be continewed sum Nychts efter with grit Diligence. The Lords repaired unto her from all Quarters: And so was nothing understude but Myrth and Quyetnes, till the next *Sonday*, quhilk was the 24. of *August*: Quhen Preparatioun began to be maid for that Idole the Mes to be said in the Chappell. Quhilk perceaved, the Hairts of all the godlie began to bolden; and Men began oppinlie to speik, *Sall that Idole be suffered agane to tak Plaiice within this Realme? It sall not.* The Lord *Lindsay* (then bot Maister) with the Gentillmen of *Fyfe*, and uthers, planely cryed in the Close, *The Idolater Priest sould dye the Deyth*, according to God's Law. One that caryed in the Candle was evill afrayed; bot then begane Fleisch and Blude to schaw the self. Thair durst no Papiste, nether yet any that cam out of *France*, quhisper: Bot the Lord *James*, (the Man quhom all the godly did most Reverence) tuk upoun him to keip the Chappell Dure: His best Excuse was, That he wald stope all *Scottismen* to enter into the Mefs; bot it was, and is sufficiently knawin, that the Dure was kept that nane sould have Entrefs to truble the Preist; quho efter the Mefs was comitted to the Protectioun of Lord *Jhone* of *Coldinghame*, and Lord *Robert* of *Halyrudehous*, quho then wer both Protestants, and had comunicat at the Table of the Lord: Betwix thame twa was the Preist convoyed to his Chalmer. And so the godly departed with Grif of Hairt, and at Efternone repaired to the Abbey in grit Cumpanies, and gave plane Significatioun, that they culd not abyde, that the Land quhilk God by his Power had purged from Idolatry, sould in thair Eys be polluted agane. Quhilk understude, thare began Complaynt upoun Complaynt. The auld Dontibours, and uthers that long had served in the Court, and hes no Remissioun of Sinnes, bot by Vertew of the Mefs, cryed, *They wald to France without Delay, they could not live without the Mefs*: The same affirmed the Quenes Uncles. And wald to God that that Meinzie, togidder with the Mefs, had taken Gudenycht at the Realme for ever: For so had *Scotland* bene ridd of ane unprofitable Burthene of devouring Strangers, and of the Maledictioun of God that hes strickin, and yet will stryke for Idolatry.

The Counsell assembled, Disputatioun was had of the next Remedy: Politick Heades wer sent unto the Gentillmen, with these and the lyk Perswasions. *Why alace will ye chase our Sovereane from us; she will incontinent returne unto her Gallayes, and what then shall all Realmes say of us? May we not suffer her a littill quhyle? We doubt not but she shall leave it. If we were not assured that she mycht be wone, we should be als grit Enemies to her Meys, as ye should be: Her Uncles will depart, and then shall we reull all at our Pleisour. Would not we be als sorie to hurt the Religion als any of you would be?* With these and the lyk Perswasions, we say, was the Fervency of the Brethren quenched, and an Act was framed. The Tenour quhareof followes.

Apud Edinburgh, 25. Augusti 1561.

FOrsamekle as the Quenes Majestie hes understude the grit Inconveniencie that may cum, throw the Divisioun presentlie standing in this Realme, for the Difference in Matters of Religion, that her Majestie is maist desyrous to sie it pacified be an gude Ordour to the Honour of God and Tranquillitie of her Realme, and means to tak the sam be Advice of her Estates sa sone as convenientlie may be, and that hir Majesties godlie Resolutioun tharein may be gritlie hindered, in cais any Tumult or Seditioun be raysed amongs the Lieges, if any Alteratioun or Novatioun be preassid at or attempted, befor that the Ordour may be establisched: Thairfore, for eschewing of the saids Inconvenience, her Majestie ordains Letteris to be directed, to charge all and sundry hir Lieges, be oppin Proclamatioun at the Mercat Croce of *Edinburgh*, and uther Places neidfull, That thay and every one of thame contene thamefelfis in Quyetnes, keip Peice and civill Society amongs thamefelfis; and in the mene Tyme, quhill the Estates of the Realme may be assembled, and that hir Majestie have takin ane finall Ordour by thair Advyse and publick Consent, quhilk hir Majestie hopes shall be to the Contentment of the haill, that nane of thame tak upoun Hand privatly or oppinly to mak any Alteratioun or Innovatioun of the State of Religion; or attempt any Thing agains the same, quhilk her Majesty fand publickly and universallie standing at hir Majesties Arryvall in this hir Realme, under the Pain of Deyth. With Certificatioun, that if any Subject of the Realme shall cum in the contrare heirof, he shall be esteemed and haldin ane seditious Person and Raiser of Tumult, and the said Pairie shall be execut upoun him with all Rigour, to the Exemple of uthers. Attour hir Majestie, with the Advyse of the Lords of Secreat Counsell, comands and charges all hir Lieges, that nane of thame tak upoun Hand to molest or truble any of hir domestick Servands, or Persones quhatsumever cum furth of *France* in hir Graces Company at this Tyme, in Word, Deid, or Countenance, for any Caus quhatsumever, either within hir Palace or without, or mak any Divisioun or Invasioun upoun any of thame, under quhatsumever Cullor or Pretence, under the said Pain of Deyth. Albeit hir Majestie be sufficiently persuaded, that hir gude and loving Subjects wald do the same, for the Reverence they bear to hir Person and Authority, notwithstanding na sick Comandement wer publishid.

This Act and Proclamatioun penned, and put in Forme by such as befor professed Chryst Jesus, (for in the Counsaill then had Papistes neyther Power

nor Vote) it was publickly proclaimed at the Mercat-Croce of *Edinburgh* upon *Monday* the Day foirsaid. No Man reclaimed, nor maid Repugnance to it, except the Erle of *Arrane* only; quho in oppin Audience of the *Herauld* and Peple, protested, *That he disassented that any Protection or Defence should be maid to the Quenes Domesticks, or to any that cam from France, to offend Gods Majestie, and to violat the Laws of the Realme, more then to anie uther Subject: For Gods Law had pronounced Deyth to the Idolater; and the Laws of the Realme had apointed Punishment for Sayers and Hearers of Mefs; quhilk, said he, I heir protest, be universallie observed; and that non be exempted, unto sick Tyme as a Law als publickly maid, and as consonant to the Law of God, have disannulled the former.* And thairupoun he tuk Documents, as the Tenour of this his Protestatioun does witnefs.

IN sa far as be this Proclamatioun it is understude to the Kirk of God, and Members thairof, that the Quenes Grace is mindit that the trew Religion and worshipping els establisched, proceed fordward, that it may daylie increfs: Unto the Parliament, that Ordour then may be takin for Extirpation of all Idolatrie within this Realme. We rainder maist hairtie Thanks to the Lord our God for hir Graces gude Mynd, earnestlie praying that it may be encreffed in hir Hienes, to the Honour and Glory of his Name, and Weill of his Kirk within this Realme. And as twitching the Molestatioun of hir Hienes Servands, we suppose that nane dar be sa bauld as anes to move thair Finger at thame, in doing of thair lesfull Busines: And as for us, we have leirned at our Maister Chrysts Schole, *To keap Peace with all Men.* And thairfore for our Part we will promise that Obedience to hir Majesty (as is our Duety) that nane of hir Servands fall be molested, troubled, or anes twiched, be the Kirk, or any Member thairof, in doing thair lawfull Effaires. Bot sen that God hes said, *That the Idolater shall dye the Deyth*; we protest solemnedly, in the Presence of God, and in the Eares of the hale Peple that hears this Proclamatioun, and specially in Presens of you *Lyoun Herauld*, and the rest of your Collegues, &c. Makers of this Proclamatioun, that if any of hir Servands fall comitt Idolatrie, specially say Mefs, participat thairwith, or tack the Defence thairof (quhilks we war laith suld be in hir Graces Cumpany) in that case, that this Proclamatioun be not extended to thame in that Behalf, nor be a Save-guard nor Girth to thame in that Behalf, na mair nor if they comitt Slaughter or Murther, seing the ane is meikle mair abhominable and odious in the Sicht of God, then is the uther. Bot that it may be lesfull to inflict upoun thame the Paines contained in Gods Word against Idolaters, quhairever they may be apprehendit, but favour. And this our Protestatioun we desyre you to notifie unto hir, and give hir the Copy heirof, lest her Hienes suld suspect an Uproar, if we suld all cum and present the same.

At *Edinburgh* the Day and Yeir foirsaid.

This Baldnes did somequhat exasperat the Quene, and sick as favoured hir in that Poynt. As the Lords (then called of the Congregation) repaired to the Toun, at the first cuming they schew thamefelfis wondrously offended, that the Mefs was permitted: So that every Man as he cam accused thame that wer befoir him. Bot efter they had remained a certane Space, they wer als quyet as wer the former: Quhilk Thing perceaved, a zealous and godly
Man,

Man, *Robert Campbell of Kingancleuch*, said unto the Lord *Uchiltrie*, *My Lord, now ye ar cum, and almost the last of all the rest; and I perceive, be your Anger, that the Fyre-edge is not yit of yow: Bot I feir, that efter the halie Water of the Court be sprinkled upoun yow, that ye sall becum als temperat here as the rest: For I have bein their now fyve Days, and at the first I hard every Man say, Let us hang the Preist: Bot efter that they had bene twyse or thryse in the Abby, all that Fervency pass. I think there be some Inchantment, quhareby Men ar bewitched. And in very deid, so it cam to pas: For the Quenes flattering Wordes, on the ane Parte, ever still crying, Conscience, Conscience: It is a sore Thing to constrane the Conscience, and the subtile Persuasiouns of hir Supposts (we mean evin of those that wer judged most servent with us) upoun the uther Parte, blinded all Men, and put thame in Opinioun, sche will be content to heir the Preiching; and so no dout, bot sche may be wone. And thus of all it was concluded, to suffer hir for a Tyme.*

The next Sunday, *Johne Knox* inveying against Idolatry, schewed quhat terrible Plages God had takin upoun Realmes and Natiouns for the same; and added, That one Mess (their wer no mo suffered at the first) was more fearfull unto him, then if ten thousand armed Enemies wer landed in ony Parte of the Realme of Purpose to suppress the hole Religioun. For, said he, in our God there is Strenth to resist and confound Multitudes, if we unfeinedly depend upoun him; quhareof haretofore we have had Experience: Bot quhen we joyne Hands with Idolatry; it is no Doubt, bot that baith God's amible Prefence, and comfortable Defence will leave us; and quhat sall then becum of us? Alace, I feare that Experience sall teache us, to the Greif of mony. At these Words the Guydars of the Court mocked, and plainely spak, *That such Fear was no Poynt of thair Fayth; it was besyde his Text, and was a very untymely Admonition.* Bot we hard the sam *Johne Knox*, in the Audience of these sam Men, recite the same Words agane in the middes of Trubles, and in the Audience of mony, askit God Mercy, that he was not more vehement and upright in the suppressing that Idole in the Beginning. For, said he, albeit that I spak that quhilk offended some (quhilk this Day they sie and feill to be trew) yit did I not that quhilk I micht have done; for God had not only gevin unto me Knowledge, and Tounge to mak the Impiety of that Idole knawn unto the Realme, but he had gevin me Credit with mony, quho wald have put in Execution God's Jugements, if I wald onely have consented thareto: Bot so cairfull was I (*quoth he*) of that comune Tranquility, and so loth was I to have offendit those of quhom I had conceaved a gude Opinioun, that in secret Conference with earnest and zealous Men, I travelled rather to mitigat, yea, to slackin that Fervency that God had kindled in uthers, then to animat or encourage thame, to put thair Hands to the Lord's Wark; quhareuntill I unfainedly acknowledge myself to have done most wickedly, and from the Bottom of my Hairt do ask of my God Grace and Pardone, for that I did not quhat in me lay, to have suppressed that Idole in the Beginning. Thir and uther Words did mony heir him speik in publiſt Place, in the Moneth of *December 1565*. quhen sick as at the Quenis Arryvall onely manteyned the Mess, wer exyled the Realme, summoned upoun Treasoun, and Decrete of Forfaltours intended against thame. Bot to returne from quhence we have digressed.

Quhither it was be Counsaill of uthers, or the Quenis awn Desyre, we know not; bot the Quene spak with *Johne Knox*, and had lang resoning with him, none being present, except the Lord *James* (two Gentilmen stude in the

uther End of the Hous.) The Summe of thair Resoning was this. The Quene accused him, that he had raised a Parte of hir Subjects against hir Mother, and against himself; that he had wrytten a Buik against her just Authority (sche ment the Treatise against the Regiment of Women) quhilk sche had, and suld caus the most learned in *Europe* to wryt against it; that he was the Caus of grit Seditioun, and grit Slauchter in *England*; and that it was said to her, that all that he did was by Necromancy.

To the quhilks the said *Johnne* answered, Madam, it may pleise your Majesty, patiently to hear my simple Answers. And *first*, said he, if to teach the Treuth of God in Sincerity, if to rebuke Idolatry, and to will a Peple to worship God according to his Word, be to raise Subjects against thair Princes, then cannot I be excused; for it has pleased God of his Mercy to mak me ane, among mony, to disclose unto this Realme the Vanity of the papistical Religioun, and the Deceat, Pryde, and Tyranny of that *Romane* Antichrist. Bot, Madam, if the trew Knowledge of God, and his rycht Worschipping be the cheif Causes, quhilk most move Men from thair Hairt to obey thair just Princes (as it is most certane that they ar) quharein can I be reprehended? I think, and am surly persawdit, that your Grace hes had, and presently hes als unfeined Obedience, of sick as profes Christ Jesus within this Realme, as ever your Father or uther Progenitours had of those that wer called Bischopes. And twitching that Buik, quhilk seames so heichly to offend your Majesty, it is most certane, that I wrait it, and am content that all the Learned of the Warld judge of it. I hear that ane *Englische* Man hath wrytten against it, bot I have not red him; if he hath sufficiently improved my Resouns, and establisched his contrare Propositiones, with als evident Testimonies, as I have done myne, I sall not be obstinate, bot sall confes my Errour and Ignorance. Bot to this Hour I have thocht, and yit thinks myself alone to be more able to susteyn the Things affirmed in that my Wark, then ony ten in *Europe* sall be abill to confute it.

Ye think (*quoth sche*) that I have no just Authority. Pleis your Majesty (said he) that learned Men in all Ages have had thair Judgements frie, and most comounly disagreing from the comoun Judgement of the Warld; such also have they publisched, both with Pen and Tounge, notwithstanding they thamefelfis have lived, in the comoun Society with uthers, and have borne patiently with the Errours and Imperfecciounes, quhilk they could not amend. *Plato* the Philosopher wrait his Buik of the Comoun-wealthe, in the quhilk he damnethe mony Things that then wer manteyned in the Warld, and requyred mony Things to have bein reformed; and yit notwithstanding he lived under sick Policies, as then wer universally receaved, without farther trubling of ony Estate. Even so, Madam, am I content to do, in Upryghtnes of Hairt, and with a Testimony of a gude Conscience. I have communicat my Jugement to the Warld; if the Realme findis no Inconveniency in the Regiment of a Woman, that quhilk they approve sall I not farther disallow, than within my awn Breist, bot sall be als weill content to live under your Grace, as *Paull* was to live under *Nero*. And my Hope is, that so lang as that ye defyll not your Hands with the Blude of the Saincts of God, that neyther I nor that Buik sall eyther hurt yow or your Authority; for in very deid, Madam, that Buik was written most especially against that wicked *Jesabell* of *England*.

Bot

Bot (said sche) ye speik of Women in generall. Most trew it is, Madam (said the uther) and yit it appeareth to me, that Wildome suld perswade your Grace, never to rayse Truble for that, quhilk to this Day hes not trubled your Majesty, nether in Person nor in Authority: For of late Yeirs many Things, quhilk before wer haldin stable, have bene called in dout; yea, they have bene plainly impugned. Bot yit, Madame, I am assured, that neyther Protestant nor Papist sall be able to prove, that ony sick Quethioun was at ony Tyme moved eyther in publiet or in secrete. Now, Madame, said he, if I had intended to have trubled your Estate, becaus ye ar a Woman, I wald have chosen a Tyme more convenient for that Purposè, then I can do now, quhen your awn Prefence is within the Realme.

Bot now, Madame, schortly to answer to the uther two Accusatiouns. I hartly prayse my God throw Jesus Christ, that Sathan the Enemy of Mankynd, and the Wicked of the Warld, have no uther Crymes to lay to my Charge, then sick as the very Warld itself knawes to be most fals and vane. For in *England* I was resident onely the Space of fyve Yeirs. The Places wer *Berwick*, quhare I abod two Yeirs, so long in *Newcastle*, and a Yeir in *London*. Now, Madame, if in ony of these Places, during the Tyme that I was thare, ony Man sall be able to prove, that thare was cyther Battell, Seditioun or Mutiny, I sall confes that I myself was the Malectour, and the Schedder of the Blude. I eschame not farther to affirme, that God so blessed my waik Labours, that in *Berwick* (quharein comonly thare used to be Slachter, be Reslouns of Quarrells that used to aryse amongst Souldiours) thare was als grit Quyetnes, all the Tyme that I remained thare, as thare is this Day in *Edinburghe*.

And quhare they slander me of Magick, Necromancy, or of ony uther Airt forbidden of God, I have Witnesses (besyde my awn Conscience) all the Congregatiouns that ever hard me, quhat I spak both against such Artes, and against those that use such Impiety. Bot seing the Wicked of the Warld said, *That my Maister the Lord Jesus was possessed with Beelzebub*, I man patiently bear, albeit that I, a wretched Sinner, be unjustly accused of those, that never dellyted in the Verity.

Bot yet (said sche) ye have teachit the Pepell to receave ane uther Religion, then thair Princes can allow: And how can that Doctrine be of God? Seing, *that God comandis Subjectis to obey thair Princes*. Madame, said he, as that rycht Religion toke nether Originall nor Authority from warldly Princes, bot from the eternall God alone: So ar not Subjects bund to frame thair Religion, according to the Appetyte of thair Princes; for oft it is, that Princes ar the most ignant of all uthers in God's trew Religion, as we may read als weill in the Histories before the Deith of Christ Jesus, as efter. If all the Seid of *Abraham*, sould have bene of the Religion of *Pharao*, to quhom they wer long Subjects, I pray yow, Madame, quhat Religion sould thare have bene in the Warld? For, if all Men, in the Days of the Apostles, sould have bene of the Religion of the *Romane* Emperours, quhat Religion sould have bene upoun the Face of the Eirth? *Daniell* and his Fellowes wer Subjects to *Nebuchadnezar*, and unto *Darius*, and yit, Madame, they wald not be of thair Religion, neyther of the ane nor of the uther: For the thre Children said, *We mak it knawn unto the, O King, that we will not worschipe thy Gods*. And *Daniell* did pray publicly unto his God, against the expres Commandement of the King. And so, Madame, ye may perceave, that Subjects

ar not bund to the Religioun of thair Princes, albeit they ar comandit to give thame Obedience.

Yea, quoth sche, nane of thois Men rayfed the Sword against thair Princes. Yit, Madame, quoth he, ye cannot deny bot that they resisted: For these that obey not the Comandemants that ar gevin, in sum Sort they resist. Bot yit, said sche, they resisted not be the Sword. God, said he, Madame, had not gevin unto thame the Power and the Meanes. Think ye, quoth sche, that Subjects having Power may resist thair Princes? If thair Princes excede thair Bundes, quoth he, Madame, and do against that quharefore they suld be obeyed, it is no Doubt, bot they may be resisted, even by Power: For thare is nether gritter Honour, nor gritter Obedience to be gevin to Kings and Princes, then God hes comandit to be gevin to Father and Mother: Bot so it is, that the Father may be stricken with a Phrenesie, in the quhilk he wald slay his awn Children. Now, Madame, if the Children aryse, joyne thamefelfis togidder, apprehend the Father, tak the Sword and uther Weapons from him; and finally bind his Hands, and kepe him in Prisoun, till that his Frenesie be overpast; think ye, Madame, that the Children do ony Wrang? Or, think ye, Madame, that God will be offendit with thame, that have stay-ed thair Father to comit Wickednes? It is even so, said he, Madame, with Princes, that wald murther the Children of God, that ar Subjects unto thame. Thair blind Zeall is nathing bot a very mad Phrenesie; and thairfoir to tak the Sword from thame, to bind thair Hands, and to cast thame in Prisone, till that they be brocht to a more sober Mynd, is no Disobedience against Princes, bot just Obedience, becaus that it agreeth with the Will of God.

At these Words, the Quene stude as it wer amased, more then a Quarter of ane Hour; hir Countenance altered, so that Lord James began to entreat hir, and to demand, *Quhat hes offended yow, Madame?* At lenth, sche said, Weill then I perceave, that my Subjects fall obey you, and not me; and fall do quhat they list, and not quhat I comand: And so man I be subject to thame, and not they to me. God forbid, answered he, that ever I tak upoun me, to comand ony to obey me, or yit to sett Subjects at Liberty to do quhat pleases thame. Bot my Travell is, that both Princes and Subjectis obey God. And think not, said he, Madame, that Wrong is done unto yow, quhen ye ar willed to be subject unto God: For, *it is he that subjects the Pepell under Princes, and causes Obedience to be gevin unto thame*; yea, God craves of Kings, *That they be, as it wer, Foster-fathers to his Kirk, and commands Quenis to be Nurisches unto his Pepell*. And this Subjectioun, Madame, unto God, and unto his troubled Kirk, is the grittest Dignity that Flesche can get upoun the Face of the Erthe, for it fall cary thame to everlasting Glory.

Yea, quoth sche, bot ye ar not the Kirk that I will nurishe. I will defend the Kirk of Rome, for it is, I think, the trew Kirk of God.

Your will, quoth he, Madame, is no Reason; nether doth your Thocht mak that *Romane* Harlott to be the trew and immaculate Spouse of Jesus Christ. And wonder not, Madame, that I call Rome an Harlott; for that Kirk is altogidder polluted with all kynd of Spirituall Fornicatioun, alsweill in Doctrin as in Maners. Yea, Madame, I offer my self farther to prove, That the Kirk of the *Jews*, that crucified Christ Jesus, quhen that they manifestly denyed the Sone of God, war not so far degenerated from the Ordinances and Statutes quhich God gave by *Moses* and *Abaron* unto his Peple, as that the Kirk of Rome is declyned, and more then fyve hundreth Yeirs
hath

hath declyned from the Purity of that Religion, quhich the Apostles tacht and planted.

My Conscience, said sche, is not so. Conscience, Madame, said he, requyres Knowlege; and I fear that rycht Knowlege ye have nanè. Bot, said sche, I have both hard and red. So, Madame, said he, did the *Jews* who crucifyed Christ Jesus, reid both the Law and the Prophets, and hard the same interpret after thair Maner. Have ye hard, said he, any teach, bot such as the Paip and the Cardinalls have allowed? And ye may be assured, That such will speik nathing to offend thair awn Estait. Ye interprete the Scriptures, said sche, in one Maner, and thay in ane uther; Whom fall I beleve, and quhom fall be Judge? Ye fall beleve, said he, God that planely speketh in his Word: And farther then the Word teacheth you, ye nether fall beleve the ane nor the uther. The Word of God is plane in the self; and if thair apeir any Obscurity in ane Place, the Holy Ghost, quho is never contrarious to himself, explains the same more cleirly in uther Places: So that there can remane no dout, bot unto sick as will remane obstinately ignorant. And now, Madame, said he, to tak ane of the cheif Points, quibilk this Day is in Controversie betwix the Papists and us; for Exemple, The Papists allege, and bauldly have affirmed, That the Mels is the Ordinance of God, and the Institioun of Jesus Christ, and a Sacrifice for the quick and the dead. We deny both the ane and uther, and affirm, That the Mels, as it is now usit, is nothing bot the Invention of Man; and tharefore it is ane Abhominatioun befor God, and no Sacryfice that ever he comandit. Now, Madame, quho fall juge betwix us two thus contending? It is not Reason that any of the Parties be farther beleved, then they ar abill to prove by untuspect witnessing: Let thame lay down the Buke of God, and by the plane Words thareof prove thare Affirmatives, and we fall give unto thame the Pley granted. Bot so long as thay ar bawld to affirme, and yit do prove nothing, we mon say, That albeit all the World beleve thame, yet beleve thay not God, bot do receive the Lies of Men for the Treuths of God. Quhat our Maister Christ Jesus did, we know by his awn Evangelistes: Quhat the Priest doeth at his Mels, the World seeth. Now doth not the Word of God planely assure us, That Christ Jesus neyther said, nor yet comandit Mels to be said at his last Supper, seing that no such Thing as thair Mels is maid mentioun of within the hole Scripture. Ye ar over-sair for me, said the Quene, bot and if they wer heir quhom I have hard, they wald answer you. Madame, quoth the uther, wald to God that the learnedest Papist in *Europe*, and he that ye wald best beleve, wer present with your Grace to susteyne the Argument; and that ye wald abyde patiently to heir the Matter reasoned to the End; for then, I dout not, Madame, bot that ye sould heir the Vanity of the Papisticall Religion, and how little Ground it hath within the Word of God. Weall, said sche, ye may perchance get that soner then ye beleve. Assuredly, said the uther, if ever I gett that in my Lyfe, I gett it soner then I beleve; for the ignorant Papist cannot patiently reason, and the learned and crafty Papist will never cum in your Audience, Madame, to have the Ground of thair Religion searched out; for they know that they ar never able to susteyne ane Argument, except Fyre and Sword, and thair awn Laws be Judges. So say ye, quoth the Quene, bot I beleve that it hath bene so to this Day. Quoth he, for how oft have the Papistes in this and uther Realmes, bene requyred to cum to Conference, and yet could it

never be obeyned, unless thamefelfis wer admitted for Juges. And tharefore, Madame, I mon yet say agane, That they dar never disput, bot quhare thamefelfis ar both Juge and Party. And quhensoever ye sall lat me fie the contrary, I sall grant myself to have bene deceived in that Poynt.

And with this the Quene was called upoun to Dinner, for it was Afternone At departing, *Jhone Knox* said unto her, I pray God, Madame, that ye may be als blissed within the Comon-wealth of *Scotland* (if it be the Pleasour of God) as ever *Deborah* was in the Comon-welth of *Israel*. Of this long Conference, quhareof we onely twitch a Part, wer dyverse Opinions. The Papists grudged, and teired that quhich they noidit not; the godly thinking at least, that sche wald have hard the Preiching, rejoyced; bot they wer utterly deceived, for sche continued in her messing, and despyfed, and quyetly mocked all Exhortatioun.

Jhone Knox his awn Jugement, being by sum of his awn Familiars demanded quhat he thocht of the Quene. If thair be not in hir (said he) a proud Mynd, a crafty Witt, and ane indurat Hairt against God and his Treuth, my Jugement faileth me.

Quhen the hole Nobility wer convened, the Lords of Privy Counsell wer chofen, quho wer apoynted the Dukes Grace, the Earles of *Huntlie*, *Argyle*, *Athole*, *Mortoun*, *Glencairne*, *Merschell*, *Bothwell*, Lord *Erskine*, Lord *James*, &c. Of these wer a certane appointed to wait upoun the Court by Cours: Bot that Ordour continewed not lang.

Duke *d'Omall* returned with the Galleys to *France*. The Quene entred in her Progresse, and in the Moneth of *September* travelled from *Edinburgh* to *Linlythgow*, *Striveling*, *St. Jhonstoun*, *Dundee*, *St. Androis*; quhilk all Parts sche polluted with her Idolatry: Fyre followed her veray comonly in that Journey, the Tounes propyned her veray liberally, and thareof wer the *French* enriched.

In the begining of *October* sche returned to *Edinburgh*, and at the Day appointed sche was receaved in the Castle. Grit Preparatiouns wer maid for her Entres in the Toun, in fercing, in masking, and uther Prodigalities: Fain wald Foles have counterfeited *France*. Quhatsoever mycht set furth hir Glory, that sche hard, and glaidly beheld. The Keyes wer delyvered to her be a pretty Boy, descending, as it wer from a Cloud: The Verses of her awn Prayfes sche hard, and smyled; bot quhen the Bible was presented, and the Prayse thairof declared, sche began thereat to froune; for Schame sche culd not refus it, bot sche did no better, for sche gave it unto the most pestilent Papist within the Realme, to wit, to *Arthur Erskin*. *Edinburgh* since that Day hes reaped as they sew: Thay gave her some Taste of thair Prodigality. And becaus the Liquor was sweit, sche hes licked of that Buste after then twyse since. All Men know quhat we meane; the Quene cannot lack, and the Subjects have.

In *Edinburgh* it hath bene an ancient and laudable Custome, That the Provost, Baillies, and Counsell, efter thair Electioun, quhilk uses to be at *Michaelmas*, causes publickly proclame the Statutes and Ordinances of the Toun; and thairfore *Archibald Douglas* Provest, *Edward Hope*, *Adam Fullartoun*,

Baillies, caused proclame, according to the former Statutes of the Toun, That no Adulterar, no Fornicature, no noted Drunkard, no Mesmonger, no obstinat Papist that corrupted the Peple, such as Preists, Freirs, and uthers of that Sort, sould be found within the Toun, within

within 48 Hours thairefter, under the Paynes contained in the Statutes: Quhilk blawn in the Quenes Eares, thair began Pryde and Malicioufnes to schew the Self; for without farther Cognitioun of the Caus, was the said Provost and Bailyes charged to Waird in the Castle, and immediately was Commandement gevin, that uther Provost and Bailyes sould be elected.

Some gainstode for a quhyle the new Electioun, alleging, That the Provost and Bailyes quhom they had chosen, and to quhom they had gevin thair Othe, had comitted no Offence quharefore that justly they aught to be depryved. Bot quhill that Charge was doubled upoun Charge, and no Man found to oppone himself to Impiety, *Jesabel's* Letter and wicked Will was obeyed, as a Law. And so was Mr. *Thomas McCally* chosen Provost for the uther. The Man, no dout, is both discrete, and sufficient for that Chairg; bot the Deposition of the uther was against all Law. God be mercifull to sum of our awn, for they wer not all blameles, that her wicked Will was so far obeyed.

A contrary Proclamatioun was publickly maid, That the Toun sould be patent to all the Quenes Leiges. And sa Murtherars, Adulterars, Theves, Hoores, Drunkards, Idolaters, and all Malefactors gat Protectioun under the Quenes Winges, under Colour that thay wer of hir Religioun. And so gat the Devill Freedome agane, quhareas befor he durst not have bene sene in Day-lycht upoun the comoun Streates. *Lord delyver us frome that Bondage.*

The Devill finding his Raines louse, ran forward in his Courfs, and the Quene tuk upoun hir gritter Boldnes, then sche, and *Baalim's* bleating Preists durst have attemptit before; for upoun *All-ballow* Day they bendit up thair Mess with all mischievous Solemnity. The Ministers thairat offendit, in plane and publick Place, declared the Inconvenience that thairupoun sould ensue. The Nobility wer sufficiently admonished of thair Dewties; bot Affection caused Men to call that in dout, quharein schort befor they seamed to be maist resolute, to wit, *Quither that the Subjects mycht put Hand to suppress the Idolatrie of thair Prince?* And upoun this Questioun convened in the Hous of Mr. *James McGill*, the Lord *James*, the Erle of *Mortoun*, the Erle *Marschell*, Secretary *Lethingtoun*, the Justice Clerk, and the foirsaid Mr. *James* Clerk of Register; quho all ressoned for the Pairt of the Quene, affirming, *That the Subjects mycht not lawfully tak hir Mess from her.* In the contrare Jugement wer the principall Ministers, Mr. *Jhone Row*, Mr. *Georg Hay*, Mr. *Robert Hamiltoun*, and *Jhone Knox*, The Reasons of both Pairties we will omitt, becaus thay will be explained efter, quhare the said Questioun and uthers *Concerning the Obedience dew unto Princes*, wer long ressoned in opin Assembly: The Conclusioun of that first Ressoning was, *That the Questioun sould be formed, and Lettres direct to Geneva for the Resolucioun of that Kirk;* quharein *Jhone Knox* offred his Labours. Bot Secretary *Lethingtoun*, alleging, That thair stude mekle in the Informatioun, said, That he wald wrytt: Bot that was only to dryve Tyme, as the Treuth declared the self. The Quenes Partie urged, *That the Quene sould have hir Religioun free in hir awn Chappel, to do, sche and hir Houshold, qubat they list.* The Ministers both affirmed, and voted the contrare, adding, *That hir Liberty sould be to thair Thraldome, or it wer long.* Bot nether culd Reason nor Threatning move the Hairts of such as wer creping in Credit; and so did the Votes of the Lords prevale against the Ministers.

For the Punishment of the Thift and of Reafe, quhilk had encreffed upoun the Borders, and in the South, from the Quenes Arryvall, was the Lord *James* apointed Lieutenant; sum suspected that fuch Honour and Charge proceidit from the same Harte and Counfall that *Saull* maid *David* Captane against the *Philiftines*; bot God affifted and bowed the Hairts of Men, baith to fear and obey him; yea, the Lord *Bothwell* himself at that Tyme affifted him, (bot he had Remiffioun for *Liddifdaill*;) fcharpe Executioun was in *Jedburgh*, for Twenty aucht of ane Clan and uthers wer hanged at that Justice-court, Brybes, Buddes, nor Sollicitatioun, faved not the Giltie, if he mycht be apprehendit; and thairfore God prospered him in that his Integrity: That same Tyme the said Lord *James* fpack to the Lord *Gray* of *England* at *Kelfo*, for gude Rule to be kept upoun both the Borders, and agreed in all Things.

Before his returning, the Quene upoun a Nycht tuke ane Fray in her Bed, as if Horfemen had bene in the Clofe, and if as the Palace had bene inclofed about; quhither it proceidit from her awn womanly Fantasie, or if Men pat her in Fear of it, for Difplefoure of the Erle of *Arrane*, and for uther Purpofes, as for the erecting of the Gaird, we know not; bot the Fear was fo gritt, that the Toun was called to the Watch; Lord *Robert* of *Halyrudehous*, and *Jhone* of *Coldinghame* keapit the Watch by Courfe; Skouts wer sent forth, and Centrelles, under the Pane of Deyth, wer comandit to keap thair Stationes. And yit they feared quhare thare was no Occafion of Fear, neyther yit culd ever any Appearance or Suspicioun of fick Things be tryed.

Schort efter the returning of the Lord *James*, there cam from the Quene of *England*, Sir *Peter Mewtes*, with Comiffioun to requyre the Ratificatioun of the Peace maid at *Leyth*. Her Answer was, even fick as we have hard befoir, that fche behoved to advyfe, and then fche fould fend Answer. In Prefence of hir Counfall fche keapit hirself very grave (for under the dule Weid fche culd play the Hypocryte in full Perfection;) bot how fone that ever her *French* Fillokes, Fidlars, and uthers of that Band, gat the Hous alone, thair mycht be fene fkiipping not veray comelie for honeft Wemen; her comune Talk was in Secrete, that fche faw nothing in *Scotland*, bot Gravity, quhilk repugned altogidder to hir Nature, for fche was brocht up in Joyeufetie; fo termed fche hir dancing, and uther Things thairto belonging.

The Generall Affembly of the Kirk approched, haldin in *December* efter the Quenes Arryvall, in the quhilk began the Rewlars of the Court to draw thamefelfis apart from the Society of thair Brethren, and began to fturr and grudge, That any Thing fould be confulted upoun, without thair Advyfes. Mr. *Jhone Wode*, quho befoir had fchawin himfelf very fervent in the Caufe of God, and forward in geving of his Counfell in all doutfull Maters, plainly refused ever to affift the Affembly agane, quhareof many did wonder; The Courteours drew unto thamefelfis sum of the Lords, and wald not convene with thair Brethren, as befoir they wer accuftomed, bot keapit thamefelfis in the Abbey; The principall Comiffiouners of the Kirk, the Superintendents, and sum Ministers, paff unto thame, quhare they wer convened in the Abbotes Lodging within *Halyrudehous*; both the Pairties began to opin thair Greif; the Lords compleined, That the Ministers drew the Gentilmen into fcrete, and held Counfels without thair Knowlege: The Ministers denyed, That they had done any Thing in fcrete, utherwyfe then the comune Ordour had comanded thame; and accused the Lords (the Flatterars of the Quene

we mean) that they keapit not the Conventioun with thair Brethren, considering, That they knew the Ordour, and that the same was appoynted by thair awn Advyses, as the Buke of Discipline subscriyvit with the maist Pairt of thair awn Hands wald witnes. Sum began to deny, That ever they knew sick a Thing as the Buke of Discipline: And called also in dout, Quhither it was expedient, that sick Conventiouns shuld be or not: For gladly wald the Quene and her Secrete Counsell have had all Assemblies of the godly discharged. The Reasoning was scharp and quyck on eyther Syde: The Quenes Faction allegit, That it was suspicious to Princes, that Subjects shuld assemble thameselfis, and keap Conventiouns without their Knowlege. It was answered, That without the Knowlege of the Prince, the Kirk did nothing, for the Prince perfytyly understode, That within this Realme thair was a reformed Kirk; and that they had thair Ordours and appoynted Tymes of Conventioun. And so without Knowlege of the Prince, they did nothing: Yea, said *Letbington*, the Quene knew, and knowes weill yneuch; bot the Questiou is, Quhither the Quene allowes sick Conventiouns? It was answered, That if the Liberty of the Kirk stode or shuld stand upoun the Quenes Allowance or Disallowance, we ar assured, not onely to lack Assemblies, bot also to lack the Liberty of the publick Preiching of the Evangel; that affirmative was mocked, and the contrary affirmed. *Weill*, said the uther, *Time will try the Treuth*: Bot to my former Words, this will I add, *Tak from us the Fredome of Assemblies, and tak from us the Evangell; for without Assemblies, how fall gude Ordour and Unity in Doctrine be keapit?* It is not to be supposed, That all Ministers are sa perfyte, bot that they fall neid Admonitioun, alsweill concerning Manneris as Doctrine: Als it may be, that sum be so stiff-necked, that they will not admitt the Admonitioun of the simple; as also, it may be that Fakt will be fund with Ministers without just Offence comitted: And yit if Ordour be not takin, both with the Compleenare, and the Persons complained upoun, it cannot be avoyded, bot that many grevous Offenses fall aryse; For Remedy quhareof, of Necessity it is, that Generall Assemblies mon be. In the quhilks, the Jugements and Gravity of many may occur, to corect or repress the Folies or Errours of a few. Heirunto consented the most Pairt, aliweill of the Nobility as of the Barounes, and willed the Reasonars for the Quene to will hir Grace, that if sche stode in a Suspicioun of any Thing that was to be entreated in thair Assemblies, that it wald pleis hir Grace to send such as sche wald appoynt, to heir quhatsoever was proponed or reasoned.

Heirefter was the Buik of Discipline proponed, and desyred to have bene ratified be the Quenis Majesty. That was scripped ar, and the Questiou was demanded, How many of those that subscriyved that Buke, wald be subject unto it? It was answered, All the Godly. Will the Duke, said *Letbington*? If he will not answered the Lord *Uchiltre*, I wald that he wer scraped out, not only of that Buke, bot also out of our Number and Company; for to quhat Purpose fall Laboures be tane, to put the Kirk in Ordour, and to quhat End fall Men subscribe, and then never mein to keip Word of that quhilk they promise? *Letbington* answered, Many subscriyved them *in fide parentum*, as the Bairnes ar baptised. One, to wit, *Johnne Knox* answered, Albeit ye think that Scoffe proper, yit as it is most untrew, so it is most unproper. That Buke was red in publick Audience, and by the Space of dyverse Days, the Heades thareof wer reasoned, as all that heir sit know weill yneuch, and ye yourselfis cannot deny; so that no Man was requyred to subscribe that quhilk

he understude not. Stand content, said one, that Buke will not be obteyned. Let God, said the urher, requyre the Lack, quhilk this pure Comoun-wealth fall have of the Things tharein conteyned, from the Hands of sick as stop the same.

The Barones perceaving, that the Buke of Discipline was refused, presented unto the Counsaill certane Artickles, requyring Idolatry to be suppressed, thair Kirks to be planted with trew Ministers, and some certane Provisioun to be maid for thame, according to Equity and Conscience; for unto that Tyme, the most Part of the Ministers had lived upon the Benevolence of Men: For mony had into thair Hands, the Fructes that the Bischopis and uthers of that Sect had abused befoir; and so sum Part was bestowed upoun the Ministers.

Bot then the Bischops began to gripp agane to that quhilk most injustly they called thair awn: For the Erle of *Arane* was discharged of Sanct *Androis* and *Dumfermling*, quharewith befoir, be Ressoun of a Factory, he had intrometted; and so wer mony uthers. And tharefore the Barones requyred, that Ordour mycht be takin for thair Ministers, or els they wald no more obey the Bischops, nether yit suffer ony Thing to be lifted up to thair Use, efter the Quenis Arryvall, then that they did befoir; for they verily supposed, that the Quenis Majesty wald kepe Promeis maid unto thame; quhilk was, not to alter thair Religioun, quhilk could not remane without Ministers, and Ministers could not live without Provisioun: And tharefoir they most hartely deuyred the Counsaill to provyde sum convenient Ordour in that Head. That somequhat moved the Quenis Flatterars; for the Rod of Impiety was not then strenthned in hir and thair Hands. And so began they to practise, how they sould pleis the Quene, and yit seim somequhat to satisfie the Faythfull: And so devyfed they, that the Kirkmen sould have Intromissioun with the twa Parts of thair Benefices, and that the third Part sould be lifted up, by sick Men as thareto sould be appointed, for such Uses, as in these subsequent Acts ar more fully expressed.

Apud Edinburghe, 20. Decembris, anno 1561.

THe quhilk Day, for samekle as the Quenis Majesty, be Advyse of the Lords of her Secrete Counsaill, foreseeing the imminent Trubles, quhilk appearandly wer to aryse amongst the Lieges of this Realme, for Maters of Religioun; to stay the samin, and evite all Incomodities that mycht thareupoun ensue, intercomoned with a Pairt of the Clergy and State ecclesiasticall, with quhom then Resoning being had, it was thocht gude and expedient, be hir Hienes, that ane generall Conventioun sould be appoynted, the 15th Day of *December* Instant, quhareunto the rest of the Estates mycht have repaired; and be the Advyse of the haill, ane resounable Overture maid, and Ordour taken for staying of the appeiring Truble, and quyetting of the haill Country; quhilk Conventioun being be hir Majesty appoynted, and sundry Days of Counsaill kept, and the said ecclesiasticall Estate oftymes requyred, that the said Ordour mycht be taken and Overture maid for staying of the Truble and quyetting of the Country. Last of all, in Presence of the Quenis Majesty, and Lords of Counsaill foirsaid, and uthers of the Nobility of this Realme, comperit *Johnne* Archibischop of Sanct *Androis*, *Patrick* Bischop of *Murray*, *Henry* Bischop of *Rose* and

and Robert Bischop of *Dunkelden*; and for thameselfis *respective*, offered unto the Quenis Majesty, to be content of the twa Parte of the Rents of thair Benefices, and the third Parte to be employed, as her Majesty thocht expedient. And becaus the Certanty thareof was not known, nor yit quhat Scumes of Money wald sustene the Ministry, and Ministers of God's Word within this Realme, nether yit how mekle was necessary to support the Quenis Majesty, above hir awn Rents, for the comone Affaires of the Cuntrey: Therefore it is decerned, concludit and determinat, be the Quenis Majesty, and Lords of Counsaill forsaïd, and uthers of the Nobility present, That gif the fourth Parte of the Frutes of the haill Benefices within this Realme, may be sufficient to sustene the Ministry throuhout this haill Realme, and support the Quenis Majesty to entertein and set forward the comoun Effairs of the Cuntrey, failyeing thareof the thrid Parte of the said Frutes or mair, quhill it be fund sufficient to the Effect forsaïd, to be taken up yeirly in Tyme cuming, quhill ane generall Ordour be taken thareuntill; sa mekle thareof to be employed to the Quenis Majesty, for enterteining and setting forward of the comone Effaires of the Cuntrey, and sa mekle thareof unto the Ministers, and Sustentation of the Ministry, as may resonably sustene the same, at the Sicht and Discretioun of the Quenis Majesty and Counsaill forsaïd, and the Excrecence and Superplus to be assigned to the auld Possessours. And to the Effect, that the Rents and yeirly Avale of the haill Benefices of this Realme may be cleirly knawn to the Quenis Majesty and Counsaill forsaïd, it is statut and ordainit, That the haill Rentales of the Benefices of this Realme be produced befor hir Grace and Lords foirsaid, at the Tyme under-written: That is to say, of the Benefices on this Syde of the *Month*, the 24th Day of *Januar* nixt to cum, and byond the *Month*, the tent of *Februar* nixt thairefter. And ordains Letters to be direct to the Sheriffs in that Parte, to pas, charge and requyre all and sundry Archbischops, Bischops, Comendators, Abbots and Pryors, on this Syde of the *Month* personally, if they can be apprehended, and failyeing thareof, at thair Dwelling-places, Cathedrall Kirks or Abbeys: And all Archdenes, Denes, Chantors, Subchantors, Provosts, Parsones, and Vicares, and uther beneficed Men quhatsumever, thair Chalmerlanes or Factors personally, or at thair Dwelling-places, or at the Paroch Kirks quhare they suld remane, to exhibit and produce, befor the Quenis Majesty and Lords foirsaid, the said 24th Day of *Januar* nixt to come, the just and trew Rentales of the Avails and Rents of thair Benefices, to the Effect forsaïd: And to charge the Prelats; and the uther beneficed Men, on the yond Syde of the *Month*, in Maner *respective* foirsaid, to exhibit and produce the just and trew Rentales of thair Benefices, befor the Quenis Majesty and Lords foirsaid, the said tent Day of *Februar*, to the Effect foirsaid; with Certificatioun to thame that failyeis, the Quenis Grace and Counsaill will proceid heirin as accords. And sicklyke, to charge the haill Superintendents, Ministers, Elders and Decons of the principall touns and Shyres of this Realme, to give in befor the Quenis Grace and Lords of Counsaill foirsaid, the said 24th Day of *January* nixt to cum, ane formale and sufficient Role and Memoriall, quhat may be sufficient and ressonable to sustene the Ministry, and the hole Ministers of this Realme, that hir Majesty, and Lords of Counsaill foirsaid, may tak Ordour thareuntill, as accords. And farther, That the Quenis Majesty, and the Lords of Counsaill foirsaid, may rypley and diligently wey and consider, quhat necessary Support is requyred to be

taiken yeirly of the Fruites of the saids Benefices (by hir Grace awn yeirly Rent) and to intertene and set forward the comone Affaires of this Realme, against the said 24th Day of *Januar* nixt to cum, that then it may be proceidit in the said Matter, all Parties satisfyed, and the haill Cuntrey and Lieges thareof sett at Quyetnes.

Apud Linlythgu 24. Januarii, anno 1561.

FOrsamekle as the Quenis Majesty, with the Advyse of the Lords of hir Secrete Counsaill, directed hir Letters comanding all and sundry Archbishops, Bischops, Abbots, &c. and all uther beneficed Men, their Factors, Fermorars, and Takismen, to compeir befor hir Hienes, and Lords foirsaid, at *Edinburghe*, or quhare it fall happin thame to be for the Tyme, sa many as dwellis upoun this Syde of the *Month*, the 24th Day of *Januar* Instant; and thame that dwellis beyond the *Month*, the tent Day of *Februar* nixt to cum, that the just Availl of thair Benefices may be knawn; sa that thairefter hir Grace may tak Ordour for the Sustentatioun of the Ministry of the Kirk, and of the publiè Busines of the Realme. And becaus the Quenis Majesty is presently occupied with uther Effairs, and may not himself attend upoun the Receat of the said Rentales: Tharefor hir Hienes hes gevin and granted, and be thir Presentis givis and grantis, full Power and Comissioun, to Mr. *James M^cGill* of *Rankellour Nether*, Clerk of Register, Sir *Jobne Bellendene* of *Auchinneull* Knycht, Justice Clerk, to the Secretare, Thesaurare, Advocat, and Laird of *Pittarro*, to call befor thame, within the Tolbuthe of *Edinbughe*, all and sundry, Prelatis and beneficed Men, quhilk ar charged, be Vertew of the saids Letters, now presently being in *Edinburghe*, or fall happin heirefter to repair thairto, thair Factours and Fermorars; and thair inquire of thame the Rentalls of thair Benefices, and receive the samin fra thame, to the Effect foirsaid. And sicklik, that the saids Comissionours caus warne all Superintendents, Ministers, Elders and Deacons, to give unto thame the Names of the haill Ministers of this Realme, that the just Calculatioun being maid, and considered be the saids Comissioners, of the Availl of the saids Benefices, they may report the same unto the Quenis Majesty, that hir Hienes may tak Ordour tharein, according to the just Tenour of the first Ordinance maid thareupoun.

Apud Edinburghe, 12. Februarii 1561.

FOrsamekle as, be Statute and Ordinance maid be the Quenis Majesty, and Lords of Secrete Counsaill, and hir Hienes Letters direct thareupoun, all and sundry Archbishops, Bischops, Abbots, &c. and uther beneficed Men, wer charged, to produce the Rentales of thair Benefices befor her Majesty, and Lords foirsaid, in Maner following; That is to say, the saids beneficed Men, dwelling on this Syde of the *Month*, the 24th of *Januar* last bypast, and one the uther Syde of the *Month*, the 10th of *Februar* Instant, to the Effect, that Ordour mycht be tane tharein, conform to the said Ordinance, with Certificatioun to thame, and they sailyt, the Quenis Majesty, and Counsaill foirsaid, wald tak Ordour tharein, as the said Ordinance beares. Notwithstanding of the quhilk, the Quenis Majesty and Counsaill, and uthers appointed be hir, for receaving the said Rentales, have continually, sen the said 24th Day of *Januarii* forsaid, awaited upoun the reslaving of thame; yit a very
small

small Number of thame hes produced thair Rentales, contemmand tharethrow, not only hir Grace's Ordinance and Proclamatioun foirsaid, bot also himself and hir Authority, as they wer Princes and not Subjects, expres against Equity, Reason and Justice: For Remedy quhareof the Quenis Majesty, with Advyse of hir Secrete Counsaill, ordains, that Factors and Chalmerlanes be appoynted to intromet with, gather, uplift and refave, to our Severane Ladies Use, all and sundry Mailes, Fermes, Teines, Rents, Provents, Emoluments, Caines, Profits and Dewries of quhatsumever Benefices, quhareof the Rentales ar not produced, conforme to the said Ordinance. And if ony Rentales els produced beires not the just Availl, bot is fraudulently maid, to intromett and uptak sa mekle of the Profits and Frutes of the saids Benefices, as ar omitted furth of the saids Rentales, and the Ingivers of the Rentales, and Possessours of the Benefices thareof, sall never have Actioun to clame, crave or receive fra the Tennends and Occupyers, farther then is contened within the saids Rentales els produced be thame; and the Tennends and Possessours sall be haldin to pay na more, then is conteyned in the samin Rentales els produced, as said is. And that the said Chalmerlanes and Factors to be appoynted be the Quenis Majesty, sall have sufficient Power to intromett and uptak the Fruites and Profits foirsaid, sicklyk as gif speciall Letters of Factory and Chalmerlanry wer granted to thame thareupoun. And ordains the Lords of Session to direct furth Letters, at the said Factors and Chalmerlanes Instances, eyther of Horning or Poynding, as sall be thocht expedient, for causing of thame to be answered, of the Fruites of the said Benefices, to be furthcumand to the Quenis Majesties Behuse, quhill farther Ordour be takin thareuntill.

Apud Edinburgum, 15. Februarii 1561.

FOr samekle as the Quenis Majesty, be the Advyse of the Lords of hir Secrete Counsaill, and uthers dyvers of the Nobility had of befoir, upoun the 22d Day of *December* last bypast, ordaint, That if the fourt Part of the Fruites and Rentis of all the Benefices within this Realme, wer not sufficient for the Support of hir Majesty, and uther particular Charges under written, necessare to be borne for the Weill of the Cuntrey; then the thrid of the saids Fruites mair or les, sould be takin up to the Effect foirsaid. Attour ordainit Lettres to be direct, charging all and sundry beneficed Men, on this Syde of the *Month*, to produce thair Rentales, upoun the 24th Day of *Januar* last bypast: And the tent Day of *February* Instant was prefixed be the saids Letters, for inbringing of all Rentales of the Benefices beyond the *Month*; with Certificatioun, to thos quho producit not the said Rentales, at the Days foirsaid *respective*, the Quenis Majesty and hir Counsaill wald provyde Remedy: According to the quhilk Certificatioun, hir Hienes, with Advyse of hir Counsaill foirsaid, hes ordainit, that they quha hes not producit thair Rentales, haill and full Intromissioun sall be had of thair Fruites be thame, quhom hir Majesty sall direct thareto: And quha have not gevin thair just Rentales, quhatsumever Pairt omitted furth of thair said Rentales, sall be intrometted with in lyk Maner. And farther, having consulted ryple, and diligently advysed upoun the comoun Affaires and Necessities concerning the Quenis Majesty, and Charges to be borne, for the Comoun-weill of the Realme, and Sustentatioun of the Preacheours and Readars, conforme to the said Ordinance maid thareupoun of befoir, hes findin and declared the haill third Pairt of all Benefices

of the quhilks the Rentales ar produced, to be takin up be the Persone or Persones, to be nominat be hir Majesty. And to begin upoun this last Crop in the Yeir of God 1561 Yeirs, the samin to be employed to the Effect foirsaid: Togidder with the haill Frutes of the Benefices, quhareof the Rentales ar not product; and also, all that is omitted of the Rentales produced. And that Ordour be direct be the Quenis Majesty, to the Lords of Sessioun, that the auld Possessours may be answered of the remanent Frutes of the said Benefices; provyding that the thrid Pairt foirsaid be full and haill takin up, be the Persones to be deput to the Uptaking thareof: And this Ordour to continew and stand, ay and quhill farther Ordour be takin be the Quenis Majesty, with the Advyse of the Estates. Mairover hir Hienes, be the Advyse of her Hienes Counsaill foirsaid, hes statute and ordainit, that Annuells, Mailes, and Dewties within frie Burrowes and uther Tounes of this Realme, alsweill perteing to Chaplanries, Prebendaries, as to Friars, togidder with the Rents of the Fryars Lands, quhairever they be, setting and disponning thareupoun, be intrometted with, and uptakin be sick as hir Grace sall depute thareto; for employing of the same be hir Hienes, to Hospitales, Schooles, and uther godly Uses, as sall seme best to hir Hienes, with Advyse of hir Counsaill. And knawing, That nothing is more comodious for the foirsaid Hospitality, then the Places of Freirs, as ar yit undemolished: And as to the interteining of Schooles, Colledges, and uther Uses foirsaid, ordains the Proveists and Bailyeis of *Aberdene, Elgin in Murray, Innernes, Glasgow*, and uther Borrowes in this Realme, quhare the samin ar not demolished, to intertene and uphold the saids Friars Places standing in the saids Touns, upoun the Comoun Guds thareof, and to use the samin to the Comoun-weill, and Service of the saids Touns, ay and quhill the Quenis Majesty be farther advysed, and tak finall Ordour in sick Things, notwithstanding of ony uther Gift, Tytle or Entres gevin to quhatsumever Persones of the saids Places, with thair Yairds, Orchards and Pertinents, be our Soverane Lady of befoir.

The Lords of Secrete Counsaill quho wer present at voiting and making of thir foirsaid Acts, wer *James Duke of Chattellarault, George Erle of Huntlie, Archibald Erle of Argyll, William Erle of Merchell, Jhone Erle of Atholl, William Erle of Montrois, James Erle of Mortoun, Alexander Erle of Glencairne, James Comendatar of Sanct Androis, Jhone Lord Erskin*, the Thesaurare, the Clerk of Register, the Justice Clerk, the Secretare and Comptrollare.

After the first Act, the Erle of *Huntlie* said jestingly, *Gud Day, my Lords of the twa Part*. The hole Rentales being gathered, the Soume of the Thrid, according to thair awn Calculatioun, was fund to extend to

The Ministers even in the begining in publict Sermons opposed thame-selvis to sick Corruptioun, for they foirsaw the Purpeis of the Devill, and cleirly understude the Butt quhareat the Quene and her Flatterars schott. And so in the Stoole of *Edinburgh* *Johne Knox* said, *Weall, if the End of this Ordour, pretendit to be takin for Sustentatioun of the Ministers, be happie, my Jugement failes me; for I am assured, That the Spirit of God is not the Author of it, for first, I sie twa Pairts freele gevin to the Devill, and the thrid mon be devyded betwix God and the Devill: Weill, said he, bear Witnes to me, that this Day I say it, Or it be long the Devill sall have thrie Pairts of the Thrid; and juge you then, quhat God's Portioun sall be. This was an unfavorie Saying in the Eares of many. Some eschamed not to affirme, The Ministers*
being

being susteyned, the Quene will not gett at the Yeirs End to by hir a Pair of new Schoes. And this wes Secretare Lethingtoun.

Thair war appoynted to modifie the Ministers Stipendis, the Erles Argyle, Murray and Mortoun, Lethingtoun, Justice Clerk, and Clerk of Register. The Laird of Petarro, was appoynted to pay the Ministers Stipends, according to thair Modificatioun. Quho wald have thocht, that quhen Joseph reulled in Egypt, his Brethren sould have travellit for Victuales, and have returned with emptie Sackes unto thair Families; Men wald rather have thocht that Pharoos Pose, Tressor, and Garnells suld have bene diminisched ere that the Household of Jacob sould stand in Danger to starve for Hunger.

Bot so busie and circumspect wer the Modificators (becaus it was a new Office the Terme most also be new) that the Ministers sould not be Overwantoun, that an hundreth Merks was sufficient to an single Man, being a comone Minister: Thre hundredth Merks was the hiest that was apoynted to any, except the Superintendents, and a few utheris; schortly, quhither it was the Nigardnes of thair awn Hairts, or the Care that they had to inrich the Quene, we know not, bot the pure Ministeris, Readers and Exhortars, cryed out to the Heavens (as thair Complaints in all Assemblies do witness) that neyther wer they abill to live upoun the Stipends appoynted, neyther culd they get Payment of that small Thing quhilk was appoynted, so faine wald the Comtroller have played the gude Vallet, and have satisfyed the Quene, or els his awn Profite in every Point, that he got this Diction and Proverb, *The gude Laird of Petarro wes an earnest Professour of Christ, bot the mekill Devill receave the Comtroller, for he and his Collectours ar become gredie Feßours.* To put an End to this unpleasant Mater; quhen the Brethrein complayned of thair Povertie, it was disdanefullie answered of some, Thair ar monie Lairds that have not sa mekle to spend. Quhen Men did reason that the Vocatioun of Ministers craved of thame, Buikes, Quyetnes, Studie, and Travell to edify the Kirk of Christ Jesus, quhen manie Lairds wer waiting upoun thair warldlie Busines; and thairfore that the Stipends of Ministers, quho had no uther Industrie, bot to live upoun that quhilk was appoynted, aucht not to be modityed according to the living of uther comone Men, quho mycht and did daylie augment thair Rents by sum uther Industrie. Quhen sick Reasons war layed befor thame, thay gat none uther answer, bot, the Quene can spare none gritter Soumes. Oft was it cryed in thair Ears, *O happie Servands of the Devill, and miserable Servands of Jesus Christ, if efter this Lyf thair wer not Hell and Heavin:* For to the Servands of the Devill, to your dum Dogges, and horned Bischops; to one of those ydill Bellies, I say, ten thousand was not yneuch, bot to the Servands of Christ, that painfully preich his Evangell, a thousand Pound; how can that be susteyned?

One Day in reasoning of this Mater, the Secretare brufft out in a Peace of his Choler, and said, The Ministers have this much payed unto thame by Yeir, and quho yet ever bad the Quene grand Mercies for it? Was thair ever a Minister that gave Thanks to God for hir Majesties Liberality towards thame? One smyled, and answered; assuredly, I think, that such as receave any Thing *gratis* of the Quene, ar unthankfull if they acknowlege it not, both in Hairt and Mouth: Bot quhither the Ministers be of that rank or not, I gritly dout. *Gratis* I am assured they receave nothing, and quhither they receave any Thing at all of the Quene, wyse Men may reasone. I am assured, that neyther thrid nor twa Pairt ever appertained to any of hir Predecessors within

this Realme these thousand Yeirs bypast, neyther yet hes the Quene better Tytle to that quhilk sche usurps, be it in giving to uthers, or in taking to himself, then such as crucified Christ Jesus had to devyde his Garments amongst thame. And if the Treuth may be spokin, sche hes not so gude Tytle as they had, for such Spoyle use to be the Reward of such Men. And in that Poynt those Souledeors wer more gentile then the Quene and hir Flatterars, for they pairted not the Garments of our Maister, till that he himself was hung upoun the Croce ; bot sche and hir Flatterars do pairt the Spoyle, quhill as yet pure Christ is preiching amongst us. Bot the Wisdome of our God taketh Tryall of us by this Meane, knowing weall yneuch quhat sche and hir Factioun hes purposed to do. Let the Papists, quho have the two Pairs, some that have thair Thrids free, and sum that have gottin Abbacies, and few Lands, thank the Quene, and sing, *Placebo Domine*, the pure Preachers will not yet flatter, for feiding of thair Bellies. These Words wer juged proud and intolerable, and ingendered no small Displefor to the Speaker.

This we put in Memory, that the Posteritys to cum may know that God once maid his Treuth to triumph ; bot becaus sum of ourselves deltyed more in Darknes, then in Lycht, God hes restraned our Fredome, and put the hole Body in Bondage, yea, the grittest Flatterars have not eschaped so free as they suppoed, yea, the latter Plagues appear yet to be wors then the first. *Be mercifull to us, O Lord, and entreat us not according to our Deservings, bot luik thow to the Equity of the Caus, quhilk thou hes put in our Hands, and suffer not Iniquitie to oppresse thy Treuth, for thy awn Names Sake, O Lord.*

In this mean Tyme, to wit, in Februar 1561, was Lord James, first maid Erle of Murray, and then marryed upoun Agnes Keyth, Dochter to the Erle Marshall. The Marriage was publiet in the Kirk of *Edinburgh* ; in the Marriage they both gat ane Admonitioun to behave thameselfis moderately in all Things: For said the Prechar to him, unto this Day hes the Kirk of God refaved Comfort by you, and by your Labors. In the quhilk, if heirefter ye fall be fund faintare than that ye wer befoir, it will be said, that your Wyfe hes changit your Nature.

The Gritnes of the Bankett, and the Vanity usit thairat, offendit many godly ; thare began the masking, quhilk from Yeir to Yeir hes continewed since. Mr. *Randolph*, Agent for the Quene of *England* was then, and sume-tyme etter in no small Conceat with our Quene: For his Maistress Saik, sche drank to him ane Cupe of Gold, quhilk he possessit with gritter Joy, for the Favor of the Gevar, then of the Gift, and Valew thairof, and yet it was honorabill.

The Things that then wer in handling betwix the two Quenes, quhairof *Leithingtoun*, Secretare *Cicill*, and Mr. *Randolph*, wer Ministers, wer of gritt Wecht, as we will etter heir.

This Winter the Erle *Bothwell*, the Marques *d'Albus*, and Lord *Jhone* of *Coldinghame* playit the Ryote in *Edinburgh*, misfordoured the hole Toun, brak *Guthbert Ramsays* Yetts and Dures, socht his House for his Gude-dochter *Alifone Craik*. And this was done in despyt of the Erle of *Arrane*, quhose Hoore the said *Alifone* was suspectit to have bene. The Horrour of this Fact, and the Rarity of it hiely comoved all godly Hairts. The Assembly, and all the Nobility, for the maist Pairt wer in the Toun ; and so they concludit to crave Justice, as that they did, as by this subsequent Supplicatioun does appeare.

To the Quenes Majestie, and hir secrete and grit Counsaill, hir Graces faythfull and obedient Subjects, the Professours of Christi Jesus, his holie Evangill, wisch the Spirit of rycheous Jugement.

THe Feare of God conceived of his holie Word, the naturall and unteaned Love we beare unto your Grace, the Dewtie quhilk we aw unto the Quyetnes of our Cuntrey, and the terribill Threatnings quhilk our God pronounces against every Realme and Ciety, in the quhilk horribill Crymes ar comitted oppinly, and then be the Comitters obstinately defended, compell us, a grit Pairt of your Subjects, humlie to crave of your Grace, upricht and trew Jugement against sick Persones as have done, quhat in thame ly, to kendle God's Wrath against this hole Realme. The Impiety be thame comitted is so heynous, and so horribill, that as it is a Fact most vyle and rare to be hard of within this Realme, and principally within the Bowells of this Ciety; so sould we think ourselves guilty in the same, if negligently, or yit for worldly Fear, we pas it over with Silence; and thairfore your Grace may not think that we require any Thing (quhill that we crave oppin Malefactors condingly to be punished) bot that quhilk God hes comandit us to crave, and also hes comandit your Grace to give to every ane of your Subjects; for be this Link God hes knitt togidder the Prince and the Peple, that as he commands Honour, Fear and Obedience to be gevin to the Powers establisched be him; so doeth he in expresse Words comand and declare quhat the Prince aweth unto the Subjects, *to wit*, that as he is the Minister of God, bearing the Sword for Vengance to be takin on Evill-doers, and for the Defence of peacible and quyet Men; so aucht he to draw the same without Partiality, so oft as in God's Name he is requyred thairto. Seing so it is, Madame, that this Cryme, so recently comitted, and that in the Eyes of your hole Realme now presently assembled, is so heynous (for quho heirtofore hes hard within the Bowells of *Edinburgh*, Yettes and Dures under Silence of Nicht brust up, Houses ryped, and that with Hostility, seaking a Woman, as appeareth, to oppresse hir) seing, we say, that this Cryme is so heynous, that all godly Men fear not only Goddis fore Displeasour to fall upoun you and your hole Realme, bot also that sick Liberty breads Contempt, and in the end Seditioun, if Remedie in Tyme be not provydit, quhilk in our Jugement is impossibill, if severe Punischment be not executed for the Cryme comitted. Thairfore we maist humlie beseich your Grace, that all Affectionoun sett asyde, you declare yourself so upricht in this Case, that ye may give evident Demonstratioun to all your Subjects, that the Fear of God, joyned with the Love of comoun Tranquility, hes principall Seat and Dominioun in your Graces Hart. This farther, Madame, of Conscience we speik, that as your Grace in God's Name does crave of us Obedience (quhilk to rander in all Things lawfull, we ar most willing) so in the sam Name do we, the hole Professours of Chryst's Evangell, within this your Graces Realme, crave of yow, and of your Counsaill, scharp Punischment of this Cryme, and for Performance thareof, that without all Delay, the principall Actours of this most heynous Cryme, and the Persewars of this pretendit Villany, may be called befor the cheif Justice of this Realme to suffer ane Assyse, and to be punished according to the Lawes of the same. Your Graces Answer maist humbly we beseich.

This Supplicatioun was presented by divers Gentilmen. The Flatterars of the Court at the first storned, and asked, *Quho durst avow it?* To quhom the Maister, now Lord *Lindesay*, answered, *A thousand Gentilmen within Edinburgh.* Uthers wer eschamed to oppone thameselfis thareto in publiſt; bot they subordned the Quene to give a gentil Answer unto sick Tyme, as the Conventioun was dissolved. And so sche did; for sche lacks no Craft, both to clocke and mantene Impiety, and Horedom in speciall. Sche alledged, *That hir Uncle was a Stranger, and that he had a young Cumpany; bot sche suld put sick Ordour unto him, and unto all uthers, that beirefter they suld have no Occasioun to complene.* And so deludit sche the just Petitioun of hir Subjects: And no Wonder, for how fall sche punisch in uthers that Vice, quhilk in *France* is free without Punischment? And quhilk Kings and Cardinalls use most comonly, as the Mask and Dauncing of *Orleance* can witnes; quharein Virgines and Menis Wyfes wer maid als comone to King *Harie* and *Charles*, the Cardinalls, and to thair Court and Pages, as comone Harlots of the Bordell ar unto thair Companiouns. The Maner was thus: At the Entry of King *Harie* of *France*, in the Toun of *Orleance*, the Matrones, Virgines and Menis Wyfis wer comandit to present thameselfis in the Kingis Palace at Night to dance: And they obeyed; for comonly the *Frenche* Natioun is not hard to be intreated to Vanity. Efter Fidling and Flinging, and quhen the Cardinall of *Lorane* had espyed his Pray, he said to the King, *Sire le premiere est vostre, et fault que je soy le second:* That is, *Sir, the first Choice is yours, and I man be the secund.* And so the King got the Preheminance, that he had his first Elektioun. Bot becaus Cardinalls ar Companiouns to Kings, the Cardinall had the nixt. And thairefter the Torches wer put out, and every Man comandit to provyde for himself the best he mycht. Quhat Cry was thare of Husbonds for thair Wyfis, of Wyfis for thair Husbonds, of ancient Matrons for thair Dochters, and of Virgines for Freinds, or for some honest Men, to defend thair Pudicity, *Orleance* will remember mo Kings Days then one. This horrible Villany (a Frute of the Cardinall of *Loranes* Religioun) we schortly tuich, to let the Warld understand, quhat Subjects may luke of sick Magistrates: For such Pastyme to thame is bot Joyeufity, quharein our Quene was brocht up. We call her not ane Hore (albeit hir Dame hard more then we will wrytt) bot sche was brocht up in the Cumpany of the vylest Horemongers (yea of sick as no more regaird Incest, then honest Men regaird the Cumpany of thair lawfull Wyfis) In the Cumpany of sick Men, we say, was our Quene brocht up. Quhat sche was and is hirself best knoweth, and God, we dour not, will farther declare. Bot Punischment of that Enormity and fearfull Attemptat we culd get none: Bot more and more they presumed to do Violence, and frequented nychtly Maskings. Some (as *Robine Crages* Hous, becaus his Dochter was fair) delyted tharein: Uthers lamented, and began to bear the Mater very heavily. At lenth the Lord Duke's Freinds assemblit upoun ane Nycht upoun the Calfey. The Abbot of *Kilwinning*, quho then was joyned to the Kirk, and so, as we understand, yit abyde, was the principall Man at the Beginning. To him repaired mony Faythfull; and amongst uthers cam *Andrew Stewart* Lord *Uchiltrie* (a Man rather borne to mak Peace, then to brag upoun the Calfey) and demanded the Quarrell; and being informed of the former Enormity, said, *Nay, sick Impiety sall not be suffered, sa long as God sall assist us: The Victory that God in his Mercy bes gevin us, we will by his Grace mantene.*

mantene. And so he comandit his Sone *Andro Stewart*, then Maister, and his Servands, to put thamefelfis in Ordour, and to bring furth thair Speares and lang Weapouns; and so did uthers. The Word cam to the Erle *Bothwell* and his, that the *Haumiltounes* wer upoun the Streat. Vows wer maid, *That the Haumiltounes sould be dung, not onely out of the Toun, bot also out of the Cuntrey.* Lord *Johne* of *Goldinghame* had maryit the said Erle *Bothwell*'s Sister (a sufficient Woman for sick a Man) Allyance drew the Lord *Robert*, and so they joynit both with the said Erle of *Bothwell*. Bot the Stoutnes of the Marques *le Beuf* (*A' Albuf* they call him) is most to be comendit; for in his Chalmer, within the Abbey, he started to ane Halbart, and ten Men wer scarce able to hald him: Bot as Hap was the Inner-yet of the Abbay keipit him that Nycht; and the Danger was betwene the Croce and the Salt Trone; and so he was a large Quarter of a Myle from the Schott and sklenting of Boltes. The Maister of *Maxwell* (thairefter maid Lord *Hereis*) gave Declaratioun to the Erle *Bothwell*, *That if he steirit forth of his Ludging, he and all that wald assist him sould resist him in the Face.* Quhose Words did sumquhat beat down that Blast. The Erles of *Murray* and *Huntlie*, being in the Abbey quhere the Marques was, cam with thair Companies sent from the Quene, to stay that Tumult, as that they did; for *Bothwell* and his wer comanded, under Pane of Treasoun, to keip thair Lodging.

It was quhispored of mony, that the Erle of *Murray*'s Dispesour was als mekle socht, as ony Hatrent that the *Haumiltouns* bare against the Erle of *Bothwell*, or yit he against thame. And in very deid, eyther had the Duke very fals Servands, or els by *Huntley* and the *Haumiltouns*, the Erle of *Murray*'s Deith was ofter conspyred then once; the Suspicioun quhareof brast furth so far, that upoun a Day the said Erle, being upoun Horse to have cum to the Sermon, was charged, by one of the Dukis awn Servands, to returne and abyd with the Quene. The Brute thareof spred over all. Quhat Ground it had, we cannot say: Bot schort thairefter, the Duk and some of the Lords convenit at *Glasgow*; thair Conclusioun was not knawn. The Erle of *Arrane* cam to *Edinburgh*, quhare the Erle *Bothwell* lay. The Quene and the Court wer depairted to *Fyfe*, and remainit sometymes in Sanct *Androis*, and sometymes in *Falkland*.

The Erle of *Bothwell*, by the Meanes of *James Borone*, Burges and then Merchant of *Edinburgh*, desyred to speik with *Johne Knox* secretly; quhilk the said *Johne* glaidly granted, and spak with him upoun a Nycht first, in the said *James* Ludging, and thairefter in his awn Study. The Soume of all thair Communicatioun, and Conference was. The said Lord lamented his former inordinat Lyfe; and especially that he was provoked by the Entysements of the Quene Regent, to do that quhilk he sore repented, alsweill against the Lairde of *Ormistoun*, quhose Blude was spilt, albeit not in his Default: Bot his cheit Dolour was, that he had misbehaved himself against the Erle of *Arrane*, quhose Favor he was most willing to redeme, if possible it wer, that so he mycht: And desired the said *Johne* to give him his best Counsaill; For, said he, if I mycht have my Lord *Arranes* Favours, I wald awaite upoun the Court with a Page, and sum few Servands, to spair my Expenses, quhair now I am compelled to keip, for my awn Saifty, a Number of wicked and unprofitable Men, to the utter Destruction of my Living that is left. To the quhilk the said *Johne* answered, My Lord, wald to God, that in me wer Counsaill or Judgement, that mycht comfort and

releve yow; for albeit, that to this Hour it hes not chanced me, to speik with your Lordship Face to Face, yit have I borne a gude Mynd to your Hous; and have bene sory at my Hart of the Trubles, that I have hard yow to be involved in; for, my Lord, my Great grandfather, Gudeschir and Father have servit your Lordship's Predecessours, and some of thame have dyed under their Standards; and this is a Pairt of the Obligatioun of our *Scottisch* Kindnes; bot this is not the cheif. Bot as God hes maid me his publiſt Messenger of glaid Tydings, so is my Will earnest, that all Men may embrace it, quhilk perfytyly they cannot, so lang as that thare remaneth in thame Rancour, Malice or Envy. I am very sory, that ye have gevin Occasioun unto Men to be offended with yow. Bot I am more sory, that ye have offended the Majesty of God, quho by sick Meanes oft punisches the uther Sinnes of Men: And tharefoir my Counſall is, That ye begin at God, with quhom if will enter in perfyt Reconciliatioun, I dout not bot he ſall bow the Hairs of Men to forget all Offences. And as for me, if ye will continew in Godlines, your Lordship ſall comand me as bauldly, as ony that ſerves your Lordship. The ſaid Lord deſyred him, that he wald attempt the Erle of *Arranes* Mynd, if he wald be content to accept of him in his Favours; quhilk he promiſed to do. And ſo earnestly he travellit in that Mater, that it was once brocht to ſuch ane End, as all the Faythfull prayſed God for ſick an Agreement. The gritteſt Stay ſtude upoun the Satisfacioun of the Laird of *Ormistoun*, quho beſyd his former Hurt, as is befoir declarit, was even at that Tyme of the Comuning, perſewed be the ſaid Erle *Bothwell*, and his Sone Mr. *Alexander Cockburne* takin be him, and caryed with him to *Borthwick*; bot gently eneuch ſent back agane. That new Truble ſo gritly diſpleiſed *Jobne Knox*, that he almoſt gave over farther travelling for Amity. Bot yit upoun the Excuse of the ſaid Erle, and upoun the Declaratioun of his Mynd, he re-entred in Labours: And ſo brocht it to pas, that the Laird of *Ormistoun* referred his Satisfacioun in all Things to the Judgements of the Erles of *Arrane* and *Murray*, quhom to the ſaid Erle ſubmitted himſelf in that Head: And thareupoun delyvered his Hand Writt; and ſo was convoyed, by certane of his Frinds, to the Ludging of the Kirk of *Field*, quhare the Erle of *Arrane* was with his Freinds, and the ſaid *Jobne Knox* with him, to bear Witnes and Testificatioun of the End of the Agreement. As the ſaid Erle of *Bothwell* entred at the Chalmer Dore, and wald have done thoſe Honours, that Freinds had appoynted (Mr. *Gawin Haumiltoun*, Abbot of *Kilwinning*, and the Laird of *Rickartoun* wer the cheif Freinds that comuned.) The ſaid Erle of *Arrane* gently paſſit unto him, embraced him, and ſaid, *If the Hart be uprycht, few Ceremonies may ſerve and content me.* The ſaid *Jobne Knox*, in Audience of thame both, and of thair Freinds, ſaid, *Now, my Lords, God hes brocht yow togidder, by the Labours of ſimple Men, in reſpect of ſick as wald have travellit tharein. I know my Labours ar already tane in ane evil Pairt: Bot becaus I have the Teſtimony of a gude Conſcience befoir my God, that quhatſoever I have done, it is in his Fear, for the Proſite of yow both, for the Hurt of none, and for Tranquility of this Realme: Seing tharefoir that my Conſcience beareth the Witnes unto me, quhat I have ſocht, and continually ſeik, I the more patiently bear the Miſreports and wrangous Judgements of Men. And now I leave yow in Peace, and deſires yow quho ar the Freinds, to ſtudy that Amitie may increſs, all former Offences being foryett.* The Freinds one eyther Pairty embraced uther; and the two Erles departed to ane Windo, and talked by thameſelfis familiarly ane reſſonable Space. And thairefter the Erle

Bothwell

Bethwell departed for that Nycht, and upoun the nixt Day in the Morning returned, with some of his honest Freinds, and came to the Sermon with the Erle forsaide, quhareat mony rejoyled. Bot God had an uther Work to worke, then the Eyes of Men could espy.

The *Thursday* next they dynit togidder; and thairefter the said Erle *Bethwell*, and Mr. *Gavin Haumiltoun*, raid to my Lord Dukes Grace, quho then was in *Kinneill*. Quhat Communicatioun was betwix thame, it is not certainly knawin; bot by the Report quhilk the said Erle of *Arrane* maid to the Quenes Grace, and unto the Erle of *Murray*, by his Wrytings; for upoun the *Friday* the fort Day efter thair Reconciliatioun, the Sermon being endit, the said Erle of *Arrane* cam to the Hous of the said *Johne Knox*, and brocht with him Mr. *Richard Strang*, and Mr. *Alexander Guthrie*, to quhom he had oppined the Greif of his Mynde befor that *Johne Knox* was called; for he was occupied, as comonly he usit to be efter his Sermon, in directing of Wrytings: Quhilk endit, the said Erle called the thre togider, and said, I am trefonably betrayed, and with these Words began to weip. *Johne Knox* demandit, my Lord, quho hath betrayed you? A *Judas* or uther, said he, bot I know it is bot my Lyf that is socht; I regard it not. The uther said, my Lord, I understand not such dark maner of speiking; if I sall give you any Answer, ye mon speik more plane. Weill, said he, I tak you thre to Witnes, That I oppin this unto you, and I will wryt it unto the Quene: Ane Act of Treasoun is layed to my Charge. The Erle *Bethwell* hes schawin to me in Counsaill, that he sall tak the Quene and put hir in my Hands in the Castle of *Dumbartane*; and that he sall slay the Erle of *Murray*, *Lethingtoun*, and uthers that now misgyde her, and so sall I and he reull all. Bot I know this is devysed to accuse me of Treasoun; for I know that he will informe the Quene of it: But I tak you to witnes, That I oppin it heir to yow: And I will pas incontinent, and wryt to the Quenes Majestie, and unto my Brother the Erle of *Murray*. *Johne Knox* demandit, Did ye consent, my Lord, to any Pairt of that Treasoun? He answered, Nay. Then, said he, in my Jugement, his Words, albeit they wer spokin, can never be Treasoun to you; for the Performance of the Fact depends upoun your Will, quhareunto ye say ye have dissassented; and so sall that Purpois evanisch and die by the Self, unles that ye waikin it; for it is not to be supposed, That he will accuis you of that quhilk he himself hes devysed, and quhareunto ye wald not consent. O, said he, ye understand not quhat Craft is usit against me: It is Treasoun to conceale Treasoun. My Lord, said he, Treason mon import Consent and Determinatioun, of the quhिल्s I hear upoun neyther of your Pairts: And thairfore, my Lord, in my Jugement, it sall be mor sure, and more honourabill to you, to depend upoun your awn Innocency, and to abyde the injust Accusatioun of ane uther (if any follow thairon, as I think thair sall not) then ye to accuse, especially efter so lait Reconciliatioun, and have non uther Witnes bot your awin Affirmatioun. I know, said he, that he will offer the Combatt unto me, bot that wald not be suffered in *France*: Bot I will do that quhilk I have purposed. And so he departed, and tuk with him to his Lugin the saids *Alexander Guthrie*, and Mr. *Richard Strang*, from quence was dyted and written ane Letter to the Quenes Majestie, according to the former Purpois. Quhilk Letter was directed with all Diligence unto hir Majestie, quho then was in *Falkland*. The Erle himself raid efter to *Kinneill* to his Father the Dukes Grace; how he wes entreated,

we have bot the comone Brute. Bot from thence he wrott a Letter with his awn Hand in Cyphers to the Erle of *Murray*, complayning upoun his rigorous Handling and Treatment by his awn Father and by his Freinds. And affirmed farther, That he feared his Lyfe, in case that he gat not suddane Reskew. Bot thareupoun he remaned nor, bot brak the Chalmer quharein he was putt, and with grit Pane past to *Striveling*, and from thence he was convoyed to the *Hall-yardes*, quhare he was kept till that the Erle of *Murray* cam unto him, and convoyed him to the Quene, then being in *Falkland*, quho then was sufficiently instructed of the hole Matter; and upoun Suspicioun conceaved, had caused apprehend Mr. *Gavin Haumiltoun* and the Erle *Bothwell* foirsaid, quho knowing nothing of the former Advertisements, cam to *Falkland*, quhilk augmented the former Suspicioun. Bot yet the Letters of *Johne Knox* made all Things to be usit mor circumspectly, for he did planely forewarne the Erle of *Murray*, that he espyed the Erle of *Arrane* to be stricken with Phrenesie, and thairfore willed not overgrit Credit to be gevin unto his Words and Inventiouns. And as he advertised, so it cam to pas, for within few Dayes his Sicknes encreffed; he devysed of wonderous Signes that he saw in the Heavin; he alleged that he was bewitched, he wald have bene in the Quenes Bed, and affirmed that he was hir Housband; and fynalie, he behaved himself in all Things so folischlie, that his Phrenesie culd not be hid.

And yet wer the saids Erle *Bothwell* and Mr. *Gavin* Abbot of *Kilwinning* keapit in the Castle of *St. Androis*, and conveyed befor the Counsaill with the said Erle of *Arrane*, quho ever stude firme, that the Erle *Bothwell* proponed to him sick Things as he adverteised the Quenes Grace of; bot stifie denied that his Father, the said Abbot, or his Freinds knew ony Thing thair of, eyther yet that they intendit any Violence against him; bot allegit that he was enchanted, so to think and wrytt. Quhareat the Quene, hiely offended, comitted him to Prisone with the uther two, first in the Castle of *St. Androis*; and thairefter causit thame to be convoyed to the Castle of *Edinburgh*; *James Stewart of Cardonneall*, called Capitane *James*, was evill bruited of, for the rigorous Entreatment that he schewed to the said Erle in his Seiknes, being apointed Keapar unto him.

To consult upoun these Accusatiouns, the hole Counsaill was assembled at Sanct *Androis*, the 18th Day of *Apryle* 1562 Yeirs. In quhilk it was concluded, That, in Consideratioun of the former Suspicioun, the Dukes Grace sould rander to the Quene the Castell of *Dumbartane*; the Custody quhareof was granted unto him by Appoyntment, till that lawfull Successioun sould be sene of the Quenis Body: Bot Will prevailed against Resoun and Promeis, and so was the said Castell delyvered to Captane *Ansruther*, as having Power fra the Quene and Counsaill to receive it.

Things ordoured in *Fyfe*, the Quene returned to *Edinburgh*, and then began Dancing to grow hot, for her Friends began to triumph in *France*. The Certanty heirof cam to the Eares of *Johne Knox*: For thare wer sum that schewit to him, from Tyme to Tyme, the Estate of Things; and amongst uthers he was assured, that the Quene had danced excessively till efter Midnycht, becaus that sche had received Letters, that Persecutioun was begun agane in *France*, and that her Uncles wer beginning to steir thair Tailis, and to truble the hole Realme of *France*.

Upoun Occasioun of this Text, *And now understand, O ye Kings, and be learned ye that judge the Eirth: He began to tax the Ignorance, the Vanity, and the*

the Despyt of Princes against all Vertew, and against all those in quhom Hatrent of Vice and Love of Vertew appeared. The Report heirof maid unto the Quene, the said *Johne Knox* was sent for. Mr. *Alexander Cockburne*, quho befoir had bene his Scholar, and then was very familiar with him, was the Messinger, quho gave him some Knowledge, both of the Report and of the Reportars. The Quene was in her Bed-chalmer, and with her, besydes the Ladies and comone Servands, wer the Lord *James*, the Erle of *Mortoun*, Secretary *Lettingtoun*, and sum of the Gaird, that had maid the Report. He was called and accused, as one that had irreverently spoken of the Quene; and that travellit to bring her unto Hatrent and Contempt of the Peple; and that he had extendit the Bounds of his Text: And upoun these three Heads, maid the Quene hirself a lang Harang or Oratioun; quhareto the said *Johne* answered as followes.

Madame, this is oftentimes the just Recompence, quhilk God geves to the Stubborne of the Warld, that becaus they will not heir God speiking to the Comfort of the Penitent, and for Amendement of the Wicked, they ar oft compellit to heir the fals Reports of uthers to thair gritter Displeasure. I dout not bot that it came to the Eares of prude *Herode*, that our Maister Christ Jesus called him a Fox: Bot they tauld him not how odious a Thing it was befoir God, to muther ane Innocent, as he had lairly done befoir, causing to behead *Johne* the Baptist, to reward the Dancing of ane Harlor's Daughter. Madame, if the Reportars of my Words had bene honest Men, they wald have reported my Words, and the Circumstances of the same. Bot becaus they wald have Credite in Court, and lacking Vertew worthy thareof, they man have somequhat to plesure your Majesty, if it wer bot Flattery and Lies. Bot sick Plesure (if ony your Grace taik in such Persones) will turne to your everlasting Displeasure: For, Madame, if your awn Eares had hard the hole Matter, that I entreated; if thare be unto yow ony Sparcke of the Spirit of God, yea, of Honesty and Wisdome, ye could not justly have bene offended with ony Thing that I spak. And becaus yow have hard thair Reporte, pleis your Grace to heir myself reheris the same, so neir as Memory will serve (It was even upoun the nixt Day efter that the Ser-mone was maid.) My Text, said he, Madame, was this, *And now, O Kings, understand, be learned, ye Judges of the Eirth.* After, Madame, said he, that I had declared the Dignity of Kings and Reulars, the Honour quhareunto God hes placed thame, the Obedience that is dew unto thame, being God's Lieutenents; I demanded this Questioun. Bot O alace, quhat Account fall the maist Parte of the Princes mak befoir that Supreme Judge, quhose Throne and Authority, they so manifestly and schamefully abuse? That the Complaint of *Solomon* is this Day most trew, to wit, *That Violence and Oppressioun do occupy the Throne of God heir in this Earth:* For quhill that Murtherars, blude thirsty Men, Oppressours and Malefactours dar be bauld to present thame-selvis befoir Kings and Princes, and the pure Sancts of God ar banished and exyled, quhat fall we say, bat that the Devill hes takin Possessioun in the Throne of God, quhilk aucht to be feirfull to all wicked Doers, and a Refuge to the Innocent oppressed? And how can it utherways be? For Princes will not understand, they will not be learned, as God comands thame. Bot God's Law they despyse, his Statutes and holy Ordinances they will not understand; for in sydling and slinging they ar more exercysed, then in reading or heiring of God's most blessed Word, and Fydlars and Flatterars (quhilk

comonly corrupt the Youth) ar more precious in thar Eies, than Men of Wildome and Gravity, quho by holesome Admonitioun mycht beat down into thame some Part of that Vanity and Pryde, quhareunto all ar borne, bot in Princes tak depe Rute and Strent by wicked Educatioun. And of Dancing, Madame, I said, That albeit in Scripture, I find no Prayse of it, and in prophane Wryters, that it is termed the Gesture rather of those that ar mad and in Phrenesie, then of sober Men; yit do I not utterly damne it, provyding that two Vyces be avoyded. The *former*, That the principall Vocation of those that use that Exercise be not neglected, for the Plesure of Dancing. *Secundly*, That they dance not, as the *Philistines* thair Fathers, for the Plesure that they tak in the Displesure of God's Peple: For if ony or both they do, as they sall receive the Reward of Dancers (and that will be to drink in Hell, unles they spedily repent) so sall God turne thair Mirth into suddane Sorow: For God will not always afflict his Peple, nether yit will he always wink at the Tyranny of Tyrannes. If ony Man, Madame, said he, will say, That I spak more, let him presently accuse me; for I think, I have not only twiched the Soum, bot the very Words as I spak thame. Many that stude by bare Witnes with him, that he had recyted the very Words that publicly he spak.

The Quene luiked about to some of the Reportars, and said, Your Words ar scharpe yneuch, as ye have spokin thame; bot yit they wer tauld to me in ane uther Maner. I know, said sche, that my Uncles and ye ar not of one Religioun; and tharefoir I cannot blame you albeit you have no gude Opinioun of thame: Bot if ye hear ony Thing of myself that mislykes yow, come to myself and tell me, and I sall hear you. Madame, quoth he, I am assured, that your Uncles ar Enemies to God, and unto his Sone Jesus Christ; and that for Maintenance of thair awn Pompe and warldly Glory, they spare not to spill the Blude of mony Innocents: And tharefore I am assured, that thair Interpryses sall have no better Successe, then uthers have had, that befoir thame have done as they do now. Bot as to your awn Personage, Madame, I wald be glaid to do all that I culd to your Graces Contentment, provyding that I exceid not the Boundes of my Vocation. I am called, Madame, to ane publict Functioun, within the Kirk of God, and am appoynted by God to rebuke the Sinnes and Vyces of all. I am not appoynted to cum to every Man in particulare, to schew him his Offence; for that Labour wer infinit. If your Grace pleis to frequent the publict Sermones, then dout I not, bot that ye sall fully understand, both quhat I lyk and quhat I mislyk, alsweill in your Majesty as in all uthers. Or, if your Grace will assigne unto me a certane Day and Hour, quhen it will pleis you to hear the Forme and Substance of Doctrine, quhilk is proponed in publict to the Kirks of this Realme, I will most glaidly awaite upoun your Graces Plesure, Tyme and Place: Bot to cum to wait upoun your Chalmer Dore or elsquhair, and then to have no farther Liberty, bot to quhisper my Mynd in your Graces Eares, or to tell you quhat uthers think and speik of yow, nether will my Conscience, nor the Vocation, quhareunto God hes callit me, suffer it: For albeit, at your Graces Comandement, I am heir now; yit can I not tell quhat uther Men sall judge of me, that at this Tyme of Day am absent from my Buke, and waitting upoun the Court. Ye will not alwayes, said sche, be at your Buke; and so turned her Back. And the said *Johne* depairted, with a reffounable mirry Countenance; quhareat some Papistes offended, said, *He is not asfayde*. Quhilk hard of him, he answered,

swered, *Quhy should the plesing Face of a Gentilwoman afray me? I have looked in the Faces of many angry Men, and yit have not bene affrayed above Measure.* And so left he the Quene and the Court, for that Tyme.

In this mean Tyme, the Negotiatioun was grit betwix the Quene of *England* and our Soverane. Letters, Curriours and Postes ran very frequent; grit Brute was thare of the Interview and Meting of the two Quenis at *York*, and some Preparatioun was maid tharefoir in both Realmes. Bot that failed upoun the Pairt of *England*, and that be Occasioun of the Trubles moved in *France* (as was alledged) quhilk caused the Quene and hir Counsaill attend upoun the south Pairts of *England*, for avoyding of Inconveniencies.

That Somer cam thare ane Ambassadour from the King of *Sueden*, requiring Mariage of our Soverane to his Maister the King. His Intertenement was honourable; bot his Petitiouns lyked our Quene nothing; for sick a Man was to bafe for hir Estate; for had not sche bene grit Quene of *France*? Fy of *Swaden*! Quhat is it? Bot happy was the Man that of sick a one was forsaken. And yit sche refused not one, far inferiour to a verteous King.

The Erle of *Levenox* and his Wife wer comitted to the Tour of *London*, for Trafique with Papistes. The young Laird of *Bar* was a Travellare in that Busines, and was apprehendit with some Letters, quhilk war the Caus of his and thair Trouble.

The Erle of *Murray* maid a privie Raid to *Hawick*, upoun the Fair-day thairof, and apprehendit fiftie Theaves, of quhilk Number wer 17 drowned; uthers wer executed in *Jedburgh*, the principalls wer brocht to *Edinburgh*, and thair suffered, according to thair Merits upoun the *Burrow* muir.

The Quene was nothing content of the Prosperity and gude Successe that God gave to the Erle of *Murray* in all his Interpryses, for sche hated his upricht dealing, and the Image of God that evidently did appear into him; bot at that Tyme sche could not weill have bene served without him.

The Assembly of the Kirk at Midsummer the 24th of *June* anno 1562, approached, in the quhilk wer manie notable Heads entreated concerning gude Ordour to be kept in the Kirk, for the Papistes, and the Idolatry of the Quene began to trouble the former gude Ordour; some Ministers, lyk as Mr. *Jobne Scharpe*, had left thair Charges, and entred into uther Vocationes, more profitable for the Bellie, against quhom wer Acts maid, althoch to this Day they have not bene put in Execution.

The Tenour of the Supplicatioun red in oppin Audience, and approved by the hole Assembly to be presented to the Quenes Majesty, was this.

To the Quenes Majestie, and hir most honorable Privie Counsaill, The Superintendents and Ministers of the Evangell of Jesus Christ within this Realme, togidder with the Comissionars of the hole Kirks, desyre Grace and Peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Spirit of rychteous Judgement.

HAVING in Mynd that fearfull Sentence, pronounced by the Eternall God, against the Watchmen that see the Sworde of God's Punischment approche, and do not in plane Words forewarne the Peple, yea, the Princes and Rewlars that they may repent, we cannot bot signifie unto your Hienes and Counsaill, that the State of this Realme is sick for this present, that un-

les Redrefs and Remedie be shortly provyded, that God's Hand cannot long spair in his Angre, to stryke the Head and the Taill; the inobedient Prince and sinfull Peple: For as God is unchangeable and trew, so most he punish in these our Dayes, the grevous Sinnes quhilk befor we reid, he hes punished in all Ages, efter that he hes long called for Repentance, and none is schawn. And that your Grace and Counsell may understand quhat be the Things we desyre to be reformed, we will begin at that quhilk we assuredly know to be the Fontane and Spring of all uther Evills that now abound in this Realme, *to wit*, That Idoll and Bastard Service of God, the Mefs, the Fontane, we call it, of all Impietie, not only becaus manie tak Bauldnes to Sin, by reasone of that Opinioun quhilk they have conceived of that Idoll, *to wit*, That by the Vertew of it they get Remissioun of thair Sinnes, bot also becaus that under the Culor of the Mefs, ar Hoores, Adulterars, Drunkards, Blasphemars of God, of his holie Word and Sacraments, and sick uther manifest Malefactours, mainteyned and defended; for let any Mefs-fayer or earnest Manteyner thair of be deprehended in any of the forenamed Crymes, na Executioun can be had, for all is done in Hatrent of his Religioun, and so ar wicked Men permitted to live wickedlie, clocked and defended by that odious Idoll. Bot supposing that the Mefs wer Occasioun of na sick Evills, yet in the self it is so odious in God's Presens, that we cannot ceas with all Instance to desyre the removing of the same, alsweill from your self as from all uthers within this Realme; tacking Heavin and Eirth, yea, and your awn Conscience to record, that the obstinat Manteynance of that Idoll, fall in the End be to you, Destruction of Saull and Body.

If your Majesty demand, Quhy that now we ar more earnest then we have bene heirtofore? We answer (our former Silence no wayes excused) becaus we find us frustrat of our Hope and Expectatioun; quhilk was, That in Proesse of Tyme your Graces Hart sould have bene mollified, so far, as that ye wald have hard the publick Doctrine taught within this Realme; by the quhilk, our farther Hope was, that God's Halie Spirit sould so have moved your Hairt, that ye wald have suffered your Religioun (quhilk before God is nothing bot Abhominatioun and Vanitie) to have bene tryed by the trew Tuich-stane, the written Word of God; and that your Grace finding it to have no Ground nor Foundatioun in the same, suld have gevin that Glory unto God: That ye wald have pretered his Treuth unto your awn preconceived vane Opinioun, of quhat Antiquitie that ever it hes bene. Quhareof we in a Pairt now discharged, can no longer keape Silence, unles we wald mak our selfis criminall befor God of your Blude, perisching in your awn Iniquitie; for we planely admonishe you of the Dangers to cum.

The secound that we requyre, is, Punischment of horibill Vices, sick as ar Adultery, Fornicatioun, oppin Horedome, Blasphemy, Contempt of God, of his Word and Sacraments; quhilks in this Realme, for lack of Punischment, do even now sa abound, that Sin is reputed to be no Sin. And thairfore, as that we see the present Signes of God's Wrayth now manifestly appear, so do we forewarne, that he will stryke, or it be long, if his Law without Punischment be permitted thus manifestly to be contemned. If any object, That Punischments cannot be commanded to be executed without a Parliament; we answer, That the eternall God in his Parliament hes pronounced Death to be the Punischment for Adulterie, and for Blasphemie. Quhose Acts if ye put not to Executioun (seing that Kings ar but his Lieutenents, having no
Power

Power to give Lyfe, quhare he comandis Death) as that he will repute you, and all uthers that foster Vice, Patrons of Impietie, so will he not faill to punish you for neglecting of his Judgements.

Our thrid Request concernes the Pure, quho be of thre Sorts. The pure Laborars of the Ground, the pure desolate Beggars, Orphelins, Widowes and Strangers; and the pure Ministers of Christ Jeius his holie Evangell, quhilk all ar so cruelly entreated by this last pretended Ordour takin for Sustentatioun of Ministers, that thair letter Miery far surmounteth the former; for now the pure Laborars of the Ground ar so opressed by the Cruelty of those that pay thair Thrid, that thay for the most Pairt advance upon the Pure, quhatsoever they pay to the Quene, or to any uther. As for the very indigent and pure, to quhom God comandes a Sustentatioun to be provyded of the Teyndes, they ar so despyled, that it is a wonder that the Sone giveth Lycht and Heat unto the Earth, quhare God's Name is so frequently called upoun, and no Mercy (according to his Commandements) schawin to his Creatures. And as for the Ministers, thair Livings ar so appoynted, that the most Pairt sall live bot a Beggars Lyfe: And all cumeth of that Impiety, that the ydle Bellics of Christs Enemies, mon be fed in thair former Delicacy. We dar not conceill from your Grace and Honours our Conscience, quhilk is this, That neyther by the Law of God, neyther yet by any just Law of Man, is any Thing dew unto thame, quho now most cruelly do exact of the Pure and Riche, the two Pairs of thair Benefices, as they call thame. And thairfore we most humilly requyre, That some uther Ordour be takin with thame, nor that they be set up agane to impyre above the Peple of God, eyther yet above any Subject within this Realme; for we fear that sick Uirpation to thair formare State, be nether in the End pleasing to thame-selves, nor profitable to thame that wald place thame in that Tyrany. If any think that a competent Living is to be assigned to thame, we repugne not, provyded that the Labourars of the Ground be not oppressed, the Pure be not utterly neglected, and the Ministers of the Word so sharply entreated as now they ar. And fynalie, That those ydle Bellics, quho by Law can crave nothing, sall confess, that they receave thair Sustentatioun, not of Debt, bot as of Benevolence. Our humble Request is thairfore, That some suddane Ordour may be takin, that the pure Labourars may find some Relief, and that in every Parochin some Portioun of the Teynds may be assigned to the Sustentatioun of the Pure within the same: And lykwyse that sum publick Releif may be provyded for the Pure within Broughis, that Collectors may be appoynted to gather; and that schairp Countes may be takin, allweill of thair Receat, as of thair Delyverance. The farther Consideratioun to be had to our Ministers, we sum Pairt remitt to your Wisdomes, and unto thair particular Complaints.

Our fourt Petitioun is for the Manse-yairds and Gleibs justly appertaining to the Ministers, without the quhilk it is impossible unto thame quyetly to serve thair Charges; and thairfore we desyre that Ordour be takin thairinto without Delay.

Our fyft concernes the Inobedience of certane wicked Persones, quho not only truble, and have troubled Ministers within thair Furdiouns, bot also disobey the Superintendents in thair Visitation: Quhareof we humbly crave Remedy; quhilk we do not sa mekle for any Fear that we and our Ministers have of the Papistes, bot for the Love we bear to the comone Tranquillity.

K k k k

For

For this we cannot hyd from your Majestie and Counsaill, That if the Papists think to triumph quhare they may, and to do quhat they list, quhare thair is not a Pairtie able to resist thame, that sum will think, That the godly mon begin quhare they left, quho heirtofore have borne all Things patiently, in hope that Lawes suld have brydled the Wicked; quhareof, if they be frustrat (albeit that nothing be more odious to thame then Tumults and domesticall Discords) yet will Men tempt the uttermost, betoir that in thair awn Eyes they behold that Hous of God demolished, quhilk with Travell and Danger God hath within this Realme erected by thame.

Last, we desyre, That sick as have receaved Remissioun of thair Thriddes, be compelled to sustene the Ministeris within thair Boundes, or els we forwarne your Grace and Counsaill, that we feir, That the Peple fall retene the hole in thair Hands, untill sick Tyme as thair Ministers be sufficiently provyded. We farder desyre the Kirks to be repaired, according to an Aet sett forth by the Lords of the Secrete Counsaill, betor your Majesties Arryvall in this Cuntrey: That Juges be appoynted to hear the Causes of Divorcement; for the Kirk can no longer sustene that Burthen, especialie, becaus thair is no Punischment for the Offendars: That Sayers and Hearars of Mefs, Prophaners of the Sacraments; sick as have entered into Benefices be the Paipes Bulles, and sick uther Transgressors of the Law maid at your Graces Arryvall within this Realme, may be severely punished; for els Men will think that thair is no Treuth ment in making of sick Lawes. Farther we maist humely desyre of your Grace and Honorabill Counsaill, a resolute Answer to every ane of the Heades forewritten, that the same being knawn, we may sumquhat satisfie sick as be grevously offended at manifest Iniquity now mainteyned, at Oppressioun, under Pretext of Law, done against the Pure, and at the rebellious Disobedience of many wicked Persons against God's Word, and holy Ordinance.

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, so reull your Hairtes, and direct your Grace and Counsaills Jugements by the Dytament and Illuminatioun of his Holie Spirit, that ye may answer so, as that your Consciences may be absolved in the Presence of that rychteous Juge, the Lord Jesus; and then we dout not bot ye yourselves fall find Felicity, and this pure Realme, that lang hes bene oppressed by wicked Men, fall enjoy Tranquillitie and Rest, with the trew Knowledge of God.

These Things red in publick Assemblie, as said is, wer approved of all: And some wisched, that more Scharpnes had bene used, becaus that the Tyme so craved. Bot the Minions of the Court, and Secretary *Lethingtoun* above uthers, culd not abyde sick hard Speiking; for quhoever saw it written (said he) to a Prince, *That God wald sryke the Head and the Taill: That if Papistes did qubat they list, Men wald begin quhare they left.* Bot above all uthers that was most offensive, that the Quene was accused, as that sche wald rayse up Papists and Papistrie agane. To put that in the Peples Heades, was no les then Treason: For, Othes wer maid, that sche never ment sick Things. To quhom it was answered, That the Prophet *Esaia*s used sick Maner of speiking, and it was no doubt bot that he was weill acquainted in the Court; for it was supposed, that he was of the King's Stock. Bot howsoever it was, his Words mak manifest, that he spak to the Court and Courteours, to Judges, Ladies, Princes

Princes and Priests : And yet, says he, *The Lord fall cutt away the Head and the Taill, &c.* And so said the first Wrytar, I find that sick Phrase was once used before us. And if this offend you, that we say, *Men mon begin quhuare they lest, in case Papitis do as they do* ; we wald desyre you to teach us, not sa mekle how we fall speik, bot rather quhat we fall do, quhen our Ministers ar stricken, our Superintendents ditobeyed, and a plane Rebellioun decreed against all gude Ordour. Complene said *Letkingtoun*. Quhom to ? said the uther. To the Quenis Majesty, said the uther. How lang fall we do so ? quoth the hole. Till that ye get Remedy, said the Justice Clerk : Give me thair Names, and I fall give you Letters. If the Scheip, said one, fall complene to the Wolf, that the Wolfes and Quhelps have devoured thair Lambs, the Compleiner may stand in Danger, bot the Offendar, we fear, fall have Liberty to hunt efter his Pray. Sick Comparisones, said *Letkingtoun*, ar very unsavory : For I am assured, that the Quene will neyther erect, nor yet manteyne Papistry. Let your Assurance, said ane uther, serve yourself, bot it cannot assure us : For hir manifest Proceedingis speake the contrary. Efter sick taunting Resoning on both the Sydes, the Multitude concluded, that the Supplicatioun, as it was conceived, suld be presented, unles that the Secretary wald forme one more agreable to the present Necessity. He promised to keip the Substance of ours, bot he wald use uther Terms, and ask Things in a mair gentill Maner. The first Wrytar answered, That he served the Kirk at thair Comandement, and was contented, that in his Dictament suld Men use the Liberty that best pleased thame, provyded that he wer not compelled to subscriye to the Flattery of sick, as more regairded the Persones of Men and Women, then the simple Treuth of God. And so was this former Supplicatioun gevin to be reformed, as *Letkingtoun's* Wisdome thocht best. And in very deid he framed it so, that quhen it was delyvered, by the Superintendents of *Louthian* and *Fyfe*, and quhen that sche had red somequhat of it, sche said, *Heir ar mony fair Words, I cannot tell quhat the Hairts ar.* And so for our painted Oratory, we wer termed the nixt Name to Flatterars and Dissemblars. Bot for that Sessioun the Kirk received none uther Answer.

Schort efter the Conventioun of the Kirk, chanced that unhappy Persute, quhilk *Johne Gordoun* Laird of *Finlatar* maid upoun the Lord *Ogilvie*, quho was evill hurt, and almost yit abydes mutilat. The Occasioun was, for certane Lands and Rychts, quhilk auld *Finlatar* had resigned to the said Lord, quhilk he was persewing, and was in Appearance to obtene his Purpose : Quhareat the said *Johne* and his Servands wer offended ; and tharefore maid the said Persute, upoun a *Setterday* at Nycht, betwix nyne and ten. The Freinds of the said Lord wer eyther not with him, or els not willing to fight that Nycht, for they tuke Straiks, bot gave few that left Marks.

The said *Johne* was tane, and put in the Tolbuyth, quhare he remained certane Days, and then brack his Ward, some judged, at his Father's Comandement ; for he was making Preparatioun for the Quenis cuming to the North, as we will efter heir.

The Interview and Meting of the two Quenis, delayed till the nixt Yeir, our Soverane ruke Purpose to visit the North, and departed from *Stirling* in the Monthe of *August*.

Quhither thare was ony secret Paction and Confederacy betwix the Papistes in the South, and the Erle of *Huntlie* and his Papistes in the North ; or, to speik more planely, betwix the Quene herself and *Huntlie*, we cannot

certainely affirme : Bot the Suspiciouns war wonderous vehement, that thare was no gude Will borne to the Erle of *Murray*, nor yit to sikk as depended upoun him at that Tyme. The Hyſtorie we ſall faythfully declare, and ſo leave the Judgment frie to the Readars.

That *Johne Gordoun* brak his Warde, we have already hard ; quho immediatly thairefter, repaired to his Father *George*, then Erle of *Huntlie* ; and understanding the Quenis cuming, maid grit Proviſioun in *Strabogie*, and in uther Partes, as it wer to reſſave the Quene.

At *Abirdein* the Quein and Court remaned certane Days, to deliberat upoun the Effaires of the Cuntrey ; quhare ſome began to ſmell, that the Erle of *Huntlie* was under gathering, as heirefter ſall be declaired.

Quhill Things wer ſo working in the North, the Erle *Bothwell* bruck his Waird, and cam furth of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, the 28th of *Auguſt*. Some ſay, He brack the Stancheours of the Windo ; uthers quhiſperit, That he gat eaſie Paſſage by the Yettis. One Thing is certane, to wit, the Quene was lytle offended at his eſcaipping. Thare paſſed with him a Servand of the Capitanes, named *James Porterfeild*. The ſaid Erle ſchewit himſelf not veray afrayed, for his comone Reſidence was in *Louthane*. The Biſhop of Sanct *Androis*, and Abbot of *Croſragwell* kepit ſecret Conventioun that ſam Tyme in *Puſlay*, to quhom reſorted dyverſe Papiftes ; yea, the ſaid Biſhop ſpak the Duke, unto quhom alſo cam the Lord *Gordoun* from the Erle of *Huntlie*, requyring him, *To put to his Hands in the South, as he ſould do in the North ; and ſo it ſould not be Knox's Crying nor Preiching that ſuld ſtay that Purpoſe*. The Biſhop, be he never ſo cloſe, culd not altogidder hyde his Mynde, bot at his awn Table, ſaid, *The Quene hes gone into the North belyk to ſeik Diſobedience : Sche may perchance find the Thing ſche ſeiks*. It was constantly affirmed, That the Erle of *Bothwell* and the ſaid Lord *Gordoun* ſpak togidder ; bot of thair Purpoſe we hard no Mentioun.

That ſam Yeir, and at that inſtant Tyme, wer appoynted Commiſſiounars by the Generall Aſſembly to *Carrick* and *Cunninghame*, Mr. *George Hey*, quho with grit Frute preached the Space of a Month in the Kirks of *Carrick*. To *Kyle* and to the Pairts of *Galloway*, was appoynted *Johne Knox*, quho, beſyd the Doctrine of the Evangell ſchawin to the comoun Peple, forewarned ſome of the Nobility and Barounes of the Dangers that he feared, and that wer appearing ſchortly to follow ; and exhorted thame to put thameſelfis in ſick Ordour, as that they mycht be able to ſerve the Authority, and yit not to ſuffer the Enemies of God's Treuth to have the upper Hand. Quhareupoun a grit Pairt of the Barouns and Gentilmen of *Kyle*, *Cunninghame* and *Carrick*, profeſſing the trew Doctrine of the Evangell, aſſembled at *Air* ; and efter Exhortatioun maid, and Conference had, ſubſcryved this Band. The Tenour quhairof follows.

WE, quhais Names ar under written, do promeis, in the Prefence of God, and in Prefence of his Son our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, That we, and every one of us, ſall and will manteyne and aſſiſt the Preaching of his holly Evangell, now of his mere Mercy, offered unto this Realme : And alſo will manteyne the Miniſters of the ſam againſt all Perſones, Power and Authority, that will oppone the ſelf to the Doctrine proponed, and by us receaved. And further, with the ſame Solemnity, we proteſt and promiſe, that every ane of us ſall aſſiſt uthers ; yea, and the hole Bodie of the Proteſtants within this Realme, in all lawfull and juſt Actiouns, againſt all Perſones :

Jones : So that quosoever fall hurt, molest or truble any of our Body, fall be reputed Enemy to the kyle, except that the Offendare will be content to submitt himself to the Judgement of the Kirk, now establisched amongst us. And this we do, as we desyre to be accepted and favoured of the Lord Jesus, and reaccompted worthis of Credite and Honellie in the Presence of the Godlie. At the Bough of Aire, the ferd Day September, the Year of God 1562. Subscryved be all thir with their Hands, as follows.

Mr. Michael Wallace

Provost of Air

James Lockhart

William Montgomery

Johne Craufurd of Wolsfoun

Johne Mure in Wole

Hew Wallace of Carnell

James Chalmer of Gathgirth

Hew Montgomery of Hesheilhead

Johne Fullartoun of Dregborne

Sir William Cunningham with my Hand,
Skledoun

Fargushill

Maister of Boyd

Johann Lockhart of Barr

William Cunningham of Capringtoun yor.

Robert Ker of Carlland

Robert Craufurd

David Craufurd

William Cunningham

Charles Campbell Burges of Air

James Dalrymple of Stayre

Mungo Mure

James Reid

James Kennedie Burges of Air

George Lockhart Burges there

Robert Schaw Burges there

Johne Dunbar of Blantyre

Robert Chalmer of Martuein

Robert Hunter of Hunterstoun

Robert Rankin

Archibald Boyle

Alexander Nysbet

James Lockhart

William Stewart of Halrig

Hector Dunbar of Clouftang

James Campbell of Houthley

Adam Cathcart of Bardarot

George Reid of Chapelbous

Hew Wallace of the Meanfurd

With mony uther Gentilmen of Worth and Burgesfes.

Glencairne

R. Boyd

R. Failfurd

Matthew Campbell of Lowdon Knicht

Allane Lord Cathcart

Johne Cunnigbame of Capringtoun

Cunninghamebeid

Uchiltrie

George Craufurd of Lesnoriefs

Johne Mure of Rowallane

Hew Cunningham of Watterstoun

Robert Cunningham

Akynbar-ye

Myddiltoun

Johne Wallace of Cragie

Johne Boyd of Narstoun

Robert Campbell of Kingzeancleuch

Gilbert Eales

Thomas Cathcarte with my Hand,

Allane Cathcart of Clawance

Adam Reyd of Barskyng

Johne Cathcart of Gibisyard

Johne Reid with my Hand

Johne

Robert Boyd of Pemont

William Campbell of Horscleuch

William Cathcart Brother to the Lord
Cathcart

Johne Mackquidail

George Corry of Kelwood

William Kennydie of Ternganoth

Johne Kennydie of Kirkmichaell

Thomas Mackalexander of Corseclais

Robert Campbell of Craydow

Andro Neven of Monkredden

William Cathcart

David Craufurd of the Kers

Johne Kennydie of Ternganothe

Patrick Kennydie of Daljaroch

Allane Cathcart of Carloun.

These Things done at *Air*, the said *Jhone* passed to *Netbisdaill* and *Galloway*, quhare in Conference with the Master of *Maxwell*, a Man of grit Judgment and Experience, he communicat with him sick Things as he feared; quho by his Morioun wrot to the Erle *Bothwell*, to behave himself as becam a faythfull Subject, and to kepe gude Quyetnes in the Partes committed to his Charge, and so wald his Cryme of brecking the Ward be mor easily pardoned. *Jhone Knox* wrot unto the Dukes Grace, and earnestly exhorted him, neyther to give Ear to the Bischope his Bastard Brother, nor yit to the Persuasions of the Erle of *Huntlie*; for if he did, he assured him, that he and his Houfs sould cum to a suddan Ruine. By sick Means wer the *South* Partes kept in a ressonabill Quyetnes during the Tyme that the Troubles war in brewing in the *North*; and yit the Bischope, and the Abbot of *Crofraguell*, did quhat in thame lay to have rayfed some Truble: For besydes the fearfull Brutes that they sparfed abroad, sometymes that the Quene was takin, sometyne that the Erle of *Murray* and all his Band war slaine, and sometyne that the Quene had gevin herself unto the Erle of *Huntlie*. Besydes sick Brutes, the Bischope, to breck the Cuntry of *Keyill*, quhare Quyetnes then was grittest, rayfed the *Crawfurds* against the *Reids*, for the Payment of the Bischops Pasch Fynes; bot that was stayed by the Labours of indifferent Men, quho favoured Peace.

The Abbot of *Crofraguell* requyred Disputatioun of *Jhone Knox*, for manteyning of the Mefs, quhilk was granted unto him, and quhilk held in *Mayboll* three Dayes. The Abbot had the Advantage that he requyred, *to wit*, he tuke upon him to prove, that *Melchizedeck* offered Bread and Wine unto God, quhilk was the Ground that the Mefs was builded upoun to be a Sacrifice, &c. Bot in the Travell of thre Dayis thare culd no Profe be produced for *Melchizedecks* Oblatioun, as in the sam Disputatioun (quhilk is to be had in Print) cleirly may appear. The Papists constantlie loked for a Wolter, and tharefor they wald mak som Brag of Ressoning. The Abbot farther presented himself to the Pulpitt, bot the Voce of Mr. *George Hay* so effrayed him, that efter once he weryed of that Exercise.

After that the Quene was somquhat satisfied with Hunting, and uther Pastyme, sche cam to *Abirdene*, quhair the Erle of *Huntlie* met hir and his Laddie, with no small Trayne, remained in Court, was suposed to have the grittest Credit, departed with the Quene to *Buquhane*, met hir agane at *Rothe-may*, loking that sche sould have passed with him to *Strathbogie*; bot in the Jorney certane Word cam to hir, that *Jhone Gordoun* had brokin Promis, in not re-entring in Ward; for his Father, the Erle, had promised that he suld enter agane within the Castel of *Striveling*, and thare abyde the Quenes Plefour: Bot quhither, with his Father's Knowledge and Consent, or without the same, we know not, bot he refused to enter, quhilk so offended the Quene, that sche wald not go to *Strathbogie*, bot passed throw *Straithyla* to *Innerness*, quhair the Castel thareof was denied unto hir. The Captane was commanded to keap it, and loked for Releif; for so had *Jhone Gordoun* promised: Bot being thareof frustrat, the Castel was randred, and the Captane, named *Gordoun*, was executed; the rest wer damned, and the Hands of some bund, bot escaiped.

This was the Beginning of farther Truble; for the Earl of *Huntlie* thereat offended, began to assembl his Folks, and spaired not to speik that he wald be revenged. Bot alwayis his Wyfe bair fair Countenance to the Quene; and

it is verelie suposed, that no uther Harme than the Quene herself culd easilie have stand content with, was ment unto hir awn Persone. Bot the hole Malice lay upoun the Erle of *Murray*, Secretarie *Lethingtoun*, and upoun the Laird of *Petarro*; yit the Quene began to be effrayed, and by Proclamatioun caused wairn *Sturveling*, *Fyfe*, *Angus*, *Mernis* and *Strathkarne*, charge all substantiall Men to be in *Aberdein* the fyft Day of *October*, thare to remane the Space of twenty Dayis. In hir returning from *Inverness* sche requyred the Castel of *Finlatur*, quhilk was likways denyed, and so was *Achindoun*, quhilk mor enflamed the Quene. The Erle of *Huntlie* was charged to caus deliver the saids Houses under the Pane of Tresson. To schaw some Obedience, he caused the Keyis of both to be presented by his Servand Mr. *Thomas Keir*; bot befor had the Quene sent young Captane *Stewart* (Son to Captane *James*, quho to this Day hes nether bene stout, hapie, nor trew) with sexscoir of Soldeors, to ly about the said Place of *Finlatur*; they lodged in *Culane*, not far distant from the said Place. Upoun a Nicht *Jhone Gordone* cam with a Cumpany of Horsemen, toke the Captane, slew certane of the Soldeors, and disarmed the rest. This Fact done (as the Quene alledged) under Traist, so inflammed hir, that all Hope of Reconciliatioun was past; and so the said Erle of *Huntlie* was charged, under Pain of putting of him to the Horne, to present himself and the said *Jhone* befor the Quene and Counsaill within six Dayis, quhilk Charge he disobeyed, and so was denounced Rebell. Quither it was Law or not, we dispute little thareuntill, bot it was a Preparative to uthers, that efter wer served with the sam Measor: He was socht at his Place of *Strathbogie*, but escaip- ed. The Evill incressed; for the Erle assembled his Folks out of all Partes of the *North*; he marched forwards toward *Aberdene*, and upoun the Twenty second Day of *October*, the Yeir of God 1562, cam to the Loch of *Skein*. His Armie was judged to be sevin or aucht hundredth Men. The Quenes Armie, both in Number and Manheid, far surmounted his, and yit he ruke no Feir; for he was assured of the most Part of thame that wer with the Quene, as the Ilichew did witnes. Within the Toun they stode in grit Feir; and tharefor it was concludit, that thay wald assayl the uttermost upon the Feilds. The *Forbesses*, *Heyes*, and *Lessies* tuke the Vangaird, and promised to ficht the said Erle without ony uther Help. They passed forth of the Toun befor ten Hours; they pat thamefelfis in Array, but they approched not to the Enemie till that the Erle of *Murray* and his Cumpany wer cum to the Feilds, and that was efter Two at Ester-none; for he was apoynted with his Cumpany, onlie to have behaldin the Battell. Bot all Things turned utherwayes than the most Part of Men suposed. The Erle of *Huntlie* was the Nicht before determined to have retyred himself and his Cumpany: Bot that Morning he culd not be wakened befor it was ten Hours, and quhen he was upon Fute, his Spirits failed him, be Reson of his Corpolencie, so that richtly a long Tyme he culd do nothing. Some of his Friends, seiring the Danger, left him. Quhen that he loked upon both the Companies he said, *This grit Cumpany that approbeth nearest unto us, will do us no Harme, they are our Friends; I only fear yonder small Companie that stands upoun the Hill-syde, yon ar our Enemies; bot we ar ynew for thame, if God be with us.* And quhen he had thus spokin, he fell upon his Knees, and maid his Prayer in this Forme. *O Lord, I have bene a Blude-thirsty Man, and be my means hes mekle innocent Blude bene spilt; but wilt thou give me Victory this Day, and I sall serve the all the Days of my Lyfe.* Note and observe, gude Reader, he confessed that he had bene

a *Blude-thirsty Man*, and that he had bene the Cause of the schedding of mokie *innocent Blude*, bot yit wald he have had Victory; and quhat was that els, bot to have had Power to have sched more, and then wald he have satisfied God for altogidder? Quhairin is exprest the Nature of Hypocrites, quhilk nether feir nor love God farther than present Danger or Profite suadeth. But to our History.

The *Lesties*, *Heyes*, and *Forbesses* espying the Erle of *Murray* and his to be lighted upon thair Fete, maid forward against the Erle of *Huntlie* and his, quho stude in *Corrochie Burne*, (some call it *Furabank*) bot or they approched neir by the Space of the Schott of ane Arrow, they cast from thame thair Spearis and long Weapons, and fled directly in the Faces of the Erle of *Murray* and his Cumpany. The Danger espyed, the Laird of *Petarro* (a Man both stout and of a reddy Witt) with the Maister, now Lord *Lindesay*, and Tutor of *Pitcurr*, said, *Lett us cast down Speares to the foremost, and lett thame not cum in among us; for thare is no Doubt bot this flying is hy Treasoun*: And so they did; so that they that fled keapit thamefelfis apart from the few Number that war marching upon Fute in Ordour. The Erle of *Huntlie* seing the Vane-gaird flee, said unto his Cumpany, *Our Freindis ar honest Men, they have keapit Promise; let us now rancounter the rest*; and so he and his, as sure of Victory, marched forward.

The Secretary in few Words maid a vehement Orisoun, and willed every Man to call upon his God, to remember his Dewty, and not to feir the Multitude; and in the End concludit thus, *O Lord, throw that rewles the Hevin and Earth, loke upon thy Servands, quhose Blude this Day is most unjustly socht, and to Manis Jugment is sauld and betrayed. Our Refuge is now unto thee, and our Hope is in thee. Judge throw, O Lord, this Day betwixt us and the Erle of Huntlie, and the rest of our Enemies; if ever we have unjustly socht his or thair Destruction and Blude, let us fall in the Edge of the Sword. And, O Lord, if thou knowest our Innocencie, mantein thou and preserve us for thy gritt Mercies Sake*.

Schort efter the speiking of these and the lyik Words the former Ranks joyned; for *Huntlies* Cumpany maid gritt Haist; they were repulsed be the Maister of *Lindesay*, and the Companies of *Fyfe* and *Angus*: Some of thame that fled returned, and followed the Erle of *Murray*, but gave na Straikes till that *Huntlies* Cumpany gave back. In the Front thare war slain about eighteen or twenty four Men, and in the flying thare fell neir ane hundredth; thare was takin ane hundredth, and the rest war spaired. The Erle himself was takin alive, his twa Sonis, *Jhone* forsaide, and *Adame Gordon*, wer takin with him. The Erle immediatly after his talking depairted this Lyif, without ony Wound, or yit Appeirance of ony Straik, quhair of Death mycht have enfewed; and so, becaus it was lait, he was cast over athort a Pair of Creilles, and so was caried to *Aberdene*, and was layd in the Tolboyth thareof, that the Respons quhilk his Wyifs Witches had gevin mycht be fulfilled, quha all affirmed, (as the most Pairt say) that that same Nycht sould he be in the Tolboyth of *Aberdene*, without ony Wound upon his Body. Quhen his Lady gat Knowledge theirot, sche blaimit hir principall Witch, called *Jonet*; bot sche stoutly defendit hirself, (as the Devill can evir do) and affirmed, that sche gave a trew Answer, albeit sche spack not all the Treuth; for sche knew that he sould be thare dead: Bot that culd not profit my Lady, sche was angry and sorry for a Seasoun. Bot the Devill, the Mess, and Witches have

have als gritt Credit of hir this Day, the 12th of Junii 1566, as they had seven Yeirs ago.

The Erle of *Murray* send Messlage unto the Quene, of the marvelous Victorie; and humelie prayed hir to schaw that Obedience to God, as publietly to convene with thame, to give Thanks unto God for his notable Delyverance. Sche gloumed both at the Messinger, and at the Requeist, and scarfe-lie wald give a gude Word, or blyth Countenance to any that sche knew earnest Favorars of the Erle of *Murray*, quhosè Prosperitie was, and yit is a very Vennome to hir boldened Hart, against him for his Godlines and upricht Plainnes. Of many Days sche bare no better Countenance; quhareby it mycht have bene evidently espyed, That sche rejoyced not gritlie of the Succes of that Mater; and albeit sche causèd execute *Johnne Gordoun*, and dyvers uthers, yet it was the Destruction of uthers that sche socht.

Upoun the Morrow efter the Discomfiture, the Ladie *Forbes*, a Woman both wyse, and fearing God, cam amongst many uthers to visit the Corps of the said Erle; and seing him ly upoun the cold Stones, having onlie upoun him a Dowblet of Canves, a pair of *Scottis* gray Hoifs, and covered with ane Araf-s-wark; Sche said, *Quhat Stabilitie sall we jage to be in this World? Thair lyeth he that Yisterday in the Morning was baldin the wyfess, the richest, and a Man of grittest Power that was within Scotland.* And in very deid scho lied not; for in Man's Opinioun, under a Prince, thair was not sick a ane thir three hundreth Yeirs in this Realme produced: Bot Felicity and worldly Wisdom so blinded him, that in the End he perished in thame, as fall all those that despyse God, and trust in thameselves.

Johnne Gordoun, at his Death, confessed many horribill Things, devysed be his Father, by his Brother, and by himself. Thair war Letters fund in the Erles Pockat, that disclosed the Treasoun of the Erle of *Sutherland*, and of dyvers uthers. Mr. *Thomas Keir*, quho before was the hole Counsaillor to the Erle foirsaid, disclosed quhatsoever he understode mycht hurt the *Gordons* and thair Freinds, and so was the Treasoun planely disclosed; quhilk was, That the Erle of *Murray*, with certane uthers, suld have bene murdered in *Strabogie*; the Quene suld have bene tane, and kept at the Devotioun of the said Erle of *Huntlie*. These Things, we say, reveiled, the Quene left the North, and cam to *Dundee*, St. *Johnestoun*, *Striveling*, and then to *Edinburgh*. The Erle of *Huntlie's* Body was caryed about in a Bote, and layed without Buryal in the Abbey of *Halyrudehous*, till the Day of his Foirfaulture, as efter fall be declared. The Duke apprehendit the Lord *Gordoun* his Sone in law, because that the Quene had straitlie comandit him so to do, if he repaired within his Bounds. Before he delivered him, the Erle of *Murray* laboured at the Quenes Hand for the Savety of his Lyfe, quhilk hardly was granted; and so was he delyvered within the Castell of *Edinburgh*, the 28. Day of *Novembre* 1562, quhare he remaned till the 8th of *Februaire*; quhen he was put to ane Assylè, accused and conviet of Treasoun; bot was restored agane, first, to the Castell foirsaid, and thairefter was transported to *Dumbar*, quhare he remainit Prisoner till the Moneth of *August*, in the Yeir of God 1565 Yeirs, as we will efter hear.

In this mean Tyme the Trubles war hott in *France*, and the Intelligence and outward Familiarity betwix the two Quenes was grit; *Lettingtoun* was direct with large Commissioun, both to the Quene of *England*, and to the *Spanes*.

The Mariage of our Quene was in all Mens Mouths; some wald have *Spain*, some the Emperors Brother, some Lord *Robert Dudlie*, some Duke *Denemours*, and some unhappiely gessed at the Lord *Dernlie*.

Quhat *Lethingtoun's* Credit was, we know not; bot schort efter thair began mekle to be talked of the Erle of *Levenox*, and of his Sone the Lord *Dernelie*. It was said that *Lethingtoun* spack the Lady *Margaret Douglas*, and that *Robert Melvil* receaved ane Hors to the Secretaries Use fra the Erle of *Levenox*, or from his Wyfe. Howsoever it was, Mr. *Fowlare* Servand to the said Erle, cam with Letters to the Quenes Grace, by the quhilks, Licence was permitted to the Erle of *Levenox* to cum to *Scotland*, to travell in his lawfull Busines. That same Day that the said Licence was granted, the Secretary said, This Day I have takin the deadly Hatrent of all the *Hamiltounes* within *Scotland*, and have done unto thame no less Displefor, then if I had cutted thair Throttis. The Erle *Bothwell*, quho befor had brokin Waird, fearing Apprehensioun, prepared to pas to *France*; bot by Storme of Wether was driven into *England*, quhere he was stayed, and was offered to have bene rendred by the Quene of *England*: Bot our Quenes Answer was, *That he was no Rebelle, and thairfore sche requested that he suld have Libertie to pass quhair he pleased.* And thairto *Lethingtoun* helped not a lyttle, for he travelled to have Freinds in every Factioun of the Court. And so obteyned the said Erle Licence to pass to *France*.

The Winter efter the Death of the Erle of *Huntlie*, the Court remained for the maist Part at *Edinburgh*. The Precheours wer wonderous vehement in Reprehensioun of all maner of Vice, quhilke then began to abound; and specialie Avarice, Oppressioun of the Pure, Excesse, ryatous Cheir, Banqueting, imoderat Dauncing, and Huredome, that thair of ensfewes. Quhareat the Courteours began to storme, and to pyke Quarrells against the Precheors, alleging that all thair Preiching was turned to Railling; quhareunto one of thame gave Answer as followeth. It cumes to our Eares that we ar called Raillers, quhareof albeit we wonder, yet we ar not eschamed, seing that the most worthy Servands of God that befor us have travelled in this Vocatioun, have so bene styled: Bot unto you do I say, That that same God, quho from the Begining hes punisched the Contempt of his Word, and hes poured furth his Vengeance upoun sick proud Mockars, fall not spair you; yea, he fall not spair you befor the Eyes of this same wicked Generatioun, for the Plesour quhareof ye despyse all holesome Admonitioun. Have ye not sene ane gritter then any of you sitting quhare presently ye sitt, pyck his Nailles, and pull down his Bonnatt over his Eyes, quhen Idolatrie, Witchcraft, Murther, Oppressioun, and sick Vices, wer rebuiked? Was not his comone Talk, quhen the Knaves have railled thair fill, then will they hald thair Peace? Have ye not hard it affirmed to his awn Face, that God sould revenge that his Blasphemy, evin in the Eyes of sick as wer Witnessees to his Iniquitie?

Then was the Erle of *Huntlie* accused by you, as the Maintener of Idolatry, and the only Hinderar of all gude Ordour; him hes God punisched, evin according to the Threatnings that his and your Eares hard, and by your Hands hes God executed his Jugements: Bot quhat Amendement in any cais can be espyed in you? Idolatry was never in gritter rest, Vertew and vertewous Men wer never in more Contempt; Vyce was never more bauld, nor less feared Punischment. And yit quho gwydes the Quene and Court?

Quho

Quho bot the Protestants. O horribill Slanderars of God, and of his holy Evangell ! Better it wer unto you, planely to renunce Christ Jesus, then thus to expone his blessed Evangell to Mockage. If God punish not you, That this same Age fall behold and see your Punishment, the Spirit of rychteous Jugement guydes me not.

This Vehemency provoked the Hatred, not only of the Courtours, bot also of dyvers uthers against the Speaker, quhilk was *Jobne Knox* ; for sick as be in Credit, never lack Flatterars. *Their Brethren of the Court wer irreverentlie handled.* Quhat was that, bot to rayse the Harts of the Peple against thame ; they did quhat they mycht. Sick speiking wald caus thame do les. And this was the Frute that the Precheors gathered of thair just Reprehensions.

The Generall Assembly of the Kirk haldin the 25th of *December 1562*, approached. In the quhilk, grit Complaints wer maid, that Kirks lacked Ministers ; That Ministers lacked thair Stipends ; That wicked Men wer permitted to be Scule-maisters, and so to infect the Youth : Amongis quhom one Mr. *Robert Camin* Scule-maister in *Abirbrothock*, was complained upoun be the Laird of *Dun*, and Sentence pronounced against him. It was farther complained, That Idolatrie was erected in dyvers Pairs of this Realme : For Redresse quhareof, some thocht best, that new Supplication sould be presented to the Quenes Grace ; uthers demandit, quhat Answer was receaved of the former. The Superintendent of *Louthane* confessit the Delyverance of it ; bot, said he, I receaved no Answer. It was answerit for the Part of the Quene, (for hir Supposts wer evir thare) that it was well knowin to the hole Realme, quhat Trubles had occurred since the last Assembly ; and thairfore, that they sould not wonder, albeit the Quene had not answered, bot betwix that and the Parliament, quhilk was appointit to be in *May*, they douted not bot that sick Ordour sould be takin, as all Men sould have Occasion to stand content. This satisfyed for that Tyme the hole Assembly. And this was the Practise of the Quene, and of hir Counsaill, with fair Words to dryve Tyme, as befoir we have said.

The Assembly notwithstanding proceedit foreward in establisching of sick Ordour, as quhareby Vyce mycht be punished, and Vertew mycht be main-teneyned ; and becaus that thair was a grit Slander ryfen upoun *Paul Messane*, of quhom mentioun is maid in the Seconde Buke of this Historie, Comissiou and Charge was gevin to *Jobne Knox* Minister of *Edinburgh*, and unto cerrane of the Eldars of the Kirk of *Edinburgh*, to pas to the Toun of *Jedburgh*, quhair the said Sclander was rayfed, and to be found thair, the thrid of *Januar* nixt, for the Tryall to be tane in the Sclander raised, and to heir the Articles and Complaint of the said *Paull* : And efter the Tryall, to report the Treuth to the Sessiou of the Kirk of *Edinburgh* ; to quhom with the Assistance of the Superintendent of *Louthane*, Comissiou was gevin to decerne thairuntill. The Tryall and Examinatioun of that Cryme was difficill, the Sclander was universall in that Toun and Cuntrey ; the Servand Woman of the said *Paull* had betwix Termes left his Houss, sche had borne a Chylde, no Father to it culd sche find, bot alleged himself to have bene oppressed lair in ane Evening ; the said *Paull* constantly affirmed himself innocent, and wald have gevin his publick Purgatioun ; bot becaus his Accusators had takin upoun thame to prove thair Accusatioun that was denyed ; many Witnesses wer produced, of

quhom some deponed so cleirly, that the Comissioners suspected that they had bene suborned, and thairfore they requyred to have Inspectioun of the Places, quhare some said they saw, and some said they hard thame in the very Act of Iniquity. The Sight and Consideratioun of the Place augmented gritly the Suspicioun; bot one Thing was most suspicious of all uthers, for the Wyfe of the said *Paull*, ane ancient Matrone, was absent from him the Space of eight or nyne Weikes in *Dundee*; quhilk Tyme (or at least a gritt Pairt thairof) the suspected, and he lay nychtly in one Houss without uther Company then a Child of seven or eight Yeirs of Age. The Juges, notwithstanding these Suspiciouns, having a gude Opinioun of the Honesty and Godlines of the Man, travelled quhat they culd (Conscience not hurt) to purge him of the Sclander: Bot God, quho wald not that sick Vilanie shold be clocked and conceiled within his Kirk, utherwayes had decreed, for he brocht the Brother of the gilty Woman to the Toun, having no Mynd of sick Maters, quho being produced be the Accusators, as one that was privy to the Fact, and knew the Verity with all Circumstances; this Witnes, we say, quhilk culd not be suspect, being produced, maid the Mater so plane and cleir, that all Suspicioun was removed; for he it was that convoyed the Woman away, he it was that caused the Child to be baptised, alleging it to be his awin; he it was that caryed frequent Messages betwene thame, and from *Paull* caryed Money and Claythes dyvers Tymes. How sone that ever the said *Paull* saw that Man produced, as Witnes, he withdrew himself and left the Toun, by that Meane planely tacking upoun him the Cryme; and so the Comissioners with full Informatioun returned to *Edinburgh*, and notified the Fact unto the Kirk, quho caused publictly summond the said *Paull* to hear the Sentence pronounced; quho not compering in the End, for his odious Cryme and Contumacy, was publictly excommunicated, and was depryved of all Functioun within the Kirk of *Scotland*, and so left he the Realme.

For two Causes we insert this horribill Fact, and the Ordour keapit in the Punishment of the same; former to forewarne sick as travell in that Vocation; that according to the Admonitioun of the Apostle, *Sick as stand, tack head lest they fall*. No Man in the begining of the Evangell, was juged more fervent and more uprycht; and yit we have hard how far Sathane hes prevailed against him. God grant that we may heir of his Repentance. Neyther yit aucht his Fall any Thing to prejuger the Authority of the Doctrine quhilk he taught, for the Doctrine of God hath Authority of no Creature, bot hes the Assurance of God himself, how weak or imperfect that ever the Instruments be by quhom it pleases God to publish the same. The Treason of *Judas*, the Adultery of *David*, and the Abnegatioun of *Peter* did derogate nothing to the Glory of Christs Evangell, nor yit to the Doctrine quhilk before they had taucht; bot declared the one to be a Reprobat, and the uther to be Instruments in quhom Mercy must neids surmount Jugement. The uther Cause is, That the Warld may see quhat Difference thair is betwix Lycht and Darknes, betwix the Uprychtnes of the Kirk of God, and the Corruptioun that regnis in the Synagoge of Sathan, the Papisticall Rable; for how many of that Sort have bene, and still remane oppinly knawin Hurmengers, Adulterars, Violaters of Virgines, yea, and comittaris of sick Abominatiouns as we will not name; and yit ar they called and permitted to be Bischops, Archebischopes, Cardinalls and Paipes thame selves: For quhat Sinnes can unable the sworne Servands of *Symonie*, and of his Father the Devil?

vill? For brag quhat they list of Christ, of *Peter*, and of *Paull*, their Lyves and Conversatiouns bear Witnes to quhome they belong. Bot we retorne to our History of Things done in Court.

Amongs the Menions of the Court, thare was one named *Monsieur Chattelet*, a *Frenche* Man, that at that Tyme passed all uthers in Credit with the Quene; in dancing of the *Purpose* (so terme they that Daunce, in the quhilk Man and Woman talketh secretly; wise Men wuld judge sick Fassiouns more lyk the Bordell, then to the Cumlines of honest Women.) In this Daunce, the Quene chosed *Chattelet* and *Chattelet* tuk the Quene, for he had the best Dreß. All this Winter *Chattelet* was so familiare in the Quenis Cabinet, air and lait, that scarcely culd ony of the Nobility have Access unto hir. The Quene wald ly upoun *Chattelet*'s Shoulder, and sometyme privily wald steall a Kiss of his Neck: And all this was honest yneuch; for it was the gentil Entreatment of a Stranger. Bot the Familiarity was so grit, that upoun a Nycht, he privilly did convoy himself under the Quenis Bed; bot being espyed, he was comanded away. Bot the Brute arysing, the Quene called the Erle of *Murray*, and bursting furth in a womanly Affection, charged him, *That as he loved hir, he suld slay Chattelet, and let him never speik a Word.* The uther at the first maid Promise so to do; bot efter calling to Mynd the Judgements of God pronounced against the Scheders of innocent Blude, and also that none sould die, without the Testimony of two or three Witnesses, returned, and fell upoun his Knees befor the Quene, and said, *Madam, I besek your Grace, caus not me tak the Blude of this Man upoun me; your Grace bes entreated him so familiarly befor, that ye have offendit all your Nobility; and now if he fall be secretly slain, at your awn Comandement, quhat sall the Warld judge of it? I sall bring him to the Presence of Justice, and let him suffer be Law, according to his Deserving.* O, said the Quene, *ye will never let him speik?* I sall do, said he, *Madam, quhat in me lyeth to save your Honour.* Pure *Chattelet* was brocht back from *Kinghorne* to *Sanct Androis*, examinat, put to ane Assyse, and so beheadit the 22d. of *Februar* 1562. He begged Licens to wryt to *France* the Caus of his Deith, quhilk, said he, in his Tounge was, *Pour estre troisve en lieu trope suspect; that is, Becaus I was fund in a Place to much suspect.* At the Place of Executioun, quhen he saw, that thare was no Remedy bot Deith, he maid a godly Confessioun, and granted, That his declyning from the Trueth of God, and following of Vanity and Impiety, was justly recompensed upoun him. Bot in the End he concludit, luing unto the Hevins, with these Words, *O cruelle Dame!* that is, *cruell Maistres!* Quhat that Complaint imported, Lovers may divine. And so receaved *Chattelet* the Rewaird of his Dauncing; for he lacked his Head, that his Tounge sould not utter the Secrets of our Quein. *Delyver us, O Lord, from the Rage of sick inordinat Rewlars.*

The Yeir of God 1563, thare was ane univerfall Dearth in all *Scotland*; bot in the Northland, quhare the Harvest befor the Quein had travellit, thare was ane extreme Famine, in the quhilk many died in that Cuntrey. The Dearth was grit over all; bot the Famine was principally thare. The Bow of Quheit gave six Pundis, the Bow of Beir six Merks and ane Half, the Bow of Meill four Merks, the Bow of Aits fifty Schillings; ane Ox to draw in the Pleuch 20 Merks, a Wodder 30 Schillings. And so all Things appertaining to the Sustentatioun of Man, in tripil and more exceidit thair accustomed

med Pryces. And so did God, according to the Threatning of his Law, punish the Idolatry of our wicked Quene, and our Ingratitude, that suffered hir to defyle the Land with that Abominatioun agane, that God so potently had purged, by the Power of this Word. For the ryatous Feasting, and excessive Banquetting, used in Court and Countrey, quharefoever that wicked Woman repaired, provoked God to stryke the Stafe of Bread, and to give his Maledictioun upoun the Frutes of the Earth. Bot O allace ! quho looked or yit luikes to the very Caus of all Calamities.

Lethingtoun was absent, as befoir we have hard, in the Quenis Effaires. The Papiests at that *Pasch*, anno 1563. in dyvers Pairts of the Realme, had erected that Idole the Mefs. Amongst quhom the Bischope of Sanct *Androis*, the Prior of *Quibithorne*, with dyvers uthers of thair Factioun, wald avow it. Besydes the first Proclamatioun, thare had Letters past in the contrare, with Certificatioun of Death to the Contraveiner.

The Brethren univerfally offendit, and espying that the Quene, by hir Proclamatioun, did bot mock thame, determined to put to thair awn Hands, and to punishe for Example of uthers : And so some Preistes in the *Westland* wer apprehended. Intimatioun maid unto uthers, as unto the Abbot of *Groceragnell*, the Parfone of *Sanguhair*, and sick, that they sould neyther complene to Quein nor Counsaill, bot sould execute the Punisshment, that God hes appoynted to Idolaters in his Law, by sick Meanes as they mycht, quhairever they sould be apprehendit.

The Quene stormed at sick Freedom of speiking, but sche culd not amend it ; for the Spirit of God, of Boldnes and of Wisdome, had not then left the most Pairt of sick as God had maid Instruments in the Beginning : They wer of one Mynd to mantein the Truths of God, and to suppres Idolatry ; Particularities had not devyded thame : And thairfoir culd not the Devill, working in the Quein and in Papiests, do then quhat they wald : And thairfoir sche began to invent a new Craft. Sche send for *Jhone Knox* to cum unto hir, quhair sche lay at *Lochlevin*. Sche travelled with him earnestly two Hours befoir hir Supper, that he wald be the Instrument to perswaid the Peple, and principallie the Gentilmen of the *West*, not to put Handis to punissh ony Man for the using of thamefelfis in thair Religioun as pleased thame. The uther perceaving hir Craft, willed hir Grace to punissh Malefactors according to the Lawis, and he durst promis Quytnefs upon the Pairt of all thame that professed the Lord Jesus within *Scotland*. But if hir Majesty thocht to delude the Lawis, he said, he feired that some wald the Papiests understand, that without Punisshment they sould not be suffered so manifestly to offend God's Majesty. Will ye, quoth sche, allow, that they fall tak my Sword in thair Handis ? The Sword of Justice, quoth he, Madam, is God's, and is gevin to Princes and Rewlars for ane End, quhilk, if they transgres, spairing the Wicked and oppressing the Innocents, they that in the Feir of God execute Jugment, quhair God has commandit, offendis not God, althoch Kings do it not ; nyther yit syne they that brydillis Kings to stryck innocent Men in thair Rage. The Examples ar evident ; for *Samuel* feired not to slay *Agag*, the fatt and delicat King of *Amalek*, quhom King *Saull* had saved : Nyther spaired *Elias* *Jesabel's* fals Prophets, and *Baal's* Preists, albeit that King *Abah* was present. *Phineas* was no Magistrat, and yit feired he not to stryck *Cosbie* and *Zimbrie* in the very Act of filthy Fornicatioun. And so, Madam, your Grace may sie that uthers than chief Magistrates may lawfully punissh,

and

and hes punished the Vices and Crymis that God commandis to be punished; And in this Cais I wald ernesly pray your Majesty to tak gude Advysiment, and that your Grace sould let the Papists understand, that thair Attemptis will not be suffered unpunished: For Power be Act of Parliament is gevin to all Juges within thair awin Boundis, to search Mesmongers, or the Hearars of the sam, and to punish thame according to the Laws: And thairfor it sall be profitabill to your Majesty, to consider quhat is the Thing your Grace's Subjects luiks to receave of your Majesty, and quhat it is that ye aucht to do unto thame by mutuall Contract. They ar bound to obey you, and that not bot in God. Ye ar bound to keip Lawis unto thame. Ye crave of thame Service; they crave of you Protection and Defence against wicked Doars. Now, Madam, if you sall deny your Dewty unto thame, (quhilk especialy craves, that ye punish Malefactors) think ye to receave full Obedience of thame? I feir, Madam, ye sall not. Heirwith sche being somequhat offended, past to hir Supper. The said *Jhone* left hir, informed the Erle of *Murray* of the hole reasoning, and so departed of finall Purpois to have returnit to *Edinburghe*, without ony farther Communicatioun with the Quein: Bot befor the Sone, upon the Morne, wer two directed (*Walter Melvill* was the one) to him, commanding him not to depairt quhill that he spack the Queins Majesty, quhilk he did, and met hir at the hawcking be west *Kinross*. Quhither it was the Nichts Sleip, or a deap Dissimulation locked in hir Breast, that maid hir to forget hir former Angre, wyis Men may dout, bot thairfor sche nevir moved Word, bot began divers uther Purposes; sick as the offering of a Ring to hir by the Lord *Ruthven*, quhom, said sche, I cannot love; for I know him to use Enchantment, and yit is he maid one of my Privie Counsaill. Quhom blameth your Grace, said the uther, thareof? *Lettingtoun*, said sche, was the haill Caus. That Man is absent, said he, for this present Madam; and thairfor I will speik nothing in that Behalf. I understand, said the Quein, that ye ar appoynted to go to *Dumfries*, for the Electioun of a Superintendent to be established in these Cuntrys. Yes, said he, those Quarters have gritt Nede, and some of the Gentilmen so requyre. Bot I heir, said sche, that the Bischop of *Cathenis* wald be Superintendent. He is one, said the uther, Madam, that is put in Electioun. If ye knew him, said sche, als weal as I do, ye wald nevir promote him to that Office, nor yit to ony uther within your Kirk. Quhat he hes bein, said he, Madam, I nyther know, nor yit will I inquire; for in Tyme of Darknes quhat culd we do bot grope and go wrong, evin as Darknes caryed us? Bot if he feir not God now, he deceaves mony ma than me; and yit, said he, Madam, I am assured God will not suffer his Kirk to be so far deceived, as that ane unworthy Man sall be elected quhair fre Electioun is, and the Sperit of God is ernesly called upoun to decyde betwix the two. Weall, sayis sche, do as ye will; but that Man is a dangerous Man. And thairuntill was not the Quein deceived; for he had corrupted the most Pairt of the Gentilmen, not only to nominat him, but also to elect him; quhilk perceaved be the said *Jhone*, Commissioner, delayed the Electioun, and left with the Master of *Maxwell*, Mr. *Robert Pont*, (quho was put in Electioun with the foirsaid Bischop) to the End that his Doctrin and Conversatioun might be the better tryed of those that had not knawin him befor. And so was the Bischop frustrat of his Purpois for that present: And yit was he at that Tyme the Man that was most familiar with the said *Jhone* in his Hous, and at Tabill. Bot now to the former Conference. Quhen the

Quein had long talked with *Jhone Knox*, and he being oft willing to tak his Leave, sche said, I have one of the greatest Maters that have twiched me since I cam in this Realme, to oppin unto you, and I man have your Help into it. And sche began to mak a long Discours of hir Sister the Lady *Ergyll*, how that sche was not so circumspect in all Things as that sche wisched hir to be; and yit, said sche, my Lord hir Husband, quhom I love, entreatis hir not in mony Thingis so honestly and so godly, as I think ye yourself wald requyre. Madam, said he, I have beine troublit with that Mater befor, and anis I put sick ane End to it, (and that was befor your Grace Arryvaill) that both sche and hir Freinds seemed fully to stand content. And sche herself promissit befor hir Freinds, that sche sould never complane to Creature, till that I sould first understand the Controversie be hir awin Mouth, or els be ane assured Messinger. I now have hard nothing of hir Pairt; and tharefor I think thare is nothing bot Concord. Weill, said the Quein, it is worse than ye beleve. Bot do this mekle for my Saik, as anis agane to put thame at Unitie, and if sche behave not herself so as sche aucht to do, sche sall find no Favours of me: Bot, in ony wayes, said sche, let not my Lord know, that I have requested you in this Mater; for I wald be very sorry to offend him in that or in ony uther Thing. And now, said sche, as twitching our ressoning yisternycht, I promis to do as ye requyrit; I sall caus sumon all Offenders, and ye sall know that I sall minister Justice. I am assurit then, said he, that ye sall pleis God, and injoy Rest and Tranquillity within your Reame; quhilk to your Majesty is mor profitable than all the Paipes Power can be. And thus they departit.

This Conference we have insertet, to let the World sie how deiply *Marie* Quein of *Scotland* can dissemble. And how that sche could caus Men to think that sche bare na Indignatioun, for ony Contraversie in Religioun, quhill that yit in hir Hairt was nothing bot Venome and Destruction, as schort efter did appeir.

Johne Knox departed, and prepaired himself for his Journey, oppoynted to *Dumfresse*. And from *Glasgow*, according to the Quenis Comandment, he wrote this Letter to the Erle of *Ergyll*. The Tenour quhareof follows.

The Lord cummeth and sall not tarie.

EFter Comendatioun of my Services unto your Lordship: If I had knawn of your Lordship's suddane Departing, the last Tyme it chanced me to sie and speik yow, I had opinned unto yow some Pairt of my Greif: Bot supposing that your Lordship sould have remained still with the Quenis Grace; I delayed at that Tyme to utter ony Pairt of that, quhilk now my Conscience compelleth me to do. Your Behaviour toward your Wyfe is very offensive unto mony Godly. Hir complaint is greavous, that ye altogidder withdraw the Use of your Body from hir. If so be, ye have grit Neid to luik weill to your awn Estait; for albeit that ye within yourself felt no more Repugnance, then ony Fleisch this Day on Earth, yit by Promeis, maid befor God, ar ye Dettor unto hir, as ressonably ye sall be requyred of hir. Bot if that ye burne on the one Syde (albeit ye do no worse) and sche in your Default on the uther, ye ar not only mensworne before God, bot also doeth quhat in yow lyeth, to kendle against yourself his Wrath and heavy Displeasure.

These

These Words ar schairp, and God is Witnes, that in Dolour of Hairt I wrytt thame: Bot becaus they ar trew, and pronounced by God himself, I dar not bot admonisch yow, perceaving yow as it wer sleping in Syne. The proud Stubbornness, quhareof your Lordschip hes oft complained, will nothing excusè yow befor God. For if ye be not able to convict hir of ony Cryme, ye aucht to bear with uther Imperfectiones, as that ye wald that sche tould bear with yow, in the lyke. In the Bowells of Christ Jesus, I exhort yow, my Lord, to have Respect to your awn Salvatioun, and not to abuse the Lenity and Long-suffering of God: For it is a feirfull Treasur, that ye heap upoun your awn Head, quhill that he calleth yow to Repentance, and yow obstinately continew in your awn Impiety; for Impiety it is, that ye abstract your Comfort and Company, from your lawfull Wyfe. I wryt nothing in Defence of hir Misbehavior toward your Lordschip in any sort. But I say, If ye be not able to convict hir of Adultery comitted since your last Reconsiliatioun, quhillk was in my Presence, that ye can never be excused before God, of this fremmit and strange Entreatment of your Wyfe. And if by yow sick Impiety be comitted, as is bruted, then befor God and unto your awn Conscience, I say, That every Moment of that filthy Pleasur, fall turne to yow in a Year's Displeasur; yea, it fall be the Occasioun and Caus of everlasting Damnatioun, unless spedily ye repent. And repent ye cannot, except that ye desist from that Impiety. Call to Mynd, my Lord, *That the Servand knowing the Will of his Lord, and doing the contrary fall be plagued with mony Plagues.* Sinne, my Lord, is swete in drinking, bot indigesting more bitter then the Galle. The Eternall move your Hairt earnestly to consider, how fearfull a Thing it is ever to have God to be ane Enemy. In the End, I most hartly pray your Lordschip, not to be absent from *Edinburgh*, the 19th of this Instant, for sick Causes, as I will not wryt. This mekle onely I forewarne your Lordschip, that it will not be profitable for the comone Quyetnes of this Realme, that the Papists brag, and that Justice be mocked that Day. And thus I cease farther to trouble your Lordschip, quhom God assist.

In haist from *Glasgow*, the 7th Maii 1563.

Your Lordschip's to comand in Godlines.

Sic subscribitur,

JOHNE KNOX.

This Bill was not weill accepted of the said Erle; and yit did he utter no Pairt of his Displeasur in publick, bot contrarily schewit himself most familiar with the said *Johne*. He kept the Dyet, and satt in Judgement himself, quhare the Bischope, and the rest of the Papistes wer accused, as efter follows.

The Summonds wer directed against the Mes-mongers with Expedition, and in the straitest Forme. The Day was appoynted, the 19th of May, a Day only befor the Parliament. Of the Paipes Knyghtes compeired, the Bischope of *Sanct Androis*, the Pryor of *Quithorne*, the Parson of *Sanquhare*, *William Haumiltoun* of *Camskeith*, *Johne Gordoun* of *Barskioch*, with uthers dyvers. The Protestants convened hole, to crave for Justice. The Quene asked Counsaill of the Bischope of *Ross*, and of the auld Laird of *Lethington* (for the younger was absent, and so the Protestants had the fewar Unfreinds) quho affirmed, *That sche must see hir Laws kept, or els sche wald git no Obedience.* And sa was

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Preparatioun

Preparatioun maid for thair Accusatioun. The Bischope and his Band of the exempted Sort, maid it nyce to enter befoir the Erle of *Argyll*, quho sat in Judgement; bot at last he was compellit to enter within the Bar. A mirry Man (quho now sleipes in the Lord) *Robert Norwell*, instead of the Bischop's Croce, bure before him a Steall Hammer; quhareat the Bischope and his Band was not a lytle offended, becaus the Bischop's Privileges wer not then current in *Scotland* (quhilk Day God grant our Posterity may sie of longer Continewance, then we possessed it.) The Bischope and his Fellows, efter mekle ado, and long Drift of Tyme, cam in the Quenis Will, and wer committed to Waird, some to one Place, and some to ane uther. The Lady *Erskine* (a mete Morfell for the Devil's Mouth) gat the Bischope for hir Pairt. All this was done of a most deap Craft, to abuse the Simplicity of the Protestants, that they sould not prease the Quene, with any uther Thing concerning Maters of Religioun.

At that Parliament, quhilk began within two Dayes thairefter, sche obtained of the Protestants quhatsoever sche desyred. For this was the Ressoun of mony, *We sie quhat the Quene hes done, the lyke of this was never hard of within this Realme; we will bear with the Quene, we dout not bot all fall be weill.* Uthers wer of a contrary Judgement, and forspak Things, as efter they cam to pas, to wit, that nothing was ment bot Deceit; and that the Quene, how sone that ever the Parliament wer past, suld set the Papiests at Fredome: And tharefoir willed the Nobility not to be abused. Bot becaus mony had thair private Comodity to be handled at that Parliament, the comone Caus was the les regairded.

The Erle of *Huntlie*, quhose Corps had lyen unburyed till that Tyme, it was brocht to the Towlbuyth: He was accused, his Armes rent off; himself the Erle of *Southerland*, and elevin Barones and Lairds, being *Gordoun* to Surname, wer that Day forefalted. The Lady *Huntlie* craftilly protested, and asked the Support of a Man of Law. In that Parliament wer restorit the Laird of *Grange* in *Fyfe*, Mr. *Henrie Balnaveis*, *Johne Leslie* and *Alexander Whytlaw*.

Sick stinking Pryde of Women, as was sene at that Parliament, was never sene befoir in *Scotland*. Three sundry Days, the Quene raid to the Towlbuyth. The first Day sche maid a painted Oratioun; and thare mycht have bene hard amongst hir Flatterars, *vox Diana*, *The Voice of a Goddes* (for it could not be *Dei*) and not of a Woman. God save that swete Face. *Was thare ever Oratour spack so properly, and so sweetly, &c.*

All Things mislyked the Precheors; they spack baldly against the targatting of thair Taills, and against the rest of thair Vanity; quhilk they affirmed sould provock God's Vengeance, not only against those folisch Wemen, bot against the hole Realme; and especially against those that manteyned thame in that odious abusing of Things that mycht have bene better bestowed. Artickles wer presented for Ordour to be takin for Apparell, and for the Reformatioun of uther Enormities, bot all was scripped at.

The Erledome of *Murray* neided Confirmatioun, and many Things wer to be ratified that concerned the Help of Freinds and Servands; and tharefore they mycht not urge the Quene, for if they so did, sche wald hald no Parliament; and quhat then suld become of thame that had melled with the Slauchter of the Erle of *Huntley*, let that Parliament pas over; and quhen the Quene sall ask any Thing of the Nobility, as sche must do befoir hir Marriage; then sould the Religion be the first Thing that sall be establisched. It was answered, That the Poets and Paynters erred not altogidder, that fained
and

and painted *Occasioun* with a beld Hind-head: For the first, quhen it is offered, being lost, is hard to be recovered agane. The Mater fell so hote betwix the Erle of *Murray* and some uthers of the Court, and *Johne Knox*, that familiarly efter that Tyme, they spack not togidder more then a Yeir and ane half; for the said *Johne* by his Letter gave a Discharge to the said Erle of all farther Intromissioun or Care with his *Effaires*. He made unto him a Discurse of thair first Acquaintance, in quhat Estate he was, quhen that first they spack togidder in *London*, how God had promoted him, and that above Mannis Jugement, and in the End made this Conclusioun: Bot seing that I perceave my self frustrat of my Expectatioun, quhilk was, That ye suld ever have preferred God to your awn Affection, and the Advancement of his Treuth to your singulare Comoditie, I comitt you to your awn Witt, and to the conducting of those quho better can please you. I praise my God, I leave you this Day Victor of your Enemies, promoted to grit Honour, and in Credit and Authority with your Soverane. If so ye long continew, none within the Realme fall be more glad then I fall be. Bot if that efter this, ye fall decay, (as I fear ye fall) then call to Mynd, by quhat Meanes God exalted you; quhilk was neyther by bearing with Impiety; neyther yit by mainteyning of pestilent Papists.

This Bill and Discharge was so pleasing to the Flatterars of the said Erle, that they triumphed of it, and wer glade to have gottin thair *Occasioun*; for some envyed, that so grit Familiarity was betwix the said Erle and *Johne Knox*; and tharefore fra the Tyme they gat once that *Occasioun* to separat thame, they cealed not to cast Oyle in the burning Flamme, quhilk ceased not to burne, till that God by Water of Affliction began to stockin it, as we fall efter heir. Bot lest that they sould altogidder have bene sene to have forsakin God (as in very deid, both God and his Word was far from the Harts of the most Pairt of the Courteors in that Age, a few excepted) they began a new Schiff, *to wit*, to speik of the Punishment of Adultery, of Witchcraft, and to seik the Restitutioun of the Gleibs and Manfes to the Ministers of the Kirk, and of the Reparatioun of the Kirks; and thareby they thocht to have pleased the godly that wer hiely offended at thair Slacknes.

The Act of Oblivioun passed, becaus some of the Lords had Interest; bot the Acts against Adultery, and for the Manfes and Gleibs, wer so modified, that no Law, and sick a Law mycht stand *in eodem predicamento*; to speik plane, no Law, and sick Acts wer both alyke: The Acts ar in Print, let wyse Men read, and then accuse us, if without caus we complene.

In the Progress of this Corruptioun, and before the Parliament was dissolved, *Johne Knox* in his Sermon before the maist Part of the Nobility began to enter in a depe Discurse of God's Mercies quhilk that Realme had felt, and of that Ingratitude quhilk he espyed almost in the hole Multitude, quhilk God had marvelously delyvered from the Bondage and Tyranny both of Body and Saull. And now, my Lords, said he, I prays my God, throw Jesus Christ, that in your awn Presence I may pour furth the Sorowes of my Hart; yea, your selves fall be Witness if that I fall mak any Lie in Things that ar bypast frome the beginning of God's mychty working within this Realme. I have bene with you in your maist desperat Tentatiouns. Ask your awin Consciences, and let thame answer you before God, if that I (not I bot God's Spirit by me) in your grittest Extremity willed you not ever to depend upoun your God, and in his Name promised unto you Victory and Preservation

from your Enemies, so that ye wald only depend upoun his Protectioun, and prefer his Glory to your awin Lyves and warldly Comodity; in your maist extreme Dangers I have bene with you; Sanct *Johne*stoun, *Couper-mure*, and the Crages of *Edinburgh*, ar yet recent in my Hart; yea, that dark and dolorous Nycht quharein all ye my Lords with Schame and Fear left this Toun, is yit in my Mynd, and God forbid that ever I forgett it. Quhat was, I say, my Exhortatioun to you, and quhat is fallin in vane of all that ever God promised unto you by my Mouth, ye your selves yit live to testifie. Thair is not one of you against quhome was Death and Destruction threatned, perished in that Danger; and how many of your Enemies hes God plagued before your Eyes; fall this be the Thankfulness that ye fall rander unto your God? To betray his Causis quhen ye have it in your awin Hands, to establisch it as ye pleis? The Quene say ye will not agree with us; ask ye of hir that quhilk by God's Word ye may justly requyre, and if sche will not agree with you in God, ye ar not bound to agree with hir in the Devill; let hir planely understand so far of your Myndes, and steall not from your former Stoutnes in God, and he fall prosper you in your Enterpryses: Bot I can sie nothing bot sick a reculing from Christ Jesus, as the Man that first and most spedily flyeth from Christ's Ensenzie, haldeth himself most happy; yea, I heir some say, That we have nothing of our Religioun establisched nether by Law or Parliament; albeit the malicious Words of sick can nether hurt the Treuth of God, nor yit us that thairupoun depend; yit the Speakar for his Treasone against God comitted, and against this pure Comone-welthe, deserves the Gallous; for our Religioun being comanded, and so establisched by God, is accepted within this Realme in publiet Parliament. And if they will say, that was no Parliament, we mon, and will say, and also prove, that that Parliament was als lawfull as ever any that passed before it within this Realme. Yea, if the King then living was King, and the Quene now in this Realme be lawfull Quene, that Parliament cannot be denied.

And now, my Lords, to put End to all, I hear of the Quenes Mariage, Dukes, Brethren to Emperors, and Kings stryve all for the best Gaine; bot this, my Lords, will, I say, (note the Day, and bear Witnes efter) quhensoever the Nobility of *Scotland* professing the Lord Jesus, consents that ane Infidell (and all Papists ar Infidels) fall be Head to our Soverane, ye do, so far as in you lyeth, to banisch Christ Jesus from this Realme; ye bring God's Vengeance upoun the Cuntrey, a Plague upoun your selves, and perchance ye fall do small Comfort to your Soverane.

These Words, and this Maner speiking was judged intolerabill, Papists and Protestantis wer both offendit; yea, his most Familiars distained him for that speiking. *Placeboes* and *Flaterers* posted to the Court to give Advertysement, that *Knox* had spokin aganst the Queins Mariage. The Provost of *Glencluden*, *Douglass* of *Dumlanrig* by Sirman, wes the Man that gave the Charge, that the said *Jhone* sould present himself befor the Quene, quhilk he did soon efter Denar. The Lord *Uchiltrie*, and divers of Faythfull bair him Company to the Abbey, bot non past in to the Quene with him in the Cabinet, bot *Jhone Erskin* of *Dun*, then Superintendent of *Angus* and *Mearnis*. The Quene in a vehement Fume, began to cry out, That nevir Prince was handilled as sche was. I have, said sche, borne with you in all your rigorous Maner of speiking, both against myself and against my Unkles; yea, I have socht your Favor by all possibill Means; I offered unto you Presens and Audience quhensoever

vir it pleastit you to admonish me, and yit I cannot be quyte of you. I vow to God I shall be once revenged. And with these Words scarcely could *Mar-nock*, his secret Chalmerboy, get Napkins to hold his Eyes dry for the Tears. And the owling, beside womanly Weeping, stayed his Speech. The said *Jhone* did patiently abide all the first Fume, and at Opportunity answered.

Trew it is, Madam, your Grace and I have bene at divers Controversies, into the quhilk I never perceived your Grace to be offendit at me. Bot quhen it shall please God to deliver you frae that Bondage of Darknes and Errour in the whiche ye have bene nourished, for the Lack of trew Doctrin, your Majesty will fynd the Liberty of my Tounge nothing offensive. Without the preaching Place, Madam, I think few have Occasioun to be offendit at me; and thare, Madam, I am not Master of myself, bot man obey him quho comands me to speik plane, and to flater no Flesh upon the Face of the Earth.

Bot quhat have yow to do, said she, with my Mariage? If it pleis your Majesty, said he, patiently to heir me, I shall shew the Treuth in plane Words. I grant your Grace offered unto me mor than evir I required; bot my Answer was then, as it is now, that God hath not sent me to await upoun the Courts of Princes, or upoun the Chalmers of Ladies; bot I am sent to preach the Evangell of Jesus Christ to sick as pleis to heir it; and it hath two Partis, *Repentance* and *Faith*. Now, Madam, in preaching Repentance, of Necessity it is that the Syns of Men be so noted, that they may know quhairin they offend. Bot so it is, that the most Pairt of your Nobility ar so addicted to your Affections, that nyther God's Word, nor yit thair Comon-welthe ar rightly regairded; and tharefor it becoms me so to speik that they may know thair Dewty. Quhat have ye to do, said she, with my Mariage? Or quhat ar ye in this Comon welth? A Subject borne within the sam, said he, Madam. And albeit I be nyther Erle, Lord, nor Barron within it, yit hes God maid me (how abject that ever I be in your Eyes) a profitabill Member within the sam: Yea, Madam, to me it apperteins no les to forwairn of sick Things as may hurt it, if I forsie thame, than it doth to ony of the Nobility; for both my Vocation and Conscience craves Planeness of me. And tharefor, Madam, to yourself I say that quhilk I spake in publick Place. Quhensoever that the Nobility of this Realme shall consent, that ye be subject to an unfaythfull Husband, they do als mekle, as in thame lyeth to renunce Christ, to banish his Treuth from thame, to betray the Freedom of this Realme, and perchance fall in the End do small Comfort to yourself. At these Words owling was hard, and Teirs mycht have been sene in gritter Abundance than the Mater requyred. *Jhone Erskine* of *Dun*, a Man of meik and gentill Spirit, stude beside, and entreated quhat he could to mitigat his Anger, and gave unto his mony pleasing Words of his Bewty, of his Excellency, and how that all the Princes of *Europe* wald be glad to seik his Favour. Bot all that was to cast Oyle in the flaming Fyre. The said *Jhone* stude still without ony Alteratioun of Cuntenance for a long Season, untill that the Quene gave Place to sick inordinat Passioun; and in the End he said, Madam, in God's Presens I speik, I never delyted in the weeping of ony of God's Creaturs; yea, I can scarcely abide the Teirs of my awin Boys, quhom my awin Hand corrects, mekle les can I rejoyce in your Majestys weeping: Bot seing that I have offered you no just Occasioun to be offendit, bot have spokin the Treuth, as my Vocation craves of me, I man sustein (albeit unwillingly) your Majesty's Teirs, rather than I dar hurt my Conscience, or betray my Comon-welthe, throw my Sylince.

Heirwith was the Quene more offendit, and comandit the said *Jhone* to pas furth of the Cabinet, and to abyde farther of hir Plessour in the Chalmer. The Laird of *Dun* taryed, and Lord *Jhone* of *Coldinghame* cam into the Cabinet; and so they both remained with hir neir the Spaice of ane Hour. The said *Johne* stude in the Chalmer as one quhom Men had nevir sein, (so wer all affrayed) except that the Lord *Uchiltrie* bair him Cumpany; and tharefor began he to forge talking with the Ladies quho wer thare sitting in all thair gorgeous Apparell, quhilk espyed, he merily said, *O fair Ladies, how plesing was this Lyfe of yours, if it sould evir abyde, and then in the End that we mycht pas to Hevin with all this gay Gear? Bot sie upon that Knave Death, that will come quhidder we will or not, and quhen he hes laid on his Areist, the foull Wormes will be busie with this Flesch, be it nevir so fair and so tender; And the silly Saull, I fear, sall be so feabill, that it can nyther cary with it Gold, Garnisching, Targating, Pearll, nor precious Stones.* And by sick Means procurd he Cumpany of Women, and so past the Tyme till that the Laird of *Dun* willed him to depart to his Hous with new Advertisement. The Quene wald have had the Censément of the Lords of Artikles, if that sick Maner of speiking deservit not Punischment; bot sche was counsailld to desist. And so that Storme quyetit in Appearance, bot nevir in the Hart.

Schort efter the Parliament, *Lethingtoun* returned from his Negotiatioun in *England* and *France*. God in the *February* befor had stricken that bludy Tyrane the Duke of *Guise*, quhilk somquhat brak the Fard of our Quene for a Season. Bot schort efter the returning of *Lethingtoun*, Pryd and Malice began to schew thameselfis agane. Sche set at Liberty the Bischop of *St. Andrews*, and the rest of the Papists that befor wer put in Prisoun for violating of the Lawes. *Lethingtoun* at his returning schew himself not a little offended, that ony Brute sould have risen of the Quenes Mariage with the King of *Spain*; for he tuke upon him that sick Thing never entred in hir Hart: Bot how trew that was, we sall efter heir. The End of all his Acquittance and Complaint was to discredit *Johne Knox*, quho had affirmed, that sick a Mariage was both proponed, and upon the Pairt of our Quene by the Cardinall accepted. *Lethingtoun* in his Absence had run into ane very evill Brute among the Nobility, for to mekill serving the Quenes Affections aganst the Comon-welth; and tharefor had he, as one that lacketh no worldly Wisdom, maid Provisioun both in *England* and *Scotland*: For in *England* he travellit for the Freedom of the Erle *Bothwell*, and be that Meane obteneid Promeis of his Favor. He had thare also takin Ordor for the hamecuming of the Erle of *Levenox*, as we sall efter heir. In *Scotland* he joyned with the Erle of *Atholl*, him he promoted, and set forward in Court, and so began the Erle of *Murray* to be defaced; and yit to the said Erle, *Lethingtoun* at all Tymes schewit a fair Cuntenance.

The rest of that Sumer the Quene spent in hir Progres through the west Cuntrey, quhare in all Touns and Gentillmens Plaices sche had hir Mess; quhilk cuming to the Ears of *Jhone Knox*, he began that Form of Prayer quhilk ordinarily he sayeth efter Thanksgiving at his Table. 1. *Deliver us, O Lord, from the Bondage of Idolatrie.* 2. *Preserve and keap us from the Tyrany of Strangers.* 3. *Contenew us in Quyetnes and Concord amongst ourselfis, if thy gude Plessour be, O Lord, for a Season, &c.* Quhilk that dyvers of the Familiars of the said *Jhone* asked of him, quhy he prayed for Quyetnes to continew for a Season, and not rather absolutly that we sould continew in Quyet;

Quyetnes? His Answer was, *That he durst not pray bot in Fayth; and Faith in God's Word assured him, that constant Quyetnes could not continew in that Realme, quhare Idolatrie had bene suppressed, and then was permitted to be erected agane.*

From the West Countrey, the Quene past in *Argyll* to the Hunting, and efter returned to *Stirling*. The Erle of *Murray*, the Lord *Robert* of *Halirudehous*, and Lord *Johne* of *Coldinghame*, past to the Northland, quhare Justice Courts wer haldin; Theives and Murthars wer punischt. Twa Witches wer brunt; the eldest was so blinded with the Devill, that sche affirmed, *That no Judge had Power over hir.*

That same Tyme Lord *Johne* of *Coldinghame* depairted this Lyfe in *Innernes*. It was affirmed, That he comandit sick as wer besyd him to say unto the Quene, *That unles sche left hir Idolatrie, that God wald not fail to plague hir.* He asked God Mercy, *That he had sa far borne with hir in hir Impiety and had mantained hir in the sam, and that no one Thing did he more regrate, then that he flattered, fostered and manteyned hir in hir Wickednes against God and his Servands.* And in very deid grit Caus had he to have lamented his Wickednes: For besydes all his uther Infirmities, he in the End, for the Quenis Plesure, becam Enemy to Vertew, and to all verteous Men, and a Patrone to Impiety to the uttermost of his Power: Yea; his Venome was so kindled against God and his Word, that in his Rage he brusht furth these Words, *Or I sie the Quenis Majesty so troubled with the Rayling of thir Knaves, I full leave the best of thame stuck in the Pulpit.* Quhat farther Vilany cam furth of baith thair stinking Throttes and Mouths Modesty will not suffer us to wryte: Quhareof if he had Grace, unfainedly to repent, it is no small Document of God's Mercies. Bot how ever God wrocht with him, the Quene regairded his Words as Wind, or els thocht thame to have bene forged by uthers, and not to have proceded from himself; and affirmed plainly, that they wer devised by the Laird of *Petaro* and Mr. *Johne Wode*, quhom sche both hated, becaus they flattered hir not in hir Dancing and uther Things. One Thing in plain Words sche spak, *That God tuke always from hir they Persones, in quhom sche had grittest Plesure; and that sche repented.* Bot of farther Wickednes no Mentioun.

Quhill the Quene lay at *Stirling*, with hir Idolatry in hir Chapell, in the Palace of *Halirudehous* wer left certane Dontibours, and uthers of the *French Menzie*, quho raised up thair Mefs, more publictly then they had done at any Tyme befor: For upoun those same *Sondayes*, that the Kirk of *Edinburgh* had the Ministratioun of the Lord's Table, the Papistes in grit Number resorted to the Abbey, to their Abhominatioun. Quhilk understude, dyvers of the Brethren, being fore offended, consulted how to redres that Enormity. And so wer appoynted certane of the most zealous, and most upricht in the Religion, to await upoun the Abbey, that they mycht note sick Persones, as resorted to the Mefs. And perceaving a grit Number to enter into the Chapell, some of the Brethren brust in also. Quhareat the Priest and the *French Dames* being afrayed, maid the Schout to be sent to the Toun. And Madame *Baylie*, Maistres to the Quenis Dountibouris (for Maidens that Court could not then weill beir) posted ane with all Diligence to the Comptroller, the Laird of *Petaro*, quho then was in Sanct *Gelis* Kirk at the Sermon; and cryed for his Assistance, to save hir Lyfe, and to save the Quenis Palace. Quho, with gritter Haill then Neid requyred, obeyed hir Desyre, and tuke with him the Provost, the Bailyeis, and a grit Pairt of the Faythfull. Bot quhen they came quhair the Fear was bruted to have bene, they fand all Things quyet, except the Tu-

mult they brocht with thamefelves, and peaceable Men luiking to the Papists, and forbidding thame to transgeis the Laws. Trew it is, a zealous Brother, named *Patrick Craunstoun*, past into the Chapell, and finding the Altar covered, and the Preist reddey to go to that Abhominatioun, said, *The Quenis Majestie is not heir, how dar thou then be so malapaint, as opinlie to do against the Laws?* No farther was done or said. And yit the Brute heirof was posted to the Quene, with sick Informatioun as the Papistes culd give; quhilk fand sick Credit, as thair Hairts could have wisched for; quhilk was so heynous a Cryme in hir Eies, that Satisfactioun for that Syne was thare none without Blude: And tharefoir without Delay wer summoned *Andro Armistrang* and *Patrick Craunstoun*, to find Surry to underly the Law, for forethocht Felony, Hamefuckin, violent Invasioun of the Quenis Palace, and for Spoliatioun of the same.

Thir Letters divulgat, and the Extremitie feared, Brethren, the few that wer within the Toun, consulted upoun the nixt Remedy; and in the End concluded, that *Johnne Knox*, to quhom the Charge was gevin to mak Advertisements, quhensoever Dangers suld appear, suld wrytt to the Brethren in all Quarters, geving Informatioun as the Mater stude, and requyring thair Assistance, quhilk he did, in Tenour as heir followis.

THE SUPERScription.

Quhairsoever two or thre ar gathred togidder in my Name, thare am I in the Middes of thame.

IT is not unknowen unto yow, deir Brethren, quhat Comfort and Tranquillity God gave unto us, in Tymes most dangerous, by our Christiane Assemblies, and godly Conferences, als oft as ony Danger appeared to ony Member or Members of our Body. And that how that since we have neglected, or at least not frequented our Conventiouns and Assemblies, the Adversaries of Christ Jesus his holy Evangell, have interprysed, and bauldened thamefelfis publictly and secretly, to do mony Things odious in God's Presence, and maist hurtfull to the Liberty of the trew Religioun, now of God's grit Favour granted unto us. The holy Sacraments ar abused by prophane Papists; Messes have bene, and yit ar, opinly said and manteined: The Blude of some of our dearest Ministers hath bene sched, without Fear of Punishment, or Correctioun craved be us. And now last ar two of our dear Brethren, *Patrick Craunstoun* and *Andro Armistrang* summoned to underly the Law, in the Tolbuyth of *Edinburgh*, the 24th of this instant *October*; For forethocht Felonie, pretended Murther, and for invading of the Quenis Majesties Palace of *Halierudehous*, with unlawfull Convocatioun, &c. This terrible Summonds is direct against our Brethren, becaus that they, with two or thre mo, passed to the Abbey upoun *Sunday*, the 15th of *August*, to behald and note quhat Persones repaired to the Mess. And that becaus upoun the *Sunday* befoir, the Quenis Grace being absent, thare resorted to that Idole a rascall Multitude, having opinly the least devilisch Ceremony (yea, even the Conjuring of thair accursed Water) that ever they had in the Tyme of grittest Blindnes. Becaus, I say, our said Brethren past, and that in maist quyet Maner, to note sick Abusars, thir fearfull Sumonds ar directed against thame, to mak no dout a Preparatioun upon a few, that a Dore may be oppinned to execut Cruelty upon a gritter Multitude. And if so it come to pase, God no dout hes justlie recompenced our former

mer Negligence and Ingratitude, toward him and his Benefites receaved in our awn Bosomes. God gave to us a most notable Victory, of his and our Enemies: He brak thair Strenth, confounded thair Counsaills, he set us at Freedom, and purgit this Realme, for the maist Pairt, of oppin Idolatry; to the End, that we, ever myndfull of so wonderfull a Delyverance, suld have keipit this Realme cleane, from sick vyle Filthines, and damnable Idolatry. Bot we alace! preferring the Plesure of Fleesch and Blude, to the Plesour and Comandement of our God, have suffered that Idole, the Mefs, publictly to be erected agane: And tharefoir, justly sufferis he us to fall in that Danger, that to luke to ane Idolater, going to his Idolatry, sall be repute a Cryme, little inferiour to Treasoun. God grant that we fall not further. And now I, quhom God hes of his Mercy maid one amonst mony, to travell in setting forward of his trew Religioun within this Realme, seing the same in Danger of Ruyne, cannot bot of Conscience crave of yow, my Brethren, of all Estatis, that have professed the Treuth, your Presence, Comfort and Assistance, at the said Day in the Toun of *Edinburghe*, even as that ye tender the Advancement of God's Glory, the Safety of your Brethren, and your awn Assurance, togidder with the Preservatioun of the Kirk in thir appearing Dangers. It may be, perchance, that Perswasions be maid in the contrary, and that ye may be informed, that eyther your Assembly is not necessar, or els that it will offend the uppir Powers; bot my gude Hope is, that nether Flattery nor Fear sall mak you so far to declyne fra Christ Jesus, as that against your publict Promise, and solemne Band, ye will leave your Brethren in sa just a Caus; and albeit thair wer no grit Danger, yet cannot our Assemblie be unprofitable, for many Things require Consultatioun, quhilks cannot be had, unles the wysest and godliest convene. And thus douting nothing of the Assistance of our God, if that we uniformly seik his Glory, I ceas farther to truble you, committing you hartlie to the Protectioun of the Eternell.

*Fra Edinburgh the 8th
of October 1563.*

JOHNE KNOX.

The Brethren advertised be this Bill, prepared thameselves, sa many as war thocht expedient for every Toun and Province, to keip the Day appoynted; bot be the Meanes of fals Brethren, the Letter cam to the Handis of the Quene, and the Maner was this. It was red in the Toun of *Air*, quhair was present *Robert Cuninghame*, styled Minister of *Faifurd*, quho then was haldin ane earnest Professor of the Evangell, quho (be quhat Meanes we know not) gat the said Letter, and send it with his Takin to Mr. *Henry Sinclair*, then President of the Sait and College of Justice, and styled Bischope of *Ross*, ane perfyte Hypocrite, and ane conjured Enemy to Christ Jesus, quhom God efter straik according to his Deservings. The said Mr. *Henry* being Enemy to all that unfainedly profess the Lord Jesus, bot cheisly to *Johne Knox*, for the Liberty of his Toun; for he had affirmed, as ever still he does affirme, that a Bischope that receaves Profite and seids not the Flock, even be his awn Laboures, is both a Theif and a Murtherar: The said Mr. *Henry*, we say, thinking himself happy, that had fund so gud Occasioun to truble him, quhose Lyfe he hated, poisted the said Letter with his Counsaill to the Quene, quho then lay in *Striviling*. The Letter being red, it was concludit be the Counsaill of the Cabinet, that is, be the most secrete Secrete Counsaill, that it

imported Treasoun. Quhereof the Quene was not a lyttle rejoyced ; for sche thocht anis to be revengit of that hir grit Enemy. It was concludit, that the Nobility sould be writtin for, that the Condemnatioun sould have the gritter Authoritie. The Day was appointed about the middes of *December*, quhilk was kept of the hole Countaill, and of dyvers uthers, sick as the Maister of *Maxwell*, the auld Laird of *Lethingtoun*, and the said President.

In the mean Tyme the Erle of *Murray* returned from the North, to quhom the Secretare *Lethingtoun* opened the Mater as best pleased him. The Maister of *Maxwell*, efter maid Lord *Herris*, gave unto the said *Johne* as it had bene a Discharge of the Familiarity (quhilk before was grit betwix thame) unles that he wald satisfie the Quene at hir awn Sight. The Answer of *Johne Knox* was, That he knew no Offence done by him to the Quenes Majesty, and thairfore he wist not quhat Satisfactioun to mak. No Offence, said he; Have ye not written Letters, desyring the Brethren from all Parts to convene to *Andrew Armistrang* and *Patrick Cranstonis* Day? That I grant, said the uther; bot tharein I acknowledge no Offence done be me. No Offence, said he, to convocat the Quenes Lieges? Not for so just a Caus, said the uther, for gritter Things wer reput no Offence within thir two Yeirs. The Tyme, said he, is now uther; for then our Soverane was absent, and now sche is present. It is nether the Absence nor the Presence of the Quene, said he, that reules my Conscience, bot God planely speking in his Word; quhat was lawfull to me the last Yeir, is yit lawfull, becaus my God is unchangeable.

Weall, said he, Maister, I have gevin you my Counsaill, do as ye list, bot I think ye sall repent it if ye bow not unto the Quene.

I understand not, said the Maister, quhat ye meane; I never maid my self ane adversare Party unto the Quenes Majesty, except in the Head of Religion, and thairuntill I think ye will not desyre me to bow.

Weall, said he, ye ar wyse yneuch; bot ye will not find that Men will bear with you in Times to cum, as they have done in Tymes bypast.

If God stand my Freind, said the uther, as I am assured he of his Mercy will, so long as I depend upoun his Promise, and prefer his Glory to my Lyfe and worldly Profite, I lytle regaird how Men behave thame selves towards me, nether yit know I quhareuntill any Man hes bene with me in Tymes past, unles it be, that of my Mouth they have hard the Word of God, quhilk in Tymes to cum, if they refuis, my Hart will be perfeit, and for a Seafone will lament; bot the Incomodity will be thair awn. And efter thir Words (quhareunto the Larde of *Lochinvar* was Witnes) they departed; bot unto this Day, the 17th *December* 1571, they never met in sick Familiarity as they had before, &c.

The Brute of the Accusatioun of *Johne Knox* being devulgat, Mr. *Johne Spens* of *Condie* Advocat, a Man of gentill Nature, and ane that professed the Doctrine of the Evangell, cam, as it wer, in secrete to *Johne Knox* to enquire the caus of that grit Brute; to quhom the said *Johne* was plane in all Things, and schew unto him the Dowbill of the Letter; quhilk hard and considered, he said, I thank my God, I cam to you with ane tearfull and sorowfull Hart, fearing that ye had done sick ane Cryme as Lawes mycht have punisched, quhilk wald have bene no small Truble to the Hart of all sick as have receavit the Word of Lyfe quhilk ye have preached; bot I depart gritly rejoyced, alsweill becaus I perceave your awn Comfort, even in

the middes of your Troubles, as that I cleirly understand, that ye have committed no sick Cryme as ye ar burdeined with; ye will be accused, said he, bot God will assist you. And so he departed.

The Erle of *Murray* and the Secretary send for the said *Johne* to the Clerk of Registers Hous, and began to lament that he had so hiely offendit the Quenes Majesty, the quhilk they feared suld cum to ane grit Inconvenience to himself, if he wer not wysly foreseene; they schew quhat Paines and Travell they had takin to mitigat hir Anger, bot they culd find nathing bot Extremity, unles that he himself wald confesse his Offence, and put him in hir Graces Will. To quhilk Heades the said *Johne* answered, as followes.

I pray my God, throuch Christ Jesus, said he, I have learned not to cry Conjuratioun and Treasoun at every Thing that the godles Multitude does condemne, nether yit to fear the Things that they fear; I have the Testimony of a gude Conscience, that I have gevin no Occasioun to the Quenes Majesty to be offended with me, for I have done nothing bot my Dewty, and so quhatsoever fall thareof ensue, my gude Hope is, that my God will give me Patience to bear it; bot to confesse ane Offense quhare my Conscience witnesseth thare is none, far be it fra me.

How can it be defendit, said *Lethingtoun*; have ye not maid Convocatioun of the Quenes Leiges? If I have not, said he, a just Defence for my Fact, let me smart for it. Let us hear, said they, your Defences: For we wald be glad that ye mycht be fund innocent. Na, said the uther, for I am informed, that by dyvers, and evin by you my Lord Secretary, that I am already condemned, and my Caus prejudged: Tharefore I mycht be reputed a Foole, if I wald mak you privy to my Defences. At those Words they seam-ed both offended; and so the Secretary departed, bot the said Erle remained still, and wald have enterit in farther Discourse of the Estait of the Court with the said *Johne*. Quho answered, my Lord, I understand more then I wald of the Effaires of the Court, and tharefore it is not neidfull that your Lordship trouble me with the recounting thareof. If ye stand in gude Cais I am content; and if ye do not, as I feir ye do not alredy, or els ye sall: not do or it be lang, blame not me: Ye have the Counsaillors quhom ye have chosen, my wake Jugement both they and ye despyed: I can do nothing bot behald the End, quhilk I pray God be uther then my trubled Haire feireth.

Within four Dayes the said *Johne* was called before the Quene and Counsaill, betwix sex and sevin Hours at Nycht; the Seasoun of the Year was the middes of *December*; the Brute ryding in the Toun, that *Johne Knox* was sent for be the Quene. The Brethren of the Toun followed in sick Number, that the inner Close was full, and all the Staires, evin to the Chalmer Dore quhare the Quene and Counsaill satt, quho had bene reasoning among thame-selves before, bot had not fully satisfyed the Secretaries Mynd. And so was the Quene retyred to hir Cabinet, and the Lords wer talking ilk one with another, as Occasioun served. Bot upoun the Entry of *Johne Knox* they wer comandit to tak thair Places, and so they did, sitting as Counsaillors one against another.

The Duke, according to his Dignity, began the one Syde, upoun the uther Syde satt the Erle of *Ergyle*, and consequently followed the Erle of *Murray*, the Erle of *Glencairne*, the Erle *Merckell*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the commune Officiars, *Petarro* then Comptroller, the Justice Clerk, Mr. *Johne Spens*

of *Condie* Advocatt, and dyvers uthers stude by; removit from the Table, fat auld *Lethingtoun* Father to the Secretary, Mr. *Henry Sinclair* the Bischop of *Ross*, and Mr. *James Mackgill* Clerk of Register.

Things thus put in Ordour the Quene cam forth, and with no litle worldly Pompe was placed in the Chair, having twa faythfull Supposts, the Maister of *Maxwell* upoun the one Tor, and Secretare *Lethingtoun* upoun the other Tor of the Chair, quhareupoun they waytit diligently, all the Tyme of that Accusatioun, sumetyme the one occupying hir Ear, sumtyme the uther: Hir Pompe lackit one principall Point, *to wit*, womanly Gravity; for quhen sche saw *Johne Knox* standing at the uther End of the Tabill bair-heidit; sche first smylit, and efter gave a gaulf Lauchter; quhareat quhen hir *Placeboes* gave thair *Plaudite*, affirming with lyke Countenance. This is ane gude Beginning, sche said; bot wat ye quhareat I lauch? Youne Man gart me gritt, and grat nevir a Teir himself, I will sie if I can caus him gritt. At that Word the Secretary quhisperit hir in the Ear, and sche him agane, and with that gave him ane Letter; efter the Inspectioun thareof he directed his Vissage and Speich to *Jhone Knox* in this Maner. The Quenes Majesty is informed, that ye have travellit to rayse a Tumult of hir Subjects aganst hir, and for Certificatioun thareof, thare is presentit to hir your awin Letter, subscrivit in your Name; yit becaus hir Grace will do nothing without ane gude Advysement, sche hes conveyned yow befor this Pairt of the Nobility, that they may witnes betwix yow and hir. Let him acknowledge, said sche, his awin Hand-wryte, and then fall we judge of the Contents of the Letter. And so was the Letter presented from Hand to Hand, to *Johne Knox*, quho, taking Inspectioun of it, said, I gladly acknowledge this to be my Hand-wryt: And also I remember, that I dytit a Letter in the Month of *October*, giving Significatioun to the Brethren in dyvers Quarters of sick Things as displeit me. And that gude Opinioun have I of the Fidelity of the Scribes that willingly they wald not adulterat my Originall, albeit I left dyvers Blanks subscribed with thame, and so I acknowledge both the Hand-wrytt and the Dytment. Ye have done more, said *Lethingtoun*, than I wald have done. Charity, said the uther, is not suspicious. Weall, weall, said the Quene, read your awin Letter, and then answer to sick Things as fall be demanded of you. I fall do the best I can, said the uther; and so with loud Voce he began to read as befor is expressed.

Efter that the Letter was red to the End, it was presented agane to Mr. *Jhone Spence*; for the Quene commandit him to accuse, as he efter did, bot very gently. Efter, we say, that the Letter was red, the Quene behalding the hole Tabill, said, Hard ye evir, my Lords, ane mor despytfull and tressonable Letter. Quhilk that no Man gave Answer, *Lethingtoun* addressit himself to *Jhone Knox*, and said, Maistir *Knox*, ar ye not sory from your Hart, and do ye not repent that sick a Letter has passit your Pen, and from you is cum to the Knowlege of uthers? *Jhone Knox* answered, My Lord Secretary, befor I repent I must be taucht of my Offence. Offence, said *Lethingtoun*, if thare wer no more bot the Convocatioun of the Quenes Leiges, the Offence cannot be denyit. Remember yourself, my Lord, said the uther, thare is a Difference betwix ane lawfull Convocatioun and ane unlawfull. If I have been guilty in this, I offended oft since I cam last in *Scotland*: For quhat Convocatioun of the Brethren hes evir bene to this Hour unto the which my Pen served not? And befor this no Man layd it to my Charge as a Cryme. Then was then, said *Lethingtoun*,
and

and now is now; we have no Nede of sick Convocations as sumtymes we have had. *Jhone Knox* answered, The Time that hes bene is evin now befoir my Evis; for I sic the pure Flock in no les Danger than it hes bein at ony Tyme before, except that the Devill hes gottin a Visorne upon his Face. Befoir he cam in with his awin Face, discovered by oppin Tyranny, seeking the Destruction of all that hes refusit Idolatry; and then, I think, ye will confes the Brethren lawfully assembled thameselfis for Defence of thair Lives. And now the Devill cummes under the Clock of Justice, to do that quhilk God wald not suffer him to do by Strenth. Quhat is this, said the Quene? Me think ye trifle with him. Quho gave him Authority to mak Convocation of my Leiges? Is not that Treson? No, Madam, said the Lord *Ruthven*; for he maks Convocation of the Peple to heir Prayer and Sermond almost dayly, and quhat ever your Grace or uthers will think thareof, we think it no Treson. Hald your Peace, said the Quene, and let him mak Answer for himself. I began, Madam, said *Jhone Knox*, to resoun with the Secretary, (quhom I tak to be a better Dialectician than your Grace is) that all Convocations ar no unlawfull; and now my Lord *Ruthven* hes gevin the Instance, quhilk if your Grace will deny, I sall address me for the Proof. I will say nothing, said the Quene, aganst your Religion, nor aganst your convening to your Sermonds: Bot quhat Authority have you to convocat my Subjects quhen ye will, without my Comandment. I have no Plesour, said *Jhone Knox*, to declyne fra the former Purpois; and yit, Madam, to satisfie your Graces two Questionis, I answer, That at my Will I never conveynit four Persons in Scotland, bot at the Ordour which the Brethren hes appoynted. I have gevin divers Advertysments, and gritt Multitudes have assemblit thareupoun. And if your Grace c mplane, that this hes bene done without your Graces Comandment, I answer sa hes all that God hes blessit within this Realme from the Beginning of this Actioun: And tharefoir, Madam, I must be convictit be a just Law, that I have done aganst the Dewty of God's Messinger in wryting of this Letter, before I can eyther be sory, or yit repent for the doing of it, as my Lord Secretary wald perswaid me; for quhat I have done, I have done at the Comandment of the generall Kirk of this Realme: And tharefoir, I think, I have done no Wrong. Ye sall not escape sa, said the Quene. Is it not Tresoun, my Lords, to accuse a Prince of Cruelty? I think thare be Acts of Parliament aganst sick Quhisperers: That was grantit of mony. Bot quhareuntill, said *Jhone Knox*, can I be accused. Reid this Pairt of your awin Bill, said the Quene, quhilk began, *Their feirfull Summondes is direct aganst thame (to wit, the Brethren foirsaid) to mak, no dout, a Preparatyve on a few, that a Dure may may be oppined till execute Cruelty upon a grittir Multitude.* Lo, said the Quene, quhat say ye to that? Quhill mony doutit quhat the said *Jhone* sould answer, he said unto the Quene, Is it lawfull for me, Madam, to answer for myself? Or sall I be dampned befoir I be hard? Say quhat ye can, said sche; for I think ye have yneuch ado. I will first then desyre this of your Grace, Madam, and of this most honourabill Audience, Quidder if your Grace knawis not, that the obstinat Papists ar deidly Enemies to all sick as profes the Evangell of Jesus Christ, and that they most earnestly desyre the Exterminatioun of thame, and of the trew Doctrin that is taucht within this Realme? The Quene held hir Peace: Bot all the Lords, with comon Voce, said, God forbid that eyther the Lyves of the Faythfull, or yit the staying of the Doctrin, stude in the Power of the Papists: For just Ex-

perience hes taucht us quhat Cruelty lyes in thair Hairts. I man proceed then, said *Johne Knox*, seing that I perceave all will grant, that it wer a barbarous Cruelty to destroy sick a Multitude as profes the Evangell of Christ within this Realme, quhilk offer than once or twyse they have temptit to do be Force, as Things done of lait Days do testifie, wherof they be God and be his Providence being disappoynted, have invented mor crafty and dangerous Practises, to wit, to make the Prince Pairty under Colour of Law; and so quhat they culd not do be oppin Force they fall perform be craftie Deceit: For quha thinks, my Lords, that the insatiabill Cruelty of the Papiſts (within this Realme I mean) fall end in the murthering of these two Brethren now unjustly summoned, and mor unjustly to be accused. I think no Man of Jugment can so esteeme, bot rather the direct contrary, that is, that by this few Number they intend to prepar a Way to their bludy Enterpryse aganst the hole: And tharefor, Madam, cast up quhen ye list the Acts of your Parliament. I have offended nothing aganst thame; for I accuse not in my Letter your Grace, nor yit your Nature of Cruelty: Bot I affirme yit agane, that the pestilent Papiſts, who have enflamed your Grace without Caus aganst these pure Men at this present ar the Sons of the [Devill]; and tharefor mon obey the Desyres of thair Father, quho hes bene a Leir and a Manslayer from the Beginning. Ye forget yourself, said one, ye are not now in the Pulpitt. I am in the Place, said the uther, quhair I am demanded of Conscience to speik the Treuth; and tharefor the Treuth I speik, impugne it quhoſo list. And heirunto I add, Madam, that honest, gentill, and meik Natures be Appearance, be wicked and corrupt Counsellours may be subverted, and altered to the direct contrary. Exemple we have of *Nero*, quhom in the Beginning of his Impyre we find having som naturall Schame; bot efter his Flatterars had encouraged him in all Impiety, alledging, that nothing was eyther unhonest, or yit unlawfull in his Personage, quho was Emperour above uthers; quhen he had drunken of this Cup, I say to quhat Enormities he fell, the Histories beirs witnes. And now, Madam, to speik planely, Papiſts, and conjured Enemies to Jesus Christ, have your Graces Ear patent at all Tymes. I assure your Grace they are dangerous Counsellors, and that your Mother fand. As this was said, *Lethingtoun* smirklit, and spack secretlie to the Quene in hir Ear, what it was the Tabill hard not. Bot immediatly sche adressed hir Visage and Speich to *Johne Knox*, and said, Weall, ye speik fair ineuch heir before my Lords; bot the last Time that I spack withe you secretly, ye causit me weip mony Salt-Tears, and said to me stubbornly, ye sett not by my greitting. Madam, said the uther, because now the second Time your Grace hes burdenit me with that Cryme, I must answer, lest, for my Sylince, I sould be haldin guilty. If your Grace be ryplie remembred, the Laird of *Dun*, yit leaving, can testifie the Trurth, quha was present at that Tyme wherof your Grace complains. Your Grace accusit me, that I had irreverently handled you in the Pulpit; that I denied. Ye said, Quhat a do had I to speik of your Marriage? Quhat was I, that I sould medle with sick Maters? I answered, As twitching Nature, I was a Worm of this Earth, and yit a Subject of this Comon-welth. Bot as twitching the Office quhareuntill it had pleised God to place me, I was ane Watchman, both over the Realme, and over the Kirk of God gaddered within the same; by Resſon quhareof I was bound in Conscience to blaw the Trumpet publicly, so oft as evir I saw ony Upfall or apparand Danger, eyther of the ane or the uther. Bot sa it was, that a certane Brute

affir.

affirmit, that Traffique of Mariage was betwixt your Grace and the *Spanisch Allya*; quhareunto I said, that gif your Nobility and States did agree, onles both you and your Husband sould be so straitly bund, that nyther of you might hurt this Comon-welth, nor yit the pure Kirk of God within the sam, that in that Case I wald pronunce, that the Consenters wer Traytors to this Comon-welth, and Enemies to God and to his Treuth planted with the same. At these Words I grant your Grace stormit, and burfit furth into an unresonabill weiping. Quhat Mitigationoun the Laird of *Dun* wald have maid, I suppose your Grace has not forgottin. Bot quhill that nothing was abill to stay your weiping, I was compellit to say, I tak God to record, that I nevir tuke Plesour to sie ony Creture weip, yea, nor my Children quhen my awin Hands had bett thame, much les can I rejoyce to sie your Grace mak sick Regreit; bot seing I have offered your Grace no suche Occasioun, I man rather suffer your Grace to tak your awin Plesour, or that I dar conceill the Treuth, and so betray both the Kirk of God and my Comon-welth. These wer the most extreme Words that I spack that Day. Efter that the Secretary had secretly conferrit with the Quene, he said, Maister *Knox* ye may return to your House for this Nicht. I thank God and the Quenes Majesty, said the uther. And, Madam, I pray God to purge your Hart fra Papistrie, and to preserve you from the Counsaill of Flatterars; for how pleasant that they appear to your Eirs, and corrupt Affections for the Tyme, Experience hes taucht us in quhat Perplexity they have brocht famous Princes. *Lethingtoun* and the Maister of *Maxwell* wer that Nicht the two Stoupes of hir Chair.

Johne Knox being depairted, the Tabill of the Lords, and uthers that war present, wer demanded every Man be his Vote, If *Johne Knox* had not offendit the Quenes Majesty? The Lords voted uniformlie they culd find no Offence. The Quene was past to hir Cabinet. The Flatterers of the Court, and *Lethingtoun* principally ragit. The Quene was brocht agane, and placed in hir Chair, and they comanded to vote ovir agane, quhilk Thing highly offendit the haill Nobility; and they began to speick in oppin Audience, *Quhat, sall the Laird of Lethingtoun have Power to controule us? Or sall the Presence of a Woman caus us to offend God, and to condemn an Innocent aganst our Consciences, for Plessoure of ony Creture?* And so the haill Nobility absolvit *Johne Knox* agane, and praisit God for his Modesty, and for his plane and sensible Answers. Yit before the End one Thing is to be notted, to wit, that among sa many *Placeboes*, we mein the Flatterers of the Court, thare was not one that plane-ly durst condemne the pure Man that was accusit, the same God rewling thair Toungs that sum Tyme rewlit the Tounge of *Balaam*, quhen gladly he wald have cursit Gods Peple. This perceaved, the Quene began to upbraid Maister *Henry Sinclair* then Bischop of *Ross*, and said, heiring his Vote to agree with the rest, Trubill not the Bairne, I pray you trubill him not; for he is newly wakened out of his Sleip. Quhy sould not the auld Fool follow the Fotesteps of them that hes passit befoir him? The Bischop answerit caldly, Your Grace may consider, that it is nyther Affectionoun to the Man, nor yit Love to his Profession, that movit me to absolve him, bot the simpill Treuth that plainly appears in his Defence, draws me efter it, albeit that uthers wald condemne him and it. This being said, the Lords and haill Assesours araife and departit. That Nicht was nyther dancing nor fiddeling in the Court; for Madam was disappoynted of hir Purpose, quhilk was to have had *Johne Knox* in hir Will be Vote of hir Nobility.

Jhone Knox absolved be the Votes of the grittest Pairt of the Nobility from the Crime intended aganist him, evin in the Presens of the Quene, sche ragit, and the *Placeboes* of the Court stornit; and so began new Assaults to be maid at the Hands of the said *Jhone*, to confes ane Offence, and to put him in the Quenes Will, and thay sold promeis that his grittest Punischment sould be to go within the Castell of *Edinburghe*, and immediatly to returne to his awin House. He answerit, God forbid that my Confessioun sould condemne those Nobillmen that of thair Conscience, and with Displesure of the Quene, have absolvit me. And farther I am assured, ye will not in earnest desire me to confes an Offence, unles that tharewith ye wald desyre me to ceis fra preaching: For how can I exhort uthers to Peace and Christein Quyetnes if I confes myself ane Authour and Mover of Seditioun.

The Generall Assemblies of the Kirk approached, quhilk began the 25th Day of *December 1563*. Bot the just Petitiouns of the Ministers, and Commissioners of the Kirks, wer despysed at the first, and that with these Words, *As Ministers will not follow our Counsels, so will we suffer Ministers to labour for thameselfis, and sie quhat Speid they cum*. And quhen the hole Assemblie said, *If the Quene will not provyde for our Ministers, we man; for both third and twa Pairts ar rigorously takin from us, and from our Tenents. If uthers, said one, will follow my Counsell, the Garde and the Papists sall complane us long as our Ministers have done*. At these Words the former Scharpnes was coloured, and the Speiker allegit, that he meant not of all Ministers, bot of such to quhom the Quene was no Debtour; for quhat third ressavit sche of Burrows? *Christopher Goodman* answerit, My Lord Secretary, if ye can schaw me quhat just Tytle eyther the Quene hes to the Third, or the Papists bot to the twa Part, then I think I sould resolve you quhidder sche wer Debitor to Ministers within Burghes or not. Bot thareto he ressavit this Check for Answer, *Ne sit peregrinus curiosus in aliena republica*. That is, *Let not a Stranger be curious in a strange Comon-welth*. The Man of God answerit, Albeit in your Policy I be a Stranger, yit so am I not in the Church of God; and tharefore the Cair thareof pertains no les to me in *Scotland* than if I wer in the mydde of *England*.

Many wonderit at the Sylence of *Jhone Knox*; for in all these quick Ressonings he oppined not his Mouth: The Caus whereof he himself expressit in these Words. Richt honourabill and beloved Brethren, I have travellit since my last Arryvall within this Realme, in ane upricht Conscience before my God, seiking nothing mor, as he is my Witness, than the Advancement of his Glory, and the Stability of his Church within this Realme; and yit of lait Days I have bene accused as a seditious Man, and as ane that usurps unto myself Power that becomes me not. Trew it is, I have gevin Advertysements to the Brethren in dyvers Quarters, of the Extremity intended aganist certane Faythfull, for luing to a Preist going to Mess, and for observing of those that transgressit just Laws; bot that thareuntill I have usurped farther Power than is gevin unto me, till that be you I be damned I utterly deny: For I say that be you (that is, by the Charge of the Generall Assembly) I have als just Power to advertyse the Brethren from Tyme to Tyme of Dangers appeiring, as that I have to preach the Word of God in the Pulpit of *Edinburgh*; for be you was I appoynted to the one and to the uther: And tharefor, in the Name of God, I crave your Jugment. The Danger that appeired to me in my Accusatioun was not so feirfull as the Words that cam to my Ears wer dolorous to my Hart; for these Words wer planly spokin, and that by some Protestants,

stants, *Quhat can the Paip do mair than send forth his Letters, and require thame to be obeyed?* Let me have your Jugments therefore quhadder that I have usurped ony Power to myself, or if I have bot obeyed your Commandment.

The Flatterars of the Court, amang quhom Sir *Johne Ballenden* Justice Clerk was then not the least, began to storme, and said, shall we be compellit to justifie the rash Doings of Men. My Lord, said *Johne Knox*, ye shall speak your Plesure for the present, of you I crave nothing, bot if the Church that is heir present, do not ether absolve me, or ellis condemne me, never shall I in publick nor in private, as ane publick Minister, open my Mouth in Doctrine nor in Reasoning.

Efter lang Contentioun the said *Johne* being removed, the hole Kirk fand, that a Charge was gevin unto him, to advertise the Brethren in all Quarters, als oft as ever Danger apperit; and thairfore avowit that Fact not to be his only, bot to be the Fact of thame all. Thairat wer the Quenes Claw-backes more enraged then ever thay wer, for sum of thame had promised to the Quene to get the said *Johne* convict, bothe by the Councell, and by the Church; and being frustrat of bothe, sche and thay thocht thamselves not a lytle disapoynted.

In the verray Tyme of the Generall Assembly thair cummis to publick Knowlege, a haynous Murther comitted in the Court, yea not far from the Quenes awn Lapp; for ane *Frenche* Woman that servit in the Quenes Chamber had playit the Hure with the Quenes awn Hypothecary; the Woman conceived and bair a Child, quhome with comune Consent the Father and the Mother murtherit; yit wer the Cryes of a new borne Chyld hard, searche was made, the Chyld and Mother wer bothe apprehended, and so wer bothe the Man and the Woman damned to be hanged upoun the publick Streit of *Edinburgh*. The Punischment was notabill becaus the Cryme was heynous. Bot yit was not the Court purged of Hures and Huredome, which was the Fontane of such Enormities, for it was weill knawn, that Schame haistit Mariage betwix *Johne Sempill* called the Danser, and *Marie Levingstoun* surnamed the Lustie. Quhat Brute the *Maries* and the rest of the Dawsners of the Court had, the Ballats of that Age did Witnes, which we for Modesties sake omitt; bot this was the comune Complaynt of all godly and wyse Men, that if thay thocht that suche a Court suld long continew, and if they laikit for none uther Lyfe to cum, they wald have wischt thair Sones and Daughters rather to have bene brocht up with Fidlars and Daunsars, and to have bein exercisit in flinging upoun a Flure, and in the rest that thair of followes, then to have bene nurisched in the Cumpany of the godly, and exercised in Vertew, quhilk in that Court was hated, and Filthines not onlie menteinied, bot also rewarded; Witnes the Lordship of *Abircorne*, the Barony of *Ackermoutie*, and dyvers uthers perteyning to the Patrimony of the Crown gevin in Inheritance to Scoupperis, Daunsars, and Dallars with Dames. This was the begining of the Regiment of *Marie* Quene of Scots, and thir wer the Fruetes that sche brocht furth of France. *Lord like throw upoun our Miseries, and delyver us frome the Tyrany of that Hare, for thy awn Mercies Sake.*

God frome Hevin, and upoun the Face of the Erthe gave Declaratioun, that he was offended at the Iniquity that was comitted even within this Realme; for upoun the 20. Day of *January* thair fell Wet in great Abundance,

quhilk in the falling freisit so vehemently, that the Erthe was bot ane Schott of Ice; the Foules baith great and small freasit, and nicht not flie, many deit, and sum wer takin and layed besyde the Fyre, that thair Fethers nicht resolve; and in that sam Moneth the See stude still, as was cleirly observed, and netter ebbit nor flowit the Space of 24 Hours. In the Moneth of *February*, the fiftin and eightin Days thair of, wer sein in the Firmament Batels arrayit, Speires, and uther Weapons, and as it had bene the joyning of two Armies: Thir Things wer not only observit, bot also spokin and constantly affirmit be Men of Jugement and Credite. Bot the Quene and our Court maid merry; thare was banquetting upoun banquetting; the Quene wald banquet all the Lords; and that was done upoun Policy to remove the Suspicioun of hir Displeasour against thame, becaus that they wald not at hir Devotioun dampne *John Knox*. To remove, we say, that Jelowsie, sche maid the Banquett to the hole Lords, quhareat sche wald have the Duck amongst the rest. It behuifit thame to banquet hir agane; and so did banquetting continew till *Fastronevin* and efter. Bot the pure Ministers wer mocked and reputed as Monsters; the Gaird, and the Effaires of the Kitching wer so gripping, that the Ministers Stipends could not be had; and yit at the Assembly precedent, solemnised Promeis was maid in the Quenes Name, by the Mouth of the Secretary *Lethingtoun*, in the Audience of many of the Nobility, and of the hole Assembly, quho affirmit that he had Comandement of hir Highnes, to promeis unto thame full Contentatioun to all the Ministers within the Realme of Things bygane, and of suche Ordour to be keiped in all Tymes to cum, that the hole Bodye of the Protestants sould have Occasioun to stand content; the Erle of *Murray* affirmit the same, with mony uther fair Promises gevin by writt, by *Lethingtoun* himself; as in the Register of the Acts done in the Generall Assembly may be sene; bot how that or yit any uther Thing promised by hir or in hir Name, unto the Kirk of God, was observit, the Warld can witnes.

The Ministers perceaving all Things tend to ruyne, dischairgit thair Conscience in publi& and in private; bot they receivit for thair Laboures Indignatioun and Hatrent; and among uthers, that worthy Servand of God Mr. *John Craig*, speiking against the manifest Corruptioun that then without Schame or Feir declairit the self, said, Sumtymes wer Hypocrytes knawin be thair disguysed Habites, and we had Men to be Munks, and Wemen to be Nunnes; bot now all Things ar so changed, that we cannot discerne the Erle from the Abbott, nor the Nun from sick as wald be haldin Nobillwemin; so that we have gottin a new Ordour of Munkis and Nunnis; but, said he, seing ye escheme not of that injust Profite, wald to God that thairwith ye had the Cowll of the Nun, the Vaill, yea, and the Taill joyned withall, that so ye nicht appeir in your awn Colours. This Liberty did so provoke the Choler of *Lethingtoun*, that in open Audience he gave him unto the Devill, if that ever efter that Day he suld regarde quhat became of the Ministers, bot he sould do quhat he could, that his Compainyeouns sould have a Skair with him: And let thame bark and blaw, said he, als loude as they list. And so that was the secund Tyme that he had gevin his Defyance to the Servands of God. And heirupone rayse Quhispering and Complaynts, all be the Flatterars of the Court, compleyning that Men wer not cheritably handled, Nicht not Synnes be reproved in generall, albeit that Men wer not so specially taxed, that all the Warld mycht knaw of quhom the Preichar spak? Quhare-

unto

unto was this Answer maid, let Men cōchame publictly to offend, and the Ministers shall abstene from Specialities; but so long as Protestants ar not e-scāmed manifestly to do against the Evangell of Iesus Christ, so long cannot the Ministers of God ceas to cry, that God will be revenged upoun suche Abusers of his Holy Word.

And thus had the Servands of God a dowbill Battell, fechtig upoun the one Syde against the Idolatry and the rest of the Abhominatiouns mentevned be the Quene; and upoun the uther Parte, against the Unthankfulnes of suche as sumtymes wald have bene esteamed the cheit Pillaris of the Church with- in the Realme.

The Threatnings of the Preachars wer feirfull, bot the Court thocht the self in suche Security, that it culd not miscary. The Quene efter the ban- quetting keipit a Dyet be the Directioun of Monsieur la *Usurie Franche* Man, quho had bene acquainted with hir Malady besoir, being hir Physician: And thairefter siche for her secund Tyme maid hir Progresse to the Northe, and comandit to Warde in the Castell of *Edinburgh*, the Erle of *Cuthness*, for a Murther comitted by his Servands upoun the Erle of *Murcellis* Men; he obey- it, bot he was suddanely releived; for suche Blude-thristie Men, and Papistes, suche as he, ar best Subjects to our Quene. *Thy Kingdome cum, O Lord, for in this Realme is nothing (among sich as sould punisch Vyce and menteynie Vertew) bot Abhominatioun abounding without Brydill.*

The Flatterars of the Court did dayly enrage against the pure Preichars; hap- piest was he that could invent the most bitter Taunts and disdaynfull Mockings of the Ministers. And at lenth thay began to jest at the Terme *Idolatrie*. Affirming, *That Men wist not quhat they spak, quhen they callit the Mefs Idolatrie*: Yea, sum proceidit farther, and seirit not at open Tables to affirme; *That they wuld sustene the Argument, that the Mefs was no Idolatrie*. These Things cuming to the Eares of the Preichars, they wer proclaimed in the pullich Pulpit of *Edinburgh*, with this Complaynt, direct by the Speikar to his God. *O Lord, how long sall the Wickit prevail against the Just? How long sall thou suffer thyself and thy blissed Evangell to be despysed of Men, of Men, we say, that boast thameselfis Defendars of thy Treuth; for of thy manifest and known Enemies we complein not; but of suche, as unto quhome, thou hes reveillit thy Lycht: For now it comes unto our Eares, that Men, not Papists, we say, bot cheif Protestants will defend the Mefs to be no Idolatrie. If so wer, O Lord, miserably have I bein deceaved, and miserable, O Lord, have I deceaved thy Pepel; quibilk thou, O Lord, knowis I have ever more abhorrit then a thousand Deiths. Bot, said he, turning his Face toward the Place quhare suche Men, as so had affirmit, sat; If I be not abill to prove the Mefs to be the most abhominabill Idolatrie that ever was used since the Beginning of the World, I offer myself to suffer the Punischment appoynted be God to a fals Teachar; and it appeiris to me, said the Preichar, that the Affirmar sould be subjected to the same Law: For it is the Treuth of God that ye persecute and blaspeme: And it is the Invention of the Devill, that obstinaty against his Word ye manteyn. Quhareat, alleit now ye flirt and ye fleir, as thoch all that wer spokin wer bot Wind, yit am I als assured, as I am assured that my God liveth, that sum that heir this your Defectioun and Rayling against the Treuth, and Servands of God, sall see a Parte of God's Judgements poured furth upoun this Realme (and principally upoun yow that fastest cleif to the Favour of the Court) for the Abhominatiouns that ar be yow mentenyed. Albeit that suche Vehemency provokit Teares of sum, yit those Men that knew*

thamefelfis gilty, in a mocking Maner said, *We must recant, and burn our Bill, for the Preichbars ar angrie.*

The Generall Assembly holden in Junii 1564 approchit, unto the whiche a grit Parte of the Nobility, of those that ar called Protestants, conveynit: Sum for Assistance of the Ministers, and sum to accuse thame, as we will efter heir.

A lytle befoir these Trubles, whiche Sathan rayfit in the Body of the Church, began one *Davie*, ane *Italian*, to grow grit in the Court. The Quene usit him for Secretary, in Things that aperteinit to hir secrete Effairs, in *France* or elsquhare. Grit Men maid Court unto him, and thair Sutes wer the better hard; bot of his Beginning and Progres, we delay now farther to speik, becaus that his End will requyre the Description of the hole, and referris it unto suche, as God fall rayse up to do the same.

The first Day of the Generall Assembly the Courteours, nor the Lords that dependit upoun the Court, presentit not thamefelfis in Sessioun with thair Brethren; quhareat mony wonderit. Ane auncient and honourabill Man, the Laird of *Londie*, said, *Nay, I wonder not of thair present Absence; bot I wonder that at our last Assembly, they drew thamefelfis aparte, and joynit not with us, bot drew frome us sum of our Ministers, and willit thame to conclude suche Things, as wer never proponed in the publiſt Assembly, quhilk apperis to me to be a Thing very prejudiciall to the Libertie of the Church: And tharefoir my Judgement is, that they sall be informed of this Offence, quhilk the hole Brethren have conceavit of thair former Fault; humbly requyring thame, that if thay be Brethren, that thay will assist thair Brethren, with thair Presence and Counsaill, for we had never gritter Neid. And if they be myndit to fall back from us, it wer better we knew it now then afterwards.* Thareto agreit the hole Assembly, and gave Comissioun to certane Brethren, to signifie the Mynds of the Assembly to the Lords, whiche was done the same Day Efternone. The Courteours at first seamit not a lytle offended, that they sould be as it wer suspected of Defectioun: Yit nevertheles upoun the Morrow, they joynit to the Assembly, and came unto it. Bot they drew agane thamefelfis, lyk as thay did befoir, a pairt, and enterit in the inner Counsaill-hous. They wer the Dukes Grace, the Erles *Argyll*, *Murray*, *Mortoun*, *Glencarne*, *Marchell*, *Rothes*, the Maister of *Maxwell*, Secretary *Lethingtoun*, the Justice Clerk, the Clerk of Register, and Comptroller the Laird of *Petarro*.

Efter a lytle Consultatioun, they direct a Messinger, Maister *George Hay*, then called the Minister of the Court, requyring the Superintendents, and sum of the learned Ministers, to confer with thame. The Assembly answerit, That they conveynit to deliberat upoun the comoun Effaires of the Kirk; and that tharefoir they could not lake thair Superintendents, and cheif Ministers, whose Judgements wer so necessary, that without thame the rest sould sitt, as it wer idill: And tharefoir willit thame (as of befoir) that if thay acknowlegit thamefelfis Members of the Kirk, that thay wald joyn with thair Brethren, and propone in publiſt such Things as thay pleisit; and so thay sould have the Assistance of the hole in all Things, that micht stand with God's Comandement. Bot to send from thamefelfis a Portioun of thair Company, thay understude, that thareof Hurt and Sclander mycht aryse, rather then ony Profite or Comfort unto the Kirk: For they seirit, that all Men sould not stand content with the Conclusioun, where the Conference and Ressouns wer but hard of a few.

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This Answer was not gevin without Caus; for no small Travell was maid, to have drawn in sum Ministers to the Factioun of the Courteours, and to have sustenit thair Arguments and Opiniouns. Bot quhen it was perceaved be the maist politrick amongst thame, that they could not prevaill be that Mean, thay proponit the Mater in uther Termes, purging thamefelfis, first that they never ment to separat thamefelfis from the Society of thair Brethren; bot becaus they had certane Heids to confer with certane Ministers; tharefor, for avoyding of Confusioun, they thocht it more expedient to have the Conference befor a few, rather than in the publick Audience. Bot the Assemblies did still reply, That secrete Conference wald thay not admit, in these Heids that shold be concludit be generall Vote. The Lords promisit, That no Conclusioun shold be takin, neyther yit Vote requyred, till that both the Propositions and the Resolutions shold be hard, and considered of the hole Body. And upoun that Condition wer direct unto thame, with exprest Charge, to conclude nothing, without the Knowlege and Advyse of the Assembly, the Laird of Dun Superintendent of Angus, the Superintendents of Lowthiane and Fyfe, Maister Johne Row, Maister Johne Craig, William Chrystisone, Maister David Lindefay, Ministers, with the Rector of Sanct Androis, and Maister George Hay, the Superintendent of Glasgou. Maister Johne Willock was Moderatour, and Johne Knox waited upoun the Scribe. And so thay wer appoynted to sit with the Brethren. And that becaus the principall Complaynt concernit Johne Knox, he was also called for.

Secretary Lettingtoun began the Harrang, which contened these Heads. *First*, How much we wer addetted unto God, be quhose Providence we had Liberty of Religion under the Quenes Majesty, albeit that sche was not perswaded in the sam. *Secundarily*, How necessary a Thing it was that the Quenes Majesty, be all gude Offices (so spack he) of the Part of the Church, and of the Ministers principally, shold be retained in that constant Opinion, that they unfenytly favoured hir Advancement, and procurred hir Subjects to have a gude Opinioun of hir. And, *last*, How dangerous a Thing it was, that Ministers suld be notit ane to disagre from ane uther, in Form of Prayer for hir Majesty, or in Doctrin concerning Obedience to hir Authority. And in these two last Heads, said he, we desyre you all to be circumspet; bot especially we most crave of you our Brother Johne Knox, to moderate yourself allweill in Form of Prayer for the Quenes Majesty, as in Doctrin that ye propone concerning hir Estate and Obedience: Nyther sall ye take this, said he, as spokin to your Reproch, *quia mens interdum in corpore pulchro*, but becaus that uthers, by your Exemple, may imitat the like Liberty, albeit not with the sam Modesty and Forsicht; and quhat Opinioun that may ingender in the Peples Heids wyse Men do forsie, &c. The said Johne prepared him for Answer as follows. Gif such as feir God have Occasioun to prays him that becaus Idolatry is mantyned, the Servands of God despyfed, wicked Men placed agane in Honour and Authority, Maister Henry Sinclair was a schort Tyme before maid President, quho before durst not have sittin in Jugment; And finally, said he, if we aucht to prays God becaus that Vyce and Impiety overflows this hole Realme without Punishment, then have we Occasioun to rejoyce and to prays God: Bot if these and the lyke use to provock God's Vengeance against Realms and Natiouns, then, in my Jugment, the Godly within Scotland aucht to lament and murne, and so to prevent God's Jugments, lest that he, fynding all in a lyke Security, stryke

in his hote Indignatioun, beginning perchance at such as think they offend not. That is a Heid, said *Lethingtoun*, quhareinto ye and I never agreed; for how ar ye abill to prove, that evir God strack or plagued ony Natioun or Pepel for the Iniquity of thair Prince, if they thamefelfis lived godly? I lucked, said he, my Lord, to have had Audience, till I had absolved the uther two Pairts; bot seeing it plesis your Lordschip to cut me off before the myddeft, I will answer to your Questtioun. The Scripture of God schawis to me, that *Jerusalem* and *Juda* wer punisched for the Sin of *Manasses*; and if ye will alledge, that they wer punisched becaus they wer wicked, and offended with their King, and not becaus the King was wicked; I answer, That albeit that the Spirit of God maks for me, saying in expres Words, *For the Sinns of Manasses*, yet I will not be so obstinat as to lay the hole Sin, and the Plagues that thareof followed, upoun the King, and utterly absolve the Peple; bot I will grant with you, that the hole Peple offended with the King. Bot how and in quhat Fassioun I feir that ye and I fall not agree. I dout bot the hole Multitude accompanied him in all the Abominatiouns which he did, for Idolatry and a fals Religioun hes evir bene, is, and will be plesant to the most Pairt of Men. Bot to affirm that all *Juda* comitted really the Acts of his Impiety, is bot to affirm, that which nether has Certainty, nor yit Appearance of Treuth: For quho can think it to be possibill, that all those of *Jerusalem* sould so schortly turne to externall Idolatry, considdering the notabill Reformatioun laitly before had in the Days of *Ezekias*: Bot yit says the Text, *Manasses maid Juda and the Inhabitants of Jerusalem to err*. Trew it is, for the one Part, as I have said, willingly followed him in his Idolatry, and the uther, be Ressoun of his Authority, suffered to defyle *Jerusalem*, and the Temple of God with all Abhominatiouns, and so wer they all criminall of his Sinn, the one by Act and Deed, the uther by Suffering and Permissioun. Evin as haill *Scotland* is this Day guilty of the Quenes Idolatry, and ye, my Lords, especially above all uthers. Weall, said *Lethingtoun*, that is the chief Heid quharein we nevir agreed; bot of that we fall speik heirefter. Quhat will ye say as twitching the moving of the Peple to have a gude Opinioun of the Quenes Majesty, and as concerning Obedience to be gevin to hir Authority, as also of the Form of the Prayer which comonly ye use? &c.

My Lord, said he, more ernestly to move the Peple, or yit utherwys to pray than heirtofor I have done, a gude Conscience will not suffer me; for he quho knaws the Secreets of Harts, knaws that privatly and publictly I have called unto God for hir Conversioun, and have willed the Pepel to do the sam, schawing thame the dangerous Estate wherin not only sche hirself stands, bot also of the hole Realme, be Ressoun of hir indurat Blindness, &c.

That is it, said *Lethington*, wherin we find grittest Fault. Your Extremity aganst hir Mefs in particular passes Measure. Ye call hir a Slave to Sathan; ye affirm, that God's Vengeance hangs over the Realme, be Ressoun of hir Iniquity. And quhat is this els, bot to rais up the Harts of the Pepel aganst hir Majesty, and aganst thame that serve hir? Then thare was hard ane Acclamatioun of the rest of the Flatterars, that such Extremity culd not profite. The Maister of *Maxwell* said in plane Words, If I wer in the Quenes Majestys Place, I wald not suffer such Things as I heir. If the Words of Preichers, said *Johne Knox*, fall alway be rest to the worst Part, then it will be hard to speik ony Thing so circumspectly (provyded that the Treuth be spokin) quhilk fall not escape the Censure of the Calumniator. The most
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vehement, and as ye speik, excellive Maner of Prayer, that I use in publick is this. *O Lord, if thy gude Plesour be, purge the Hart of the Quenes Majesty from the Venome of Idolatry, and deliver hir from the Bondage and Thraldome of Satan, into the which she has bene brocht up, and yet remanes for the Lake of these Doctrin; and let hir see, by the Illuminatioun of thy Holy Spirit, that there is no Mean to please the but Jesus Christ thy only Sone, and that Jesus Christ can not be found bot in thy holy Word, nor yet reseruit bot as it prescribes, which is to renounce our awn Wits, and preconceived Opiniouns, and worship the as thou commands; that in so doing she may avoyde that eternal Damnatioun which abyde all obstinate and impenitent unto the End; and that this pure Realme may also escape that Plague and Vengeance which inevitably follows Idolatry, mounteyned aganist thy manifest Word, and the open Licht thereof.* This, said he, is the Form of my comune Prayer, as yourselfis can witnes. Now quhat is worthy Reprehensioun in it I wald heir, &c.

Thare ar thre Things, said *Lettingtoun*, that never lyked me. And the first is, Ye pray for the Quenes Majesty with ane Conditicoun, saying, *Illuminat hir Hart gif thy gude Plesour be*; quharby it may appear, that ye dout of hir Conversioun. Quhare have ye Exemple of such Prayer? Quharesoever the Exemples ar, said the uther, I am assured of the Rewl, which is this, *Gif we shall ask any Thing according to his Will, he will heir us.* And our Master Christ Jetus comanded us to pray unto our Father, *Thy Will be done.* Bot, said *Lettingtoun*, quharever fynd ye ony of the Prophets so to have prayed? It sufficeth me, said the uther, my Lord, that the Master and Teacher both of Prophets and Apostles hes tacht me so to pray. Eot in so doing, said he, ye put a Dout in the Pepels Heid of hir Conversioun. Not I, my Lord, said the uther, bot hir awn obstinat Rebellioun causis mo than me dout of hir Conversioun. Quharin, said he, rebels sche aganist God? In all the Actiouns of hir Lyf, said the uther; bot in thir two Heids especially. *Former*, That sche will not hear the prieding of the blessed Evangell of Jesus Christ. And *secundarily*, That sche manteyns that Idoll the *Mess*. Sche thinks not that Rebellioun, said *Lettingtoun*, bot gude Relgioun. So thocht they, said the uther, that somtymes offered their Children unto *Molech*, and yet the Spirit of God affirms, that they offered *thame unto Devills, and not unto God*. And this Day the *Turks* think thame selfis to have a better Religion than the Papists have; and yet, I think, ye will excuse nether of thame both from comiting Rebellioun aganist God: Nether yet justly can ye do the Quene, onles that ye will mak God to be parriall. Bot yet, said *Lettingtoun*, quhy pray ye not for hir without moving ony Dout? Becaus, said the uther, I have learned to pray in Fayth; now Fayth, ye know, depends upon the Word of God, and so it is that the Word teaches me, that Prayers profit the Sonns and Dochters of God's Electioun, of quhilk Number quhidder sche be ane or not, I have just Caus to dout; and therefore I pray God *illuminate hir Hart gif his gude Plesour be*. Bot yet, said *Lettingtoun*, ye can produce the Exemple of none that so hes prayed before you. Thareto I have alredy answered, said *Johne Knox*. Bot yet, for farther Declaratioun, I will demand ane Questioun, which is this, Quidder gif ye think that the Apostles prayed thame selfis as they comanded uthers to pray? Quho doubts of that, said the hole Company that wer present? Weall then, said *Johne Knox*, I am assured that *Peter* said these Words to *Symon Magus*, *Repent therefore of this thy Wickednes, and pray to God, that if it be possibill the Thocht of thyne Hart may be forgevin thee.* Hare we may clear-

ly sie, that *Peter* joyns a Conditoun with his Comandment, that *Symon* suld repent and pray, to wit, if it wer possible that his Sin might be forgiven; for he was not ignorant that some Syngs wer unto the Death, and so without all Hope of Repentance or Remissioun. And think ye not, my Lord Secretary, said he, bot the sam Dout may twitch my Hart as twitching the Quenes Conuersioun, that then twitched the Hart of the Apostle? I wald never, said *Lethingtoun*, hear you or ony uther call that in dout. Bot your Will, said the uther, is no Assurance to my Conscience. And, to speik frely, my Lord, I wonder if ye yourself dout not of the Quenes Conuersioun; for mor evident Syngs of Induratioun have appeared, and still do appear in hir, than *Peter* outwardly could have espyed in *Symon Magus*: For albeit sumtymes he was ane Socerer, yit joyned he with the Apostles, beleaved and was baptyzed; and albeit that the Venom of Avarice remaned in his Hart, and that he wald have bocht the Holy Ghost, yit quhen he hard the fearfull Threatnings of God pronounced aganst him, he trembled, desyred the Assistance of the Prayers of the Apostles, and so humbled himself, so far as the Jugment of Men culd pears, lyk as a trew Penitent, and yit we sie that *Peter* doubts of his Conuersioun. Quhy then may not all the Godly justly dout of the Conuersioun of the Quene, quha has usit Idoltatry, quhilk is no les odious in the Sycht of God than is the uther, and still continues in the sam, yea, that despyis all Threatnings, and refusis all godly Admonitiouns? Quhy say ye that sche refusis Admonitioun, said *Lethingtoun*? Sche will gladly hear ony Man. Bot quhat Obedience to God, said the uther, or to his Word, ensewis of all that is spoken unto hir? Or quhen fall sche be fene to give hir Presens to the publick Preaching? I think never, said *Lethingtoun*, so long as sche is thus entreted. And so long, said the uther, ye and all uthers mon be content that I pray so as that I may be assured to be hard of my God, that is, that his gude Will may be done, eyther in making hir comfortabel to his Church, or if that he has appoynted hir to be a Scourge unto the sam, that we may have Patience, and sche may be bryddled.

Weall, said *Lethingtoun*, lat us cum to the secund Head. Quhare fynd ye that the Scripture calls ony the bond Slaves of Sathan? Or that the Prophets of God speak so irreverently of Kings and Princes? The Scripture, said *Johne Knox*, says, that *by Nature we ar all the Sonns of Wrath*. Our Master Christ Jesus affirms, that *such as do sinn ar Servands to Sinn*, and that it is the only Sonn of God that sets Men at Freedom. Now quhat Difference is thare betwixt the Sons of Wrath, the Servands of Sin, and the Slaves to the Devill, I understand not, except I be taught. And if the Scharpnes of the Term offend you, I have not invented that Phraze of speaking, bot have learned it out of God's Scriptures; for these Words I find spoken unto *Paull*, *Behold I send the unto the Gentiles, to oppin thair Eyes, that they may turne fra Darknes to Licht, and fra the Power of Sathan unto God*. Mark thir Words, my Lord, and stur not at the speaking of the Holy Ghost. And the same Apostle, wryting to his Scoller *Timotheus*, says, *Instruct with Meiknes those that ar contrary mynded, if that God at ony Tyme will give thame Repentance, that they may know the Treuth, and that they may cum to Amendement out of the Snair of the Devil, quhilk ar takin of him at his Will*. If your Lordship do rychtly consider these Sentences, ye fall not only find my Words to be the Words of the Holy Ghost, bot also the Conditoun which I use to add, to have the Assurance of God's Scriptures. Bot they speak nothing

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againſt Kings in ſpeciall, ſaid *Lethingtoun*, and yit your continuall crying is the Quenes Idolatry, the Quenes Meiſ will provock God's Vengeance. In the former Sentences, ſaid the uther, I hear not Kings and Quenes excepted, bot all Unſaythfull ar pronounced to ſtand in one Rank, and to be in Bondage to one Tyrant the Devill. Bot belyk, my Lord, ſaid he, ye little regard the Eſtate wherin they ſtand, quhen ye wald have thame ſo flattered, that the Danger thareof ſould nether be knawn, nor yit declared to the pure Pepel. Quhare will ye find, ſaid *Lethingtoun*, that ony of the Prophets did ſo entret Kings and Quenes, Rewlars or Magiſtrates? In mo Places than one, ſaid the uther. *Achab* was a King, and *Jefabell* was a Quene, and yit quhat the Prophet *Elias* ſaid to the one and to the uther, I ſuppoſe ye be not ignorant. That was not cryed out before the Pepel, ſaid *Lethingtoun*, to make thame odious unto thair Subjects. That *Elias* ſaid, *Dogs ſall lyck the Blude of Achab*, ſaid *Johne Knox*, and eat the Fleſch of *Jefabell*, the Scripture aſſures me: Bot that it was quhiſpered in their awn Ear, or in a Corner, I read not. Bot the plane contrary appears to me, which is, that both the Pepel and the Court underſtude weall enouch quhat the Prophet had pronouncit; for ſo witneſſit *Jebu*, eſter that God's Vengeance had ſtricken *Jefabell*. They wer ſingular Motions of the Spirit of God, ſaid *Lethingtoun*, and apperten nothing to this our Age. Then hes the Scripture far deceived me, ſaid the uther; for Sanct *Paull* teaches me, that *quhatſoever is written within the holy Scriptures, the ſam Things ar written for our Inſtruction*. And my Maiſter ſays, that *every learned and wyſe Scribe brings furth of his Treſure both Things old and Things new*. And the Prophet *Jeremy* affirmes, that every Realme, and every City that lykwyſe offendeth, as then did *Jeruſalem*, ſould lykwyſe be puniſhed. Quhy then that the Facts of the ancient Prophets, and the fearfull Jugments of God executed before us upon the Diſobedient appertean not unto this our Age, I nether ſie, nor yit can underſtand. Bot now, to put End to this Heid, my Lord, ſaid he, the Prophets of God have not ſpared to rebuke wicked Kings, als well in thair Face as before the Pepel and Subjects. *Helias* feared not to ſay to King *Jehoram*, *Quhat have I to do with thee? Get thee to the Prophets of thy Father, and to the Prophets of thy Mother; for as the Lord God of Hollis lives, in quhoſe Sicht I ſtand, if it were not that I regard the Prefens of Jehoſophat King of Judah, I wald not luke towards thee, nor ſee thee*. Plane it is, that the Prophet was a Subject in the Kingdom of *Israel*, and yit how lytell Reverence he gives to the King we hear. *Jeremy* the Prophet was comanded to cry to the King and to the Quene, and to ſay, *Behave yourſelfis lowly, execute Juſtice and Jugment, or els your Carcaſſes ſall be caſien to the Heat of the Day, and unto the Froſt of the Night*. Unto *Cononias*, *Sallum* and *Zedekias* he ſpeaks in ſpecial, and ſchawis unto thame in his publiſt Sermons thair miſerable Ends; and tharefore ye aucht not to think it ſtrange, my Lords, ſaid he, albeit that the Servands of God tax the Vices of Kings and Quenes, even alſwell as of uther Offenders, and that becaus thair Synns ar mor noyſum to the Comon-welth than ar the Synns of inferior Perſons.

The moſt Part of this Reſſoning Secretary *Lethingtoun* leaned on the Maiſter of *Maxwell's* Breſt, quho ſaid I am almoſt wery, I wald that ſum uther wald reſſoun in the chief Head which is not twicked.

Then the Erle of *Morton* Chancellour comanded Maſter *George Hay* to reſſon againſt *Johne Knox*, in the Head of the Obedience dew unto Magiſtrates, quho

began so to do. Unto quhom *John Knox* said, Brother that ye fall reffon in my contrary I am weall content, becaus I know you both a Man of Lern- ing and Modesty; bot that ye fall oppon yourself in the Treuth quhareof I supos your awin Conscience is no les perswaded than is myne, I can not weall approve; for I wald be sorry that I and ye sould be reputed to reffon as twa Scollers of *Pythagoras*, to schaw the Quicknes of our Ingyne, as it wer, to reffon on both Parts. I do protest here before God, that quhatsoever I sustene, I do the same of Conscience; yea, I dar no mor sustene a Propo- sition knawn to myself untrew, than that I dar teach fals Doctrin in the publict Place: And tharefore, Brother, if Conscience move you to oppon your self to that Doctrin which ye have hard of my Mouth in that Matter, do it boldly, it fall never offend me. Bot that ye fall be found to oppon yourself unto me, ye being perswaded in the sam Treuth, I say yit agane it pleisis me not; for tharein may be gritter Inconveniency than eyther ye or I do confidder for the present.

The said Maister *George* answered, That I wald oppone myself unto you, as willing to impugne or confute that Head of Doctrin, whiche not on- ly ye, bot mony uthers, yea, and I myself have affirmed, far be it from me; for so sould I be found contrarious to myself: For my Lord Secretary knaws my Judgement in that Head. Marye, said the Secretary, ye ar the weall worst of the twa; for I remember yit our reffouning quhen the Quene was in *Carrick*. Weall, said *Jobne Knox*, seing, Brother, that God has made you ane to occupy the Chair of Verity, quharein I am assured we agre in all principall Heads of Doctrin, lat it never be said that we disagree in Disputatioun. *Jobne Knox* was moved thus to speak, becaus he understude more of the Craft than the uther did.

Weill, said *Lethingtoun*, I am sumquhat better provyded in this last Head, then I was in the other two. Mr. *Knox*, said he, yisterday we hard your Jugement upoun the 13th to the *Romanes*; we hard the Mynd of the Apostle well opyned; we hard the Causes quhy God hes establischt Powers upoun the Erthe; we hard the Necessitie that Mankynd hes of the same; and we hard the Dewty of Magistrates sufficiently declared; but in two Things I was offended, and I think sum mo of my Lords that then wer pre- sent: The one was, ye made Difference betwix the Ordinance of God, and the Persones that wer placed in Authority: And ye affirmit, That Men nicht resist the Persones, and yit not offend God's Ordinance. This is the ane, the uther ye had na Tyme to explane; but this me thocht ye meant, That Subjects wer not bound to obey thair Princes, if they comandit unlawfull Things, bot that thay nicht resist thair Princes, and wer not ever bound to suffer. In very Deid, said the uther, ye have baith richtly markit my Words, and understude my Mynd; for of the same Jugement have I long bene, and so yit I remane. How will ye prove your Divisioun and Diffe- rence, said *Lethingtoun*, and that the Persone placed in Authority, may be re- sisted, and God's Ordinance not transgressed, seing that the Apostle sayis, *He that resists the Powers, resists the Ordinance of God?* My Lord, said he, the plane Words of the Apostle makes the Difference, and the Facts of mony approved be God, prove my affirmative. First the Apostle affirms, That the Powers ar ordeyned of God, for the Preservatioun of quyet and peacibill Men, and for the Punischment of Malefactors; quhareof it is plane, That the Ordinance of God and the Power gevin unto Man, is one Thing, and the

the Personē cled with the Power or with the Authority, is ane uther; for God's Ordinance is the Preservatioun of Mankynd, the Punishment of Vice, and the menteyning of Vertew, quhilk is in itself holy, just, constant, stabill and perpetuall; bot Men cled with the Authoritie, ar comonly prophane and unjust, yea they ar mutabill and transitory, and subject to Corruptioun, as God threatned thame be his Prophet *David*, saying, *I have said ye ar gods, and every one of you the Sones of the most kickest; bot ye shall die as Men, and ye Princes shall lyke others.* Heir I am assured, the Persones, the Saull and Bodye, of wickit Princes ar threatned with Death; I think, that so ye will not affirme is the Authority, the Ordinance and the Power quhare-with God hes endewit suche Persones; for, as I have said, as it is holye, so it is the permanent Will of God. And now, my Lord, that the Prince may be resisted, and yit the Ordinance of God not violated, it is evident, for the Peple resistit *Saull*, quhen he had sworne be the leving God that *Jonathan* should die; the Peple, I say, sware in the contrare, and delyverit *Jonathan*, so that a Hair of his Heid fell not. Now *Saull* was thair anoynted King, and thay wer his Subjects, and yit thay so resistit him, that thay made him no better than maynsworne. I dowte, said *Lethingtoun*, if in so doing, the Peple did weill. The Spirit of God, sayd the uther, accusis thame not of any Cryme, bot rayther praysis thame, and damnis the King, allweill for his fulische Vow and Law made without God, as for his cruell Mynd, that so severely wald have punished ane innocent Man: Bot heirin will not I stand; this that followis shall confirme the former. This same *Saull* comandit *Abimelech* and the Preists of the Lord to be slane, becaus thay had comittit Treasone, as he allegit, for intercomoning with *David*: His Garde and principall Servands wald not obey his unjust Comandement: Bot *Doeg* the Kings Flatterar put the Kings Cruelty in Executioun. I will not ask your Jugement, Quhidder that the Servands of the King, in not obeying his Comandement, resistit God, or not; or, quhidder *Doeg*, in murdering the Preists, gave Obedience to ane just Authority: For I have the Spirit of God, speiking be the Mouth of *David*, to assure me, allweill of the one as of the other; for he in his 52. Psalme, dampns that Fact, as a most cruell Murther; and affirms, That God wald punish, not onely the Commander, bot also the merciles Executor: And therefore I conclude, That thay quho gainstude his Comandement, resistit not the Ordinance of God. And now, my Lord, to answere to the Place of the Apostle, quho affirms, That suche as resist the Power, resist the Ordinance of God; I say, that the Power in that Place is not to be understude of the unjust Comandement of Men, bot of the just Power quhare-with God hes armit his Magistrates and Lieutenents to punish Sin, and to mentene Vertew. As if any Man should interpryse to tak fra the Hands of a lawfull Juge a Murtherar, ane Adulterar, or anye uther Malefactor that be God's Law deservit the Death, this same Man resistit God's Ordinance, and procurit to himself Vengeance and Damnatioun, becaus that he stayit God's Sword to stryk. Bot so it is not, if that Men in the Feir of God oppone thame selves to the Furie and blind Rage of Princes; for so thay resist not God, bot the Devill, quho abuses the Sworde and Authority of God. I understand sufficiently, said *Lethingtoun*, quhat ye mein; and unto the one Pairt I will not oppone my self, bot I doute of the uther; for if the Quene wald comand me to slay *Johne Knox*, becaus sche is offended at him, I wald not obey hir. Bot, and if sche wald comand uthers to do it, or yit be a

Colour of Justice tak his Lyte frome him, I cannot tell if I be found to defend him against the Quene and against hir Officers. Under Protestatioun, said the uther, that the Auditor think not that I speik in favours of my self, I say, my Lord, that if ye be perswaded of my Innocency, and if God had gevin yow suche Power or Credite as micht delyver me, and yit sufferit me to perische, that in so doing, ye sould be criminall and gilty of my Blude. Prove that, and win the Pley, said *Lethingtoun*. Weill, my Lord, said the uther, remember your Promise, and I sall be schort in my Probatioun. The Prophet *Jeremie* was apprehended be the Preists and Prophets (quho wer a Part of the Authority within *Jerusalem*) and be the Multitude of the Peple, and this Sentence was pronounced against him, *Thou sall die the Death; for yow hes said, this Hous sall be lyke Schiloch, and this City sall be desolate, without ane Inhabitant.*

The Princes heiring the Uprore, cam from the King's Hous, and sat down in Judgement, in the Entry of the new Gate of the Lord's Hous. And thare the Preists, and Prophets befor the Princes, befor all the Pepell, intendit thair Accusatioun in these Words.

This Man is worthie to die; for he hes prophecyt against this City, as your Earis have hard. Jeremie answerit, That quhatsoever he had spokin proccedit from God; and tharefor said he, *As for me, behold, I am in your Hands, do with me as ye think gude and right. Bot know ye for certane, that if ye put me to Death, ye sall surely bring innocent Blude upoun yourselfis, and upoun this City, and upoun the Inhabitants thareof: For of a Treuth the Lord hes sent me unto yow to speik all these Words.* Now, my Lord, if the Princes and the hole Pepell sould have bene guilty of the Prophet's Blude, how sall ye or uthers be judged innocent befor God, if ye sall suffer the Blude of suche as have not deservit Deith to be sched, quhen that ye may save it?

The Cases ar not lyke, said *Lethingtoun*. And I wald learn, said the uther, quhareuntill the Dissimilitude stands. *First*, said *Lethingtoun*, The King had not condemnit him to Deith. And *nixt*, The fals Prophets, the Preists and the Pepell accusit him without a Caus; and tharefor thay could not be bot gilty of his Blude. Neyther of these, said *Johne Knox*, techts against my Argument; for albeit that neyther the King was present, nor yit had condemnit him, yit wer the Princes and cheif Counsellours thare sitting in Judgement, quho representit the King's Persone and Awthority, heiring the Accusatioun layed unto the Charge of the Prophet; and tharefor he forewarnes thame of the Danger, as befor is said, to wit, that in case he sould be condemned, and so put to Deith, that the King, the Counsaill, and the hole City of *Jerusalem*, sould be gyltie of his Blude, becaus he had comitted no Cryme worthy of the Deith. And if ye think, That thay sould all have bene criminall onely, becaus they all accusit him, the plane Text witnesss the contrare; for the Princes defendit him, and so no dowte did a grit Parte of the Pepell; and yit he boldly affirmes, that thay sould be all gilty of his Blude, if that he sould be put to Deith. And the Prophet *Ezechie*l gevis the Ressoun, quhy all ar gilty in a comone Corruptioun, becaus, sayis he, *I socht a Man amongst thame, that sould mak up the Hedge, and stand in the Gape befor me for the Land, that I sould not destroy it, but I fund none. Tharefor I have pourit furth my Indignatioun upoun thame.* Heiroy, my Lord, it is plane, said he, that God craves not onely, that a Man do none Iniquity in his awn Persone, but also that he oppone himself to all Iniquity, so far furth as in him lyes.

Then

Then will ye, said *Lettington*, mak Subjects to comptroll their Princes and Rewlars. And quhat Harmie, said the uther, sould the Comoun-wealth receive, if the corrupt Affectionns of ignorant Rewlars wer moderated, and so bryddled be the Wildome and Discretion of godly Subjects, that they sould do Wrang or Violence to no Man? All this Reasoning, said *Lettington* is out of Purposè; for we reason, as thoch the Quene sould becum sick ane Enemy to our Religion, that sche sould persequite, and put innocent Men to Deith; quhilk I am assured sche nevir thocht, nor nevir will do. For if I sould sie hir begin at that End, yea, or if I sould suspect ony suche Thing in hir, I suld be als far forward in that Argument as ye ar, or as ony uther within the Realme; bot thare is no suche ane Thing. Our Question is quidder, That we may and aucht suppress the Quenis Mels? Or quidder, That hir Idolatry fall be laid to our Charge? Quhat ye may, said *John Knox*, be Force I dispute not; bot quhat ye may and aucht to do be God's expresse Comandement, that can I tell. Idolatry aucht not onely to be suppressed, bot the Idolatar aucht to die the Deith, unles we will accuse God. I know, said *Lettington*, the Idolatar is comanded to die the Deith; bot be quhom? Be the Peppell of God, said the uther. For the Comandement was maid to *Israel*, as ye may reid, *Heir Israel, says the Lord, the Statutes and the Comandements of the Lord thy God.* Yea, a Comandement is gevin, *That if it be hard, that Idolatry is comitted in ony one City, that Inquisition fall be takin, and if it be found trew, that then the hole Body of the Peppell fall arise, and destroy that City, sparing in it neyther Man, Woman, nor Child.* Bot thare is no Comandement gevin to the Peple to punish thair King, said the Secretary, if he be ane Idolatar. I find no Priviledge grantit unto Kings, said the uther, be God, more then unto the Peple to offend God's Majesty. I grant, said *Lettington*; bot yit the Peple may not be Judge unto thair King, to punish him, albeit he be ane Idolatar. God, said the uther, is the universall Judge, alsweill to the King as to the Peple; so that quhat his Word comands to be punished in the one, is not to be absolved in the uther. We aggrie in that, said *Lettington*. Bot the Peple may not execute God's Judgement, bot man leave it unto himself, quho will eyther punish it by Deith, be Weir, be Imprisonement, or be sum uther Kynd of his Plagues. I know, said *John Knox*, the last Parte of your Reason to be trew; bot for the first, to wit, that the Peple, yea, or a Part of the Peple, may not execute God's Judgement against thair King, being ane Offendar, I am assured ye have no uther Warrant, except your awn Imagination, and the Opinioun of suche as more feir to offend Princes then God.

Quhy say ye so? said *Lettington*. I have the Judgements of the most famous Men within *Europe*, and of suche as ye yourself will confes both godly and learned. And with that he callit for his Papers, whiche produced be Maister *Robert Maitland*, he began to reid with grit Gravity, the Judgement of *Luther*, *Melancton*, the Mynds of *Bucer*, *Musculus*, and *Calvine*, how Christians sould behave thameseves in Tyme of Persecutioun; yea, the Buik of *Baruch* was not omitted, with this Conclusioun. The gaddering of these Things, said he, hes cost me mair Travell, then I tuke these seven Yeirs in reiding of ony Comentaries.

The more Pity, said the uther; and yit quhat ye have profitit your awn Caus, let uthers judge. Bot as for my Argument, I am assured, ye have infirmit it nothing. For your first two Witnesses speik against the *Anabaptist*, quho deny that Christians sould be Subjects unto Magistrates, or yit that

it is lawfull, for a Christian to be a Magistrate. Quhilk Opinioun I no les abhorre then ye, or any uther that levis do. The uther speik of Christians Subject unto Tyrants and Infidelis, so disperfed that they have no uther Force, bot onely to sob to God for Delyverance. That suche indeid sould hasarde any further then these godly Men willis thame, I could not haistily be of Counsaill. Bot my Argument hes ane uther Ground; for I speik of ane Peple assembled togidder in one Body of a Comon-welthe, unto quhom God hes gevin sufficient Force, not only to resist, bot also to suppress all Kinde of open Idolatry: And suche a Peple, yit again I affirme, ar bound to keip thair Land clein and unpolluted. And that this my Divisioun fall not appeir strange unto yow, ye fall understand, that God requyred one Thing of *Abrahame* and of his Seid, quhen he and they wer Pilgrames and Strangers in *Egypt* and *Canaan*, and ane uther Thing requyrit he of thame, quhen thay wer delyvered from the Bondage of *Egypt*, and the Possessioun of the Land of *Canaan* granted unto thame. At the first, and during all Tyme of thair Bondage, God cravit no more, bot that *Abrahame* sould not defyle himself with Idolatry, neyther was he, nor yit his Posterity comanded to destroy the Idoles that wer in *Canaan* or in *Egypt*. Bot quhen God gave unto thame the Possessioun of the Land, he gave unto thame this strait Comandement, *Beware that thou mak Confederacy or League with the Inhabitants of this Land; geve not thy Sones unto thair Dochters, nor yit geve thy Dochters to thair Sones. But thus fall ye do unto thame, cut down thair Groves, destroy thair Images, brick down thair Altars, and leave yow no Kynd of Remembrance of those Abominatiouns, whiche the Inhabitants of the Land usit befor: For yow art ane holy Peple unto the Lord thy God. Defyle not thyself tharefoir with thair Gods.* To this same Comandement, I say, ar ye my Lords, and all suche as have professit the Lord *Jesus* within this Realme, bound. For God hes wrocht no les Miracle upoun yow both spirituall and corporall, then he did upoun the carnall Seid of *Abrahame*. For in quhat Estait your Bodies, and this pure Realme was, within theis seven Yeirs, yourselfis cannot be ignorant: Yow and it wer bothe in the Bondage of a strange Natioun; and quhat Tyrants rang over your Conscience, God perchance may yit once agane let yow feill; becaus that ye do not rychtly acknowledge the Benefite received. Quhen our pure Brethren befor us gave thair Bodies to the Flames of Fyre, for the Testimony of the Treuth, and quhen scarcely could ten be found in a Country, that richtly knew God, had bein Fulischnes eyther to have cravit of the Nobility, or of the Subjects, the suppressing of Idolatry; for that had bein nothing, bot to have exponit the simple Sheip in a Pray to the Wolves: Bot since that God hes multiplied Knowledge, yea, and hes gevin the Victory to his Treuth, evin in the Hands of his Servands, if ye suffer the Land agane to be defyled, ye and your Princefs bothe fall drink the Cupe of God's Indignatioun; sche, for hir obstinat abyding in manifest Idolatry, in this grit Licht of the Evangell of *Jesus Christ*, and ye, for your Permissioun, and menteyning of hir in the same.

Leithingtoun said, In that Point we will never agrie. And quhare find ye, I pray yow, that ever any of the Prophets, or of the Apostles taucht suche a Doctrine, that the Peple sould be plagued for the Idolatry of thair Prince; or yit, that the Subjects micht suppress the Idolatry of thair Rewlars, or punishe thame for the same? Quhat was the Comissioun gevin to the Apostles, my Lord, said he, we know it was to preich, and plant the Evangell of *Jesus*

sus Christ, quhair Darknes befoir had Dominioun : And tharefoir it behovit
 thame, first to let thame sie the Licht, befoir thay sould will thame to put
 to thair Hands to suppress Idolatry. Quhat Precepts the Apostles gave unto
 the Faythfull in particular, other then that thay comandit all to flie from I-
 dolatry, I will not affirme. Bot I find two Things, quhilk the Faythfull did.
 The one was, thay assistit thair Preichars, even against thair Rewlars and Ma-
 gistrats. The uther was, thay suppressit Idolatry quhairsoever God gave unto
 thame Force, asking no Licence at the Emperour, or of his Deputes. Reid
 the ecclesiasticall History, and ye sall find Examples sufficient. And as to the
 Doctrine of the Prophets, we know, That thay wer Interpretars of the Law
 of God ; and we know, that they spak allweill unto the Kings as unto the
 Peple. I reid, That neyther of bothe wald heir thame ; and tharefoir came
 the Plague of God upoun bothe. Bot that they more flatterit the Kings, then
 they did the Peple, I cannot be perswaded. Now God's Law pronounces
 Deith, as befoir I have said, to Idolatours without Exceptioun of ony Persone.
 Now how the Prophets could richtly interpret the Law, and schaw the Causis
 of God's Judgements, whiche ever they threatned sould follow Idolatry, and
 for the rest of Abhominatiouns that accompanyit it ; for it is nevir alone ; *Bot
 still a corrupt Religion brings with it, a filthy and corrupt Lyfe.* How, I say,
 the Prophetes could reprove the Vices, and not schaw the Peple thair Dewty,
 I understand not. And tharefoir I constantly beleve, that the Doctrine of the
 Prophets was so sensible, that the Kings understude thair awn Abhominatiouns,
 and the Peple understude quhat they aucht to have done, in punisching and
 repressing thame. Bot becaus that the maist Part of the Peple wer no les
 rebellious unto God, then wer thair Princes ; tharefoir the one and the uther
 conjurit against God, and against his Servants. And yit, my Lord, the Facts of
 sum Prophets ar so evident, that easly thair of, we may collect quhat Doctrine
 thay taucht : For it wer no small Absurdity to affirme, That thair Facts sould
 repugne to thair Doctrine. I think, said *Lethingtoun*, ye mean of the History
 of *Jehu*. What will ye prove thareby ? The chief Heid, said *Johne Knox*,
 that ye deny, to wit, that the Prophets never taucht, that it apperteinit to the
 Peple to punishe the Idolatry of thair Kings ; the contrary quhareof I affirme.
 And for the Probatioun, I am reddey to produce the Fact of a Prophete. For
 ye know, my Lord, said he, that *Eliseus* sent one of the Children of the Pro-
 phets to anoynt *Jehu*, quho gave him in Comandement, to destroy the Sones
 of his Master *Achab*, for the Idolatry comitted be him, and for the innocent
 Blude that *Jesabell* his wickit Wyfe had sched ; quhilk he obeyed, and put
 in full Executioun ; for the whiche God promisit unto him the Stability of
 the Kingdome to the fourt Generatioun. Now, said he, heir is the Fact
 of a Prophet, that proves that Subjects wer commanded to execute God's Judge-
 ment upoun thair King and Prince. Thare is yneuch, said *Lethingtoun*, to be
 answered thareunto ; for *Jehu* was a King befoir he put ony Thing in Execu-
 tioun. And besyds this, the Fact is extraordinary, and aucht not to be imi-
 tate. My Lord, said the uther, he was a mere Subject, and no King quhen
 the Prophet's Servand came unto him ; yea, and albeit that his Fellow-
 Captanes, heiring of the Messlage, blew the Trumpet, and said, *Jehu is King*.
 Yit I dowte not, bot *Jesabell* bothe thocht and said, *He was a Traytour* ; and
 so did mony uthers that wer in *Israell* and in *Samaria*.

And as twitching that ye alledge, that the Fact was extraordinary, and is
 not to be imitat, I say, that it had the Ground of Gods ordinary Jugment,

quhilk comandis the Idolatar to die the Death; and therefore I yit agane affirm, that it is to be imitat of all those that prefers the trew Honour, the trew Worschip and Glory of God, to the Affectiouns of Flesche, and of wicked Princes. We ar not bound to imitat extraordinary Examples, said *Lethingtoun*, unles we have lyke Comandment and Assurance. I grant, said the uther, if the Example repugne to the Law, as if ane avericious and deceitfull Man wald borrow Gold, Silver, Rayment, or ony uther Necessaries, from their Nichbours, and withhald the sam, alledging, that so they might do and not offend God, becaus the *Israelites* at thair departing from *Egypt* did so to the *Egyptians*. The Example served to no Purpose unles that they culd produce the lyk Caus and the lyke Comandment that the *Israelites* had, and that becaus thair Fact repugnit to this Comandment of God, *Thou fall not steill*. Bot quhare the Exampil agrees with the Law, and is as it wer the Executioun of Gods Jugments expressed in the sam, I say that the Exemple approved of God stands to us in Place of a Comandment: For as God in his Nature is constant and imutabill, so cann he not damne in the Ages subsequent that which he has approvit in his Servands before us. Bot in his Servands before us he be his awn Comandment has approvit, that Subjectis have not only destroyit thair Kings for Idolatry, bot also has ruitit out thair hole Posterity, so that none of thair Race was left efter to impyre above the Pepel of God. Quharsoever they did, said *Lethingtoun*, was done at Gods Comandment. That fortifies my Argument, said the uther; for God be his Comandment has approvit, that Subjects punish thair Kings for Idolatry and Wickednes be thame comitted. We have not the lyk Comandment, said *Lethingtoun*. That I deny, said the uther; for the Comandment, that the Idolatar fall die the Death, is perpetuall, as ye yourself have grantit; ye doubt ony quho sould be the Executours against the King, and I said the Pepel of God, and have sufficiently proven, as I think, that God has raised up the Pepel, and be his Prophet has anoynted a King to tak Vengeance upone the King and his Posterity, quhilk Fact God sen that Tyme hes never retracted; and therefore to me it remanes for a constant and clear Comandment to all Pepel professing God, and having the Power to punish Vyce, quhat they aucht to do in the lyk Case. If the Pepel had interprysit any Thing aganst Gods Comandment, we might have doutit quidder they had done weall or evill; bot seing that God did bring the Executioun of his Law agane in Practice, efter it was cum in Oblivioun and Contempt, quhat ressonabill Man can dout now of Gods Will, unles that he will dout of all Things which God renewis not unto us be Miracles, as it wer from Age to Age. Bot I am assured, that the Answer of *Abraham* unto the rich Man, quho being in Hell desyred that *Lazarus*, or some of the Dead, sould be sent unto his Brethren and Freindis, to forwarne thame of his incredibill Pane and Torment, and that they sould behave thamefelfis so that they sould not cum in that Place of Torment; the Answer, I say, gevin unto him, fall confound all such as crave farther Approbatioun of Gods Will than is alredy expressed within his holy Scripture: For *Abraham* said, *They have Moses and the Prophets, quhome if they will not beleeve, nether will they beleeve albeit that ony of the Deid suld ryse agane*. Even so say I, my Lord, that such as will not be taucht what they aucht to do, be the Comandment of God anes gevin, and anes put in Practise, will not beleeve nor obey, albeit that God sould send Angels from Heaven to instruct that Doctrin. Ye have produced bot one Example, said *Lethingtoun*. One suffi-

ceth,

ceſs, ſaid the uther; bot yet, God be praſed, we lak not uthers; for the hole Pepel conſpyred aganſt *Amasiah* King of *Juda*, eſter that he had turned away from the Lord, followed him to *Lacheth*, and ſlew him, and tuk *Oſiah* and anoynted him King in ſtead of his Father. The Pepel had not altogidder forgottin the League and Covenant which was maid betwix thair Kings and thame, at the Inauguratioun of *Joas* his Father, to wit, that *the King and the Pepel ſould be the Pepel of the Lord*, and then ſould they be his faythfull Subjects; from the which Covenant, quhen that firſt the Father, and eſter the Son declyned, they wer both puniſhed to the Death, *Joas* be his awn Seruant; and *Amasiah* be the hole Pepel. I dout, ſaid *Leithingtoun*, quether they did weall or not. It ſall be free for you, ſaid the uther, to dout as you pleis; bot quhare I fynd Executioun according to Gods Law, and God himſelf not to accuſe the Doars, I dar tiot dout of the Equity of thair Caus. And farther it appears to me, that God gave ſufficient Approbatioun and Allowance of thair Fact; for he bleſſit thame with Victory, Peace and Proſperity the Space of fifty two Years eſter. Bot Proſperity, ſaid *Leithingtoun*, does not always prove, that God approves the Facts of Men. Yis, ſaid the uther, quhen the Facts of Men agre with the Law of God, and ar rewarded according to Gods awn Promiſe expreſſit in his Law; I ſay, that the Proſperity ſucceeding the Fact is a moſt infallible Aſſurance, that God has approved that Fact. Now ſo it is, that God hes promiſit in his Law, that quhen his Pepel ſall exterminat and deſtroy ſuch as declyn from him, that he will bleſs thame, and multiply thame, as he hes promiſit unto thair Fathers. Bot ſo it is, that *Amasias* turnit fra God; for ſo the Text does witnes; and plane it is the Pepel ſlew thair King; and lyk plane it is, that God bleſſit thame: Therefore, yit agane conclude I, that God approvit thair Fact, in ſo far as it was done according to Gods Comandment, was bleſſit according to his Promis. Weall, ſaid *Leithingtoun*, I think not the Ground ſo ſure, as I durſt build my Conſcience thareupoun. I pray God, ſaid the uther, that your Conſcience have no war Ground than this is, quhenſoever ye ſall begin that lyk Wark which God in your awn Eyes hes alredy bleſſit. And now, my Lord, ſaid he, I have bot ane Example to produce, and then I will put ane End to my reſſoning, becaus I wery langer to ſtand. (*Comandment was gevin that he ſould ſit down; bot he refuſit, and ſaid, Melancholious Reſſouns wald have ſum Mirth intermixed.*) My laſt Exemple, ſaid he, my Lords is this. *Uſias* the King, not content of his Royall Eſtate, malepartly tuk upon him to enter within the Temple of the Lord, to burn Incenſe upon the Altar of Incenſe, and *Azarias* the Prieſt went in eſter him, and with him fourſcore Prieſts of the Lord, valiant Men, and they withſtode *Uzias* the King, and ſaid unto him, It apperteneth not unto *Uzias* to burn Incenſe unto the Lord, bot to the Prieſts, the Sonns of *Aaron*, that ar conſecrated to offer Incenſe; go furth of the Sanctuary, for thou hes tranſgreſſit, and you ſall have no Honour from the Lord God. Heirow, my Lords, I conclude, that Subjects not only may, bot alſo aucht to withſtand and reſiſt their Princes, quhenſoever they do ony Thing that expreſſy repugnes to God his Law, or holy Ordinance.

They that withſtode the King, ſaid *Leithingtoun*, were not ſimpell Subjects, bot were the Prieſts of the Lord, and Figures of Chryſt, and ſick Prieſts have we none this Day, to withſtand Kings gif they do wrang. That the hie Prieſt was the Figure of Chryſt, ſaid the uther, I grant; bot that he was not a Subject that I deny; for I am aſſured, that he in his Priethood had

no Prerogative above those that passit before him. Now so it is, that *Aaron* was subject unto *Moses*, and callit him his *Lord*. *Samuell* being both Prophet and Priest, subjects himself to *Saull*, efter he was inaugurat of the *Pepil*. *Zadock* bowed before *David*, and *Abiathar* was deposed from the Priesthood by *Solomon*, quhilk all confessing thameselfis Subjects to the Kings, albeit that tharewith they ceisit not to be the Figures of Christ. And quhareas ye say, that we have no such Priests this Day, I micht answer, that nether have we such Kings this Day as then wer anynted at Gods Comandment, and sat upoun the Seat of *David*, and wer no les the Figures of Christ Jesus in thair just Administratioun, than wer the Priests in thair appoynted Office. And such Kings I am assured we have not now more than we have such Priests: For Jesus Christ being anynted in our Nature, of God his Father, both King, Priest and Prophet, hes put End to all such externall Unction: And yit I think ye will not say, that God has now deminischit his Graces from those quhom he appoynts Ambassadours betwixt him and his *Pepel*, than that he does from Kings and Princes: And tharefore, quhy that the Servants of Jesus Christ may not als justly withstand Kings and Princes, that this Day no less offend Gods Majesty than *Uzias* did, I see not, unles that ye will say, that we, in the Brichtnes of the *Evangel*, ar not so straytly bound to regard Gods Glory, nor yit his Comandment, as wer the Fathers quho lived under the dark Shadows of the *Law*. Weall, said *Lethingtoun*, I will dipp no farther in that Head. Bot how resistit the Priests the King? They only spak unto him without ony farther Violence intendit. That they withstude him, said the uther, the Text assures me; bot that they did no Thing bot spak, I cannot understand; for the plane Text affirms the contrary, *to wit*, that they caufit him hastily to depart from the Sanctuary, yea, that he was compellit to depart; quhilk Maner of speiking I am assured, in the *Hebrew* Tounge imports uther Thing than exhorting, or comanding be Word. They did that, said *Lethingtoun*, efter that he was espyed leprous. They withstude him before, said the uther; bot yit thair last Fact confirms my Proposition so evidently, that such as wald oppone thameselfis unto it, must nedes oppone thame unto God; for my Assertioun is, That Kings have no Priviledge mor than hes the *Pepel* to offend Gods Majesty; and if that so they do, that they ar no mor exempted from the Punischment of the *Law*, than is ony other Subject; yea, and that Subjects may not only lawfully opone thameselfis to thair Kings, quhensoever they do ony Thing that expresly repugnes Gods Comandment, bot also that they may execute Jugment upoun thame according to Gods *Law*; so that if the King be a Murtherer, Adulterar, or Idolatar, he sould suffer according to Gods *Law*, not as a King bot as ane Offendar, and that the *Pepel* may put Gods *Law* in Executioun, this History cleirly proveth: For how sone that the Leprosie was espyed in his Foirhead, he was not only compellit to depart out of the Sanctuary, bot also he was removit from all publick Society, and Administratioun of the Kingdome, and was compellit to dwell in a House apart, even as the *Law* comandit, and gat no gritter Prerogative in that Case than ony uther of the *Pepel* sould have done; and this was executed by the *Pepel*; for it is na dout bot mo wer Witnes of his Leprosie than the Priests alone. Bot we find none oppone thameselfis to the Sentence of God pronounced in his *Law* aganst the Leprous: And tharefore, yit agane say I, that the *Pepel* aucht to execut Gods *Law* even aganst thair Princes, quhen that thair opyn Cryms be Gods *Law* deservit Death, bot especially quhen they ar sick as may infect

infect the rest of the Multitude. And now, said he, my Lords, I will reſſon no langer; for I have ſpoken mor than I intendit. And yit, ſaid *Lethingtoun*, I cannot tell quhat can be concludit. Albeit ye cannot, ſaid the uther, yit I am aſſured quhat I have proven, *to wit,*

1. *That Subjects have delyvered ane Innocent fra the Hands of thair King, and thareuntill offendit not God.*

2. *That Subjects have reſuſit to ſtrick Innocents quhen a King commandit, and in ſo doing denyit no juſt Obedience.*

3. *That ſuche as ſtruck at the Comandment of the King were reputed Murtherars.*

4. *That God has not only of a Subject maid a King, bot alſo has armit Subjects aganſt thair naturall Kings, and comandit thame to take Vengeance upoun thame according to his Law.*

5. *And, laſt, That God's Pepel bes executed God's Law aganſt thair King having no farther Regard to him in that Behalf, than if that he had bene the moſt ſimple Subject within the Realme.*

And thairfore, albeit ye will not underſtand quhat ſould be concluded, yit I am not aſſured, That not only may God's Peple, bot alſo, that they ar bound to do the ſame, quhare the lyke Crimes ar comitted, and quhen he gevis unto thame the lyke Power. Weill, ſaid *Lethingtoun*, I think ye ſall not have many learnit Men of your Opinioun. My Lord, ſaid the uther, the Treuth ceisſis not to be the Treuth, howſoever it be, that Men either miſknaw it, or yit gainſtand it. And yit, ſaid he, I lake not the Conſent of God's Servands on that Heid. And with that he preſentit the Secretary the Apology of *Madgeburgh*; and willit him to reid the Names of the Miniſters, quho had ſubſcryvit the Defence of the Town to be a moſt juſt Defence; and thairwith addit, That to reſiſt a Tyrant, is not to reſiſt God, nor yit his Ordinance. Quhilk quhen he had red, he ſcrippit and ſaid, *Homines obſcuri*. The uther anſwerit, *Dei tamen ſervi*. And ſo *Lethingtoun* aroſe, and ſaid, My Lords, ye have hard the Reſſons upoun bothe Parties; it becumis you now to decyde, and to put ane Ordour to Preichars, that they be uniforme in Doctrine. May we, think ye, tak the Quenes Mes frome hir? Quhill that ſum began to geve their Votes, (for ſum wer appoynted, as it wer, Leaders to the reſt) *Johne Knox* ſaid, my Lords, I ſuppoſe that ye will not do contrary to your Lordſchips Promeis maid to the hole Aſſembly, quhilk was, That nothing ſould be voted in Secrete, till that firſt all Maters ſuld be debated in publick, and that then the Votes of the hole Aſſembly ſould put End to the Controverſie. Now have I ſuſtenit the Argument onely, and have rather ſchawin my Conſcience in moſt ſimple Maner, then that I have inſiſtit upoun the Force and Vehemence of onye one Argument: And thairfore I for my Parte utterlye diſſent from all voting, till that the hole Aſſembly have hard the Propoſitiouns, and the Reaſons of bothe Parties; for I unfaynedly acknowlege, that manye in that Cumpanye ar more abill to ſuſtene the Argument than I am. Think ye it reaſonabill, ſaid *Lethingtoun*, That ſick a Multitude as is now conveyned, ſould Reſſone and Vote in theſe Heids and Maters that concern the Quenes Majeſties awn Perſone and Effaires. I think, ſaid the other, that quhatſoever ſould bind the Multitude, the Multitude ſould heir, unles that they have reſignit thair Power unto thair Commissioners, quhilk they have not done, ſa far as I underſtand; for my Lord Juſtice Clerk hard thame with ane Vote ſay, That in nowayis culd thay conſent that any Thing ſould either heir be voted or concludit. I cannot tell,

said *Lethingtoun*, if my Lords that be heir present, and that most bear the Burdenes of suche Maters, sould be bound to thair Will. Quhat say ye, said he, my Lords, will ye vote in this Mater, or will ye not vote? Efter lang Reasoning, sum that wer maid for the Purpose, said, Quhy may not the Lords vote, and then schaw unto the Kirk quhatsoever is done. That apperis unto me, said *Johne Knox*, not onely ane backward Ordour, bot also a Tyranny usurped upoun the Kirk: Bot for me, do as ye list, said he, for as I reason, so I vote; yit protesting as before, that I dissent frome all voting, till that the hole Assembly understand alsweill the Questious as the Reasouns. Well, said *Lethingtoun*, that cannot be done now, for the Tyme is spent; and thairfore, my Lord Chancellour, said he, ask ye the Votes, and tak every ane of the Ministers and ane of us. And so was the Rector of Sanct *Androis* comanded first to speik his Conscience: Quho said, I refer it to the Superintendent of *Fyfe*, for I thinke we ar bothe of one Jugement; and yit, said he, if ye will that I speik first, my Conscience is, that if the Quene oppone herself to our Religoun, quhilk is the only trew Religoun, that in that case the Nobility and States of this Realme, that have professit the trew Doctrine, may justly oppone thameselves unto hir: Bot as concerning hir awn Mefs, I know it is Idolatry, bot I am not yit resolved, quhither that by Violence we may tak it from hir or not. The Superintendent of *Fyfe* said, That same is my Conscience: And so affirmit sum of the Nobility. Bot others voted frankly, That as the Mefs was Abhominatioun, so was it just and rycht that it suld be repressed; and that in so doing, Men did no more wrong to the Quenes Majestie, then thay that sould be Force tak from hir ane poysonit Cupe, quhen sche wer going to drink it. At last Mr. *Johne Craige*, fellow Minister with *Johne Knox* in the Church of *Edinburgh*, was requyred to geve his Jugement and Vote; quho said, I will gladely schaw unto your Honours quhat I understand; bot I gritly dowte, quhither my Knowlege and Conscience fall satisfie you, seing that ye hard so many Reasons, and ar so lytle moved with thame: Bot yit I fall not conceill fra you my Jugement, adhering first to the Protestatioun of my Brother, *to wit*, That our voting pre-juge not the Liberty of the Generall Assembly. I was, said he, in the University of *Bononia*, in the Yeir of God 1562, quhare, in the Place of the Black-Freiris of the same Town, I saw in the Tyme of thair Generall Assembly this Conclusioun set forth; this same I hard reasonit, determined and concludit.

CONCLUSIO.

PRincipes omnes tam supremi, quam inferiores, possunt & debent reformari, vel deponi per eos, per quos eliguntur, confirmantur vel admittuntur ad officium; quoties a fide prestita subditis, per juramentum, deficiunt. Quoniam relatio juramenti subditorum & principum mutua est, & utrinque aequo jure servanda & reformanda, juxta legem & conditionem juramenti, ab utraque parte facti. That is, All Rewlars, be thay Supreme or be they Inferiour, may and aucht to be reformed or deposed be those, be quhome thay ar chosen, confirmed or admitted to thair Office, als oft as thay break thair Promeis maid be Othe to thair Subjects; becaus that the Prince is no less bound to the Subjects, than ar the Subjects to thair Princes, and thairfore aucht it to be keiped and reformed equally, according to the Law and Condioun of the Othe that is maid of either Partie.

This

This Conclusioun, my Lords, I hard sustenit and concludit, as I have said, in a most notabill Auditour. The Sustenar was a learnit Man, Maister *Thomas de Finola*, the Rector of the University, a Man famous in that Cuntrey: Mr. *Vincentius de Placentia*, affirmit the Conclusioun to be most trew and certane, agreabill bothe with the Law of God and Man. The Occasioun of the Disputatioun and Conclusioun, was a certane Disordour and Tyrany that was attempted be the Popes Governours, quho began to mak Innovatiouns in the Cuntrey against the Lawis that wer before establisched, alleging thameselfis not to be subject to suche Lawes, be reasone that thay wer not institute by the Peple, bot by the Pope, quho was King of that Cuntrey: And thairfore they having full Comissioun and Authority of the Pope, micht altar and change Statutes and Ordinances of the Cuntrey, without all Consent of the Peple. Against this thair usurped Tyrany, the learned and the Peple opponit thameselfis opinly: And quhen that all Reasouns whiche the Popes Governours could allege wer hard and confuted, the Pape himself was fane to tak up the Mater, and to promeis to keip, not onely the Liberty of the Peple, bot also that he sould nether abrogat anye Law or Statute, nether yit mak anye new Law, without thair awn Consent. And thairfore, said he, my Lords, my Vote and Conscience is, That Princes ar not onely bound to keip Lawis and Promises to thair Subjects, bot also, that in case they faill, thay justly may be deposed, for the Band betwix the Prince and the Peple is reciproock. Then start up a Claw back of that corrupt Court, and said, ye wate not quhat ye say; for ye tell us quhat was done in *Bononia*; we ar in a Kingdome, and they ar bot a Comone-welthe. My Lord, said he, my Jugement is, That every Kingdome is a Comone-welthe, or at least sould be, albeit that every Comone-welthe is not a Kingdome; and thairfore, I think, that in a Kingdome, no less Diligence aucht to be takin, that Lawes be not violated then is in a Comon-welthe, becaus that the Tyrany of Princes, quho continewally ring in a Kingdome, is more hurtfull to the Subjects then is the Mysgovernment of these that fra Yeir to Yeir ar changed in free Comone-welths. Bot yit, my Lords, to assure yow and all uthers farther, that Heid was disputed to the uttermost; and in the End it was concluded, that thay spak not of suche Things as wer done in dyvers Kingdomes and Nations be Tyrany and Negligence of Peple. Bot we conclude, said thay, quhat aucht to be done in all Kingdomes and Comon-welthis, according to the Law of God, and unto the just Lawis of Men, and if be the Negligence of the Peple, or be Tyranny of Princes, contrary Lawis have bein made; yit may that same Peple, or thair Posterity, justly crave all Things to be reformed, according to the originall Institutioun of Kings and Comone-welths. And suche as will not do so, deserve to eit the Frute of thair awin Fulischnes.

Mr. *James Macgill* then Clerk of Register, perceiving the Votes to be different, and heiring the bold Playnes of the soirsaid Servand of God, said, I remember that this same Questioun was lang debated anes before this in my Hous, and thair by Reasone that we wer not all of one Mynd, it was concluded, that Mr. *Knox* sould in all our Names have writtin to Maister *Calvin* for his Jugement in the Contraversie. Nay, said *Johnne Knox*, my Lord Secretary wald not consent that I sould wryte, alledging, that the grittest Wecht of the Answer stude in the Narrative, and thairfore promisit that he wald wryte, and that I sould see it. But quhen, said he, dyvers Tymes I requy-

rit him to remember his Promeis, I fand nothing bot delay. Quhairto the Secretary did answere, trew it is, I promisit to wryte, and trew it is, that Maister *Knox* requyrit dyvers Tymes me so to do. Bot quhen I had ryplie advysit, and had more deiply considerit the Wecht of the Mater, I began to find mo Dowtes then that I did before, and this one amongst others, how durst I being a Subject, and the Quenes Majesties Secretary, tak upoun me to feik Resolutioun of Controversies depending betwix hir Hichness and hir Subjects without hir awn Knowledge and Consent. Then was thair ane Acclamatioun of the Claw-backs of the Court, as if *Apollo* had gevin his Respons. It was wysely and faythfully done.

Weill, said *Johne Knox*, let warldly Men prayse warldly Wisdome so hie-ly as thay pleis, I am assured, that be suche Schiffts, Idolatry is mentened, and the Treuth of Christ Jesus is betrayed, quhareof God will one Day be revenged. At this and the lyke Scharpenes, manye offended, the voting ceisit, and every Factioun began playnly to speik as Affectioun moved thame. *Johne Knox* in the End was comanded yet to wryte to Maister *Calvine*, and to the learned in uther Churches to know thair Judgements in that Questioun, quhiche he refusit, schawing this Reasone, I my self am not onely fully resolved in Conscience, bot also I have had the Judgements in this and all uther Things that I have affirmit within this Realme, of the most godly and learned that be knawn in *Europe*. I came not to this Realme without thair Resolutioun, and for my Assurance I have the Hand-wrytings of many, and thairfore if I suld now move the same Questioun agane, quhat sould I do o-ther, bot either schaw my awin Ignorance and Forgetfulnes, or ellis Inconstancy; and thairfore it may pleis yow to appardone me, albeit I wryte not. Bot I will teiche you the surar Way, whiche is this, that ye wryte and com-plete upoun me, that I teiche publictly, and affirme constantly, such Doctrine as offends you, and so fall ye know thair plane Mynds, and quhider that I and thay aggrie in Jugement or not. Dyvers said the Offer was gude, bot no Man was found that wald be the Secretary, and so did that Assembly and long ressonyng breck up. Efter whiche Tyme the Ministers, whiche wer called precyse, wer haldin of all the Courteours as Monstres. In all that Tyme the Erle of *Murray* was so fremmed to *Johne Knox*, that neyther be Word nor be Wryte was thair any Comunicatioun betwix thame.

The End of the Fourth B U I K.



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THE



THE
FIFTH BUIK
OF THE
REFORMATIOUN
OF
The CHURCH of SCOTLAND.



IN the nixt Moneth, which was *July*, the Quene went into *Arhole* to the Hunting; and from thence sche maid hir Progres into *Murray*, and returned to *Fyfe* in *September*. All this While thare was Appeirance of Love and tender Freindschipe betwix the two Quenis; for thare wer mony Letters, full of Civility and Complements, sent from eyther of thame to the uthir, in Signe of Amity, besydes costly Presents for Tockens. And in the mean Tyme the Erle of *Lenox* laboured to come Home furth of *England*; and in the Moneth of *October* he arryved at *Halyrudkous*, quhair he was graciously receaved be the Quenis Majesty; namely, quhen he had presented the Quene of *England* hir Letters, written in his Favour. And becaus he could not be restored to his Lands, without Act of Parliament; therefore thare was a Parliament procured to be halden at *Edinburgh*, the 13th Day of *December*. Bot befoir the Quene would caus to proclame a Parliament, sche desyred the Erle *Murray*, by quhois Means cheifly the said Erle of *Lenox* came into *Scotland*, that thare schould no Word be spoken, or at least concluded, that concerned Religioun in the Parliament.

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Bot

Bot he ansered, That he could not promise it. In the mean Tyme the *Hamiltons* and the Erle of *Lenox* wer agreed.

At the Day appoynted, the Parliament was held at *Edinburgh*, where the said Erle of *Lenox* was restored, efter two and twenty Yeirs Exile. He was banished, and forsyted by the *Hamiltons*, quhen thay had the Rule. There wer some Articles gevin in by the Kirk, especially for abolishing of the Mefs universally, and for Punishment of Vice; bot thare was little Thing granted, save that it was statute, *That scandalous Livers sould be punished, first by Prisoun, and then publicly schawen unto the Peple with Ignominy*; bot the sam was not put in Excutioun. In the End of this Month of *December*, the Generall Assembly of the Kirk was held at *Edinburgh*, many Things wer ordained for settling of the Affairs of the Church.

In the End of *January* the Quene past to *Fyfe*, and visiting the Gentilmens Houses, was magnificently banquetted everyquher, so that suche Superfluity was nevir seen befor within this Realme; whiche caused the wyld Fowl to be so dear, that Patridges wer sold for a Crown a Piece. At this Tyme was granted by an Act of Parliament, the Confirmatioun of the Fewes of Kirk Lands, at the Desire of divers Lords, quhareof the Erle of *Murray* was chief. During the Quenis Absence, the Papisfts of *Edinburgh* went down to the Chappell to heir Mefs; and seeing thare was no Punishment, they waxit more bold: Some of thame thinking thareby to please the Quene, upoun a certane Sunday in *February*, they maid ane Even-song of thair awn, setting two Preists on the one Syde of the Quire, and one or two on the uther Syde, with *Sandy Stevin* Menstrall (baptizing thair Children, and making Mariages) who, within eight Days efter, was convinced of Blasphemy, alledging *That he wald give no moir Credit to the New Testament, then to a Tale of Robin-Hood, except it wer confirmed be the Doctours of the Church*. The said superstitious Even-song was the Occasioun of a grit Slander; for many wer offended with it; which being by the Brethren declared to the Lords of the Privy Counsaill, especially to the Erle of *Murray*, quho lamented the Caus to the Quenis Majesty, schewing hir quhat Inconveniency schould come, if suche Things wer suffered unpunished. And efter scharp Reasouning, it was promised, that the lyke sould not be done heirefter. The Quene also alledged, That they wer a grit Number, and that sche could not trouble thair Conscience.

About the 20th of this Month arrived at *Edinburgh*, *Henrie Stewart*, Lord *Darnlie*; from thence he past to *Fyfe*. And in the Place of *Weymis* he was admitted to kiss the Quenis Hand; quhome sche lyked so weill, that sche preferred him to all uthers, as fall heirefter, God willing, be declared. Soon efter, in the Month of *March*, the Erle *Bothwell* arrived out of *France*; quherat the Erle of *Murray* was hochly offended, becaus of the evill Report maid to him of the Lord *Bothwell*. And passing immediately to the Quenis Majesty, demanded of hir, if it was hir Will, or by hir Advice, that he was come Home; and seing he was his deidly Enemy, eyther he or the uther sould leive the Cuntrey; and tharefor desired that he micht have Justice. Her Answer was, That seing the Erle *Bothwell* was a Nobleman, and had done hir Service, sche could not hate him: Nevertheles sche would do nothing that micht be prejudiciall to the Erle of *Murray*, bot desired that the Matter micht be taken away. Within few Days sche caused summone the Erle *Bothwell*, to answer to the Course of Law, the 2d of *May*, for the Conspiracy which

which the Erle of *Arrane* had alledged two Yeirs befor, and for the breaking of the Ward of the Castle. In the mean while there was nothing in the Court, bot Banquetting, Balling, and Dancing, and uther such Pleasures, as wer meet to provoke the disordered Appetite; and all for the Entertainment of the Quenis Cetsin from *England*, the Lord *Darnlie*, to quhom sche did schew all the Expressiouns imaginable of Love and Kindness.

Within few Days, the Quene being at *Stirling*, Ordour was given to Secretary *Lesington* to pas to the Quene of *England*. The cheif Point of his Message was, to declare to the Quene of *England*, That the Quene was minded to marry her Cousin the Lord *Darnley*; and the rather, becaus he was so neir of Blude to both Quenis: For by his Mother, he was Cousin Germane to the Quene of *Scotland*, also of neir Kindred, and of the sam Name by his Father: His Mother was Cousing German to the Quene of *England*. Hear mark God's Providence; King *James* the fifth having lost his two Sones, did declare his Resoluitioun to mak the Erle of *Lenox* his Heir of the Crown; bot being prevented by sudden Deith, that Design ceased. Then came the Erle of *Lenox* from *France*, with Intentioun to marry King *James* his Widow, bot that failed also: He marries *Marie Douglas*, and his Sone marrieth *Marie*; King *James* the fifth his Daughter. And so the Kingis Desire is fulfilled, to wit, the Crown contineweth in the Name, and in the Family. The Quene of *England* nevertheles schewed herself nothing pleased tharewith, bot rather declared, that sche would in nowise suffer her Subjects to mak such Contracts or Alliance that micht be prejudicall to hir; and for the sam Purpose, sent a Post to the Quene with Letters, wharein sche complained gritly of the Mynd of our Mistris, seing the grit Affectioun sche bare to hir, intending to declare hir Heretrix of hir Realme of *England*, provyding only that sche would use hir Counsaill in Marriage; bot sche could not approve hir Marriage with the Lord *Darnley*, although he was thair neir Cousin by Birth, synce he was below the Rank of the Quene by Conditoun, being bot a private Subject. At the sam Tyme sche wrote to the Erle of *Lenox*, and to his Sone, comanding thame to repair both into *England*. Some wryte, That all this was bot counterfeit by the Quene of *England*, and from hir Hart sche was glad of the Marriage; for be that Means the Succesioun of the Crown of *England* was secured, the Lord *Darnley* being the richt Heir efter the Quene of *Scotland*; and Quene *Elisabeth* was not angry to sie hir married to one of inferiour Rank, for be that Means sche thought, the *Scottis* Quene wald be les proud.

During this Tyme, there wer certane Letters directed to the Brethren of *Edinburgh*, to *Dundie*, *Fyfe*, *Angus*, and *Mernes*, and uther Places, from the Brethren of *Kyle*, and uther Places in the West Countrey, desiring the Professours of the Evangell in all Places, to remember quhat the Eternall God had wrocht, and how potently he had abolisched all Kind of Idolatry and Superstitioun, and placed his Word in this Realme; so that no Man could say utherwise, bot it was the Work of God; quho also had delivered this Countrey from the Bondage and Tyranny of Strangers: Nevertheles, by our Slothfulness, we have suffered that Idole the Mess, not only to be planted agane, bot to encrease so, that the Mantainers thareof ar lyk, by all Appeirance, to get the upper Hand, which would be the Occasioun of our Destruction. And for that the Papists purposed to set up thair Idole at *Esler* following, in all Places; whiche was to be imputed to the Slothfulness and want of godly Zeall of the Professours: Tharefor they admonished the Brethren to strive to avert the Evil in Tyme,

and not to suffer such Wickednes to continew and encrease, lest that God's heavy Wrath come upoun us unawares lyke a consuming Fyre. By these Letters mony Brethren wer animated, and thair Spirits wakened, mynding to provyde, as God shuld give thame Grace. And first of all, by the Advice of the most learned in *Edinburgh*, thare was a Supplicatioun maid, and given to the Quenis Majesty, by the Superintendent of *Lowthian*, containing in Effect, That the Church in generall of the Realme had divers Tymes most humbly craved of hir Majesty, that Commiters of Adultery shuld be punished, according to the Law of God, and the Acts of Parliament; nevertheles they continewed in thair Wickednes: And the Papists of obstinat Malice pretended nothing els, bot to erect and set up thair Idolatry and Superstition; and especially at *Easter* Day following, they intendit to put the sam in Practise, which the Brethren and Professours of the Evangell could not suffer: Tharefoir wisched hir Majesty to take Heid of the Matter.

This Supplicatioun the Secretary received of the Hands of the Superintendents of *Lowthian* and *Glasgow*, and told thame in the Quenis Name, *That thare shuld be such Provisioun maid, as shuld serve to thair Contentment.* And for the same Purpois, the Quenis Majesty wryt to all such Plaices as wer suspected, especially to the Bischop of Sanct *Androis* and *Aberdeen* (as was said) not to use any Mess: And that they shuld not do any such Thing, as was feared by the Protestants, or convene any Counsaill, and thareto commandit thame. Now the Communion was administred in *Edinburgh*, the first Day of *Aprile* 1565. At which Tyme, becaus it was neir *Easter*, the Papists used to meit at thair Mess. And as some of the Brethren wer diligent to search such Things, they having with thame one of the Bayliffis, tuke one Sir *James Carvet* riding hard, as he had now ended the saying of the Mess, and conveyed him, togidder with the Maister of the House, and one or two more of the Assistants, to the Tolbuith, and immediatly revestit him with all his Garments upoun him, and so carryed him to the Market-Cross, where they set him on hich, binding the Chalice in his Hand, and himself fast tyed to the said Cross, quhere he tarryed the Space of ane Hour; during which Tyme, the Boys served him with his *Easter* Egges. The nixt Day following, the said *Carvet*, with his Assistants, wer accused and convinced by an Affize, according to the Act of Parliament. And albeit for the same Offence he deserved Deith, yet for all Punischment he was set upoun the Market-Cross for the Spaces of thrie or four Hours, the Hangman standing by, and keeping him, the Boyes and uthers wer busie with Egges casting; and some Papists thare wer, that stopped as far as they could. And as the Prease of Peple encreased about the Cross, thare appeired to have bein some Tumult. The Proveist, *Archibald Dowglas*, came with some Halberdiers, and carried the Priest safe agane to the Tolbuith. The Quene being advertised, and having receaved sinister Informatioun, that the Priest was dead, suddenly thocht to have used and inflicted some extreme Punischment; for sche thocht, that all this was done in Contempt of hir, and of hir Religioun; and it was affirmed, that the Town shuld have bene sacked, and a grit Number executed to Deith. Sche sent to such as sche pleased, commanding thame to come to hir at *Edinburgh* suddenly with thair hole Forces: And in the mean Tyme sche sent hir Advocat, Maister *Spence of Condie* to *Edinburgh*, to tak a sure Tryall of the Matter. The Proveist and Counsaill wrote to the Quene the Treuth of the Matter as it was, desiring hir Majesty to tak the same in gude Part, and not to give Credite to false Reports;

Reports; and tharewith sent to hir Majesty the Proceſs and Enrolment of the Court of the Preiſt Convict. Thus the Quenis Majesty being informed of the Treuth, by hir ſaid Advocate, ſent agane and ſtayed the ſaid Meeting of Men, and ſent to the Town a grave Letter, quhareof the Copy followeth.

The Quenes Letter to the Proveiſt, Bayliſſe, and Counſaill of *Edinburgh*.

Proveiſt, Bayliſſe and Counſaill of our Citie of *Edinburgh*, We received your Letter from our Advocate, and underſtand by this Report what Diligence you tuk to ſtay the Tumult in the late Diſorder attempted at *Edinburgh*; quharein, as you did your Duty in ſuppreſſing the Tumult, ſo can we not tak in good Part, nor think our ſelf ſatisfied of ſo notorious a Thing, without certain ſeditious Perſons, quho wer pleaſed to do Juſtice perforce and without the Magiſtrates Authoritie, be condignly and really puniſhed for thair Raſchnes and Miſbehaviour; for if all private Perſons ſould uſurpe to tak Vengeance at thair awn Hands, What lies in ours? And to quhat Purpoſe hathe gude Lawes and Statutes bene eſtabliſhed? Since thairfore we have never bene obſtinate to the due Puniſhment of any Offenders, preſcribed by the Lawes, bot have alwayes mentained Juſtice in that caſe without reſpect of Perſons; It is Our Will, and We command you, as you will anſwer to Us upoun your Obedience and Allegiance, That you will tak before you certane of the moſt reſponſaill Perſons which ar declared Authors of the ſaid Seditioun, and Uſurpers of our Authority, and to adminiſter Juſtice upoun them, in ſuch Sort as We may know a Sincerity on your Parts, and Our Authority nowayes ſlighted. Bot if you faile, perſwaid yourſelfis (and that ſchortly) we will not overſee it, bot will account this Contempt not onely to be in the Committers thair of, but in your ſelves, quho ought to puniſch it, and relieve us on our Part, remitting the reſt to your Diligence and Executionn, which we look for ſo ſoon as reaſon will permit.

Subſcribed with Our Hand at *Striviling*,
this 24. of *Aprile*, Anno 1565.

By this maner of writing and high Threatning, may be perceived how grievouſly the Quenes Maſteſtie wald have bene offended if the ſaid *Tarvet* and *Meſsmonger* had bene handled according to his Demerite, being not onely a Papiſt Idolater, bot a maniſeſt Whoremaster, and a comone Fichter and Blaſphemer; nevertheles within few Dayes the Quene charged the Proveiſt and Bayliſſis to ſet him at Libertie, comanding thame further, That no Man ſould trouble nor moleſt him in any Sort for quhatſoevir Caus, and ſone eſter rewarded him with a Benefice, and likewise his Aſſiſters *Johne Low* and *Johne Kennedie* ſet at Libertie in the ſame maner. At this *Eaſter Tyde* in *Striviling* the Quene maid her domeſtick Servants uſe papiſticall Rites and Ceremonies, and more, ſche perſwaded uthers by faire Meins to do the ſame, and threatened thoſe that wer moſt conſtant at the Erle of *Caffel's* Houſe.

Upon the 2d Day of *Maii* 1565, convened at *Edinburgh* the Erle of *Murray* with his Freinds in gritt Numbers to kepe the Day of Law againſt the Erle *Bothwell*, who being called, appeared not; onely the Laird of *Ricartoun* proteſted, That the perſonall Abſence of the Erle *Bothwell* ſould not be prejudiciall to him, by reaſon that for juſt Fear, whiche might happin in the Heart of any Man, ſince he had ſo potent ane Enemy as the Lord of *Murray*, quho, next the Quenes Maſteſty was of gritteſt Eſtimatioun and Authority of ony Man within this

Realme, to quhome assisted at this present Day of Law, seven or eight hundred Men, which Force he could not resist, and thairfore had absented himself. Which Protestatioun being maid, those that had bene Sureties for his Appeirance, wer outlawed. The said Erle *Bothwell* a few Dayes efter past into *France*, efter he had bene in *Liddesdale*, quhere suspecting almost every Man, he was not in great Assurance of his Life, notwithstanding he was not put to the Horne, for the Quene continually bore a grit Favour towards him, and kept him to be a Souldier, as appeared within lesse then half a Yeir; for sche would not suffer the Lord *Morton*, nor my Lord *Ariskin*, my Lord of *Murrays* grit Freinds to keip the Day. There assisted my Lord of *Murray*, the Erles of *Argyle*, *Glencarne*, and *Crawford*, with grit Numbers, and many Lords and Barones, quho for the most Part conveyned the sam Afternone to treat and consult for the mantaining of Religioun; quher sum Artickles wer devised, and delivered to the Lord of *Murray* to be presented to the Quenes Majesty and Privy Counsaill, whiche Artickles wer enlarged at the Generall Assembly following, as fall be declared. In the meane Tyme, as they wer informed in Court of this great Assembly of Peple in *Edinburgh*, they wer afraid, for naturally the Quene hated and suspectit all such Conventiouns as wer not in hir awn Presens, and devised by herself. The cheif Counsaillours in the Court, wer the Erles of *Lenox* and *Atholl*. The Quene writ incontinent for all the Lords to come to *Striviling*, so sone as sche was advertisit that they had treated in *Edinburgh* of Religioun; sche writ likewise for the Superintendants and other learnt Men who went thither, and being thare they causit to keip the Portes or Gates, and mak gude Watch about the Towne. The speciall Caus of this Conventioun was to give to the Lord *Darnley* Title of Honour openly and solemnly, with consent of the Nobles, befoir the Mariage. The fourth Day of *May* the Erle of *Murray* cam to *Striviling*, quhen he was well receivit by the Quenes Majesty, as appeirit, and immediately, as he past with her to my Lord *Darnley's* Chamber, they presented to him a Contract, containing in Effect, That forasmuch as, or since, the Quene had contractit Mariage with the Lord *Darnley*, and that thairfore sundry Lords of the Nobility had underwritten, ratifiet and approvit the sam, and obligit thameselfis to grant unto him in full Parliament the Crowne *Matrimoniall*, (by a new Court Solecisme in Policy) the Crowne for the secund Time is surnamed *Matrimoniall*; (befoir, quhen the Quene was first married, it was so callit also) to serve and obey him and her as thair lawfull Soveraignes. The Quene desired my Lord *Murray* to subscribe, as many uthers had done befoir; which he refused to do, becaus (said he) it is required necessarily that the whole Nobility be present, at leist the principall, and sike as he himself was posteriour unto, befoir that so grave a Mater sould be advisit and concludit.

The Quenes Majesty nowayes content with this Answer, insisted still upoun him, saying, The grittest Part of the Nobility wer ther present and content with the Mater, wisched him to be so much a *Stewart*, as to consent to the keeping of the Crown in the Family, and the Sirname, according to thair Fathers Will and Desire, as was said of him a littill befoir his Death: Bot he still refusit for the Causes above writtin.

Now as the Lords wer assemblit, ane Ambassadour from *England* named Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* arrivit at *Striviling*, and in his Cumpany the Laird of *Lethingtoun*; the Ambassadour was at the Castle Gate or evir thay wer aware; and as he stude there in the Entry, he was desirit to passe to his Ludgings.

Ludgings. The next Day he had Audience of the Quene, and was graciously received according to the Dignity of his Message. The quhole Summe of this his Message was, to shew and declare to the Quene, how highly the Quene his Miltris was offendit with this precipitated Mariage, and wondrit quhat had moved hir to tak a Man of inferiour Rank and Condition to hirselt: And therefore disswadit hir tharefrom. And specially desiring hir most earnestly to send home hir Subjects the Erle of *Lennox* and the Lord *Darnley*: Bot all in vane, for the Mater was well farre procedit. In hir Heart Quene *Elizabeth* was not angry at this Mariage; first, becaus if Quene *Mary* had married a foraigne Prince, it had bene an Accesse to hir Greatnesse, and consequently sche had bene more redouted by the uther; next, both *Harry* and *Mary* wer alike and in equall Degree of Consanguinity unto hir, the Father of *Mary* and the Mother of *Harry* being Children to hir Father's Sister.

With many fair Words the Quene let the Ambassadour depart, promising to do all sche culd to satisfie the Quene of *England*; and for the same Purpois sche wald send an Ambassadour to hir.

In the meane Tyme the Quens Mariage with the Lord *Darnley*, was prepared and propounded in Counsaill, and the cheif of the Nobility, such as the Duke, the Erles of *Argyle*, *Murray*, *Glencarne*, with the rest, granted freely to the same, provyding that they might have the Religion establisched in Parliament by the Quene, and the Idolatrous Masse and Superstitioun abolisched, schortely it was concludit, That they shuld convene agane to Saint *Johnstoun*, quhere the Quene promised to tak a finall Ordour for Religion. The Day was appointed, *to wit*, the last of *May* at *Perth*; my Lord of *Argyle* cam too lait. The Quenes Majesty communed with the Lords, quho wer veray plane with hir, saying, Except the Masse wer abolisched, thare shuld be no Quietnesse in the Cuntrey. The 12th Day of *May* the Lord *Darnley* was belted (that is, created) Erle of *Rosse*, with grit Solemnity, a Belt or Girdle being tyed about his Waste or Middle; and albeit all kinde of Provisioun was maid to mak him Duke of *Rothsay*, yit at that Tyme it cam not to Effect; albeit the Crown and Robe-royall wer preparit to him for the sam. For the Entertainment of this Triumph there wer many Knights maid, to the Number of fourtein. The next Day, quhilk was the 13. of *May*, the Quene callit for the Superintendents by name, *John Willock*, *John Winram*, and *John Spotiswode*, quhome sche cherishit with fair Words, assuring thame that sche desired nothing more earnestly then the Glory of God and satisfying of Mens Consciences, and the Good of the Comone-welthe; and albeit sche was not persuaded in any Religion bot in that quharein sche was brocht up, yit sche promised to thame that sche wald heir Conference and Disputatioun in the Scriptures: And lykwise sche wald be content to heir publike Preiching; bot alwayes out of the Mouth of suche as pleisit hir Majesty; and above all uthers sche said sche wald gladly heir the Superintendant of *Angus* (for he was a mild and sweit natur'd Man) with true Honesty and Uprightnesse, Sir *John Aris* kin of *Dun*. Sone efter the Quene past to Saint *Johnstoun*, efter that sche had directit Mr. *John Hay* Prior of *Monimusk* to passe to *England*, quho sped at the Quene of *Englands* Hand, evin as Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* did in *Scotland*. Befoir the Day, quhilk was appointit for the Meiting at Saint *Johnstoun*, my Lord of *Murray*, most carefull of the Manteinance of Religion, sent to all the principall Churches, advertisiing thame of the Mater, and desiring thame to advise, and send the most abill Men in Leirning and Reputatioun, to keip

the Day; but thair Craft and Dissimulatioun appeirit, for the Dean of *Restalrigge*, quho lately arrivit out of *France*, with others, such as Mr. *Johne Lesly* Parson of *Ure*, efterward Bisshop of *Rosse*, causit the Quene to understand that Thing quhareof sche was easily perswaidit, to wit, That thare ought to be gevin to all Men Liberty of Conscience; and for this Purpois to skun or put off the first Day appointit, the Quene writ to the Nobility, that becaus sche was informit that thare was grit Metings out of every Shire and Town in grit Number; and then the other Party (so termit sche the Papists) wer minded to cum together to the said Conventioun, which sould apparently mak Trouble or Seditioun, rather than any uther Thing; tharefore sche thought it expedient, and willit thame to stay the said Meetings, and to deferre the same till suche a Day that sche sould appoint with Advice of hir Counsaill. At this Time thare was a Parliament proclaimed to be held at *Edinburgh* the 20. Day of *July*. By this Letter, sum of the Protestants having best Jugement, thocht thameselfis sufficiently warned of the Inconveniences and Trubles to cume. Now hir Counsaill at this Tyme, was onely the Erles of *Lenox* and *Atkle*, the Lord *Ruthven*, bot cheifly *David Rizio* the *Italian* ruled all; yet the Erle of *Rosse* was already in grittest Credit and Familiarity. These Letters wer sent out to the Lords, about the 28th Day of *Mai*; and within twelve Dayes thairefter, sche directed new Missives to the cheif of the Nobility, desiring or comandng thame, to come to Saint *Johnestoun* the 23d Day of *June* following, to consult upoun such Things as concerned Religioun, and uther Things as her Majesty sould propose; quhilk Day, was evin the Day befor that the Generall Assembly sould have bene held in *Edinburgh*. This last Letter uttered the Effect of the former; so that the Protestants thocht thameselfis sufficiently warned. Always as the Erle of *Murray* was passing to Saint *Johnestoun* to have kept the said Day, he chanced to fall sick of the Fluxes in *Locklevin*, quhere he remaned till the Quene came forth of Saint *Johnestoun* to *Edinburgh*, quhere the Generall Assembly of the quhole Church of *Scotland* was held, the 24th Day of *July*. The Erles of *Argyle* and *Glencarne* assisted the Church with a grit Company of Lords, Barones, and uthers: It was thare orderit and concludit, That certane Gentlemen, as Comissionars from the Church National, sould passe to the Quenes Majesty, with certane Artikles, to the Number of Six, desiring hir most humbly to ratifie and approve the same in Parliament. And becaus the said Artikles ar of grit Weight, and worthy of Memory, I thocht gude to insert the same Word by Word.

IMprimis, That the papisticall and blasphemous Mefs, with all papisticall Idolatry and papall Jurisdictioun, be universally supprest and abolisched thorowout this Realme, not only in the Subjects, bot also in the Quenis awn Person, with Punishment against all Persones that sould be deprehended to transgress and offend in the same: And that the sincere Word of God, and Christ's trew Religioun, now at this present receaved, be published, approved and ratified, thorowout the hole Realme, as well in the Quenis awn Person, as in the Subjects: And that the Peple be to resort upoun the Sundays at least, to the Prayers, and Preaching of God's Word, even as they wer befor to the idolatrous Mefs: And these Headis to be provided be Act of Parliament, and ratified by the Quenis Majesty.

Secondly, That Provisioun be maid for Sustentatioun of the Ministry, als will for the Tyme present, as the Tyme to come: And that such Persones, as ar presently admitted to the Ministry, may have thair Livings assigned unto thame, in
Places

Places quhare they travell in thair Calling, or at least nixt adjacent thareto : And that the Benefices now vacant, or hath been vacant since the Month of March, 1558. or that heirefter fall happen to be vacant, be disposed to qualified and learned Persones, able to preach God's Word, and discharge the Vocation concerning the Ministerie, by Tryall and Admissioun of the Superintendents and Overseers : And that no Benefice or Living, having mony Kirks annexed thareunto, be disposed altogether in ony Tyme to come, to ony Man, bot at the least the Kirks thareof be severally disposed, and that to severall Persones ; so that every Man having Charge, may serve at his awn Kirk, according to his Vocation : And to that Effect, lykeways the Gleibs and the Manse, be given to the Ministers, that they may mak Residence at thair Kirks, whereby they may discharge thair Consciences, according to thair Vocation ; and also that the Kirks may be repaired accordingly : And that a Law be maid and establisched heirupoun by Act of Parliament, as said is.

Thirdly, That none be permitted to have Charge of Soules, Colledges or Universities, neither privately nor publickly teich and instruct the Youth, bot such as fall be tryed be the Superintendents or Visitors of the Churches, and found sound and able in Doctrine, and admitted be them to thair Chairges.

Fourthly, For the Sustentation of the Pure, That all Lands founded for Hospitality of old, be restored agane to the same Use : And that all Lands, Annalls, Rents, or ony uther Emoluments pertaining ony ways sometymes to the Fryers, of quhatsoever Ordour they had been of ; as lykwise the Annuities, Alterages, Obits, and the uther Dewties pertaining to Preists, to be applyed to the Sustentation of the Pure, and Uphold of the Town-Schools in Towns, and uther Places quhare they be.

Fiftly, That sick horrible Crymes, as now abound within this Realme, without ony Correction, to the grit Contempt of God and his Word ; such as Idolatry, Blasphemy of God's Name, manifest breaking of the Sabbath Day, Witchcraft, Socery, Iuchantment, Adultery, manifest Whordome, Maintenance of Bordals, Murther, Slauchter, Oppressioun, with mony uther detestable Crymes, may be severely punished ; and Judges appointed in every Province and Diocess, for Execution thereof, with Power to do the same, and that be Act of Parliament.

Lastly, That some Ordour be devised and establisched, for Ease of the pure Labourers of the Ground, concerning the reffonable Payment of the Tythes, quho are oppressed be the Leasers of the Tythes, set over thair Heads without thair awn Consent and Advice.

The Persones, quho wer appoynted by the Church to carry these Articles, and present thame to the Quenis Majesty, wer the Lairds of Cunningham-head, Lundie, Spot, and Grange of Angus, and James Baron for the Broughs. These five past from Edinburgh to Sanct Johnstoun, quhere they presented the saids Artickles to the Quenis Majesty, desiring and requyring hir Hichnes most humbly to advyse tharewith, and to give thame Answer. The nixt Day, ere thay wer aware, the Quene departed to Dunkeld, and immediately they followed. And efter they had gotten Audience, they desired the Quenis Majesty most humbly to give thair Dispatch. Sche answered, That hir Counsaill was not thare present, bot sche intended to be in Edinburgh within eight Days, and thare thay sould receive thair Answer. At the same Tyme, as the Generall Assembly was holden in Edinburgh, the Brethren perceaving the Papists to brag, and Trouble lyke to be, they assemblit thameselfis at Sanct Leonard Crage, quhere they concluded they would defend themselves ; and for the sam Purpose,

elected eight Persones, of the most able, two of every Quarter, to see that the Brethren should be ready armed.

And when the five Commissioners above named had waited upon the Court, four or five Days after his Majesty's coming to *Edinburgh*, there the Matter was proposed in Counsaill. And after long and earnest reasoning upon these Artickles, at length it was answered to the Commisshioner by the Secretary, That the Queen's Majesties Command was, that the Matter should be reasoned in his Presence; which for the Gravity of the same, there could nothing be concluded at that Tyme, albeit the Queen's Majesty had heard more in that Matter, then ever she did before: But within eight Days thereafter, she understode that a grit Part of the Nobility should be present in *Edinburgh*, where they should have a small Answer. At length, the one and twenty of *August*, they received the Answer in Wryting in his Presence, according to the Tenour hereof, as followis.

The Queen's Majesties Answer to the Artickles presented to his Highnes, by certain Gentlemen, in the Name of the hole Assembly of the Church.

TO the first, desiring the Mese to be suppressed and abolished, also weill in the Head, as in the Members, with Punishment against the Contraveners, as also, the Religion professed to be established by Act of Parliament; it was answered, first for his Majesty's Part, That his Highnes is no way yet perswaded in the said Religion, nor yet that any Impiety is in the Mese; and therefore beleveth, that his loving Subjects will not presse him to receive any Religion against his Conscience, which should be unto him a continuall Trouble by Remorse of Conscience, and therewith a perpetuall Unquietnes. And to deale plainly with his Subjects, her Majesty neither will, nor may leave the Religion wherein she has been nourished and brought up; and beleveth the same to be well grounded: Knowing, besides the Grudge of Conscience that she should receive, upon the Change of her own Religion, that she should lose the Friendship of the King of France, the married Allie of this Realme, and of other grit Princes her Friends and Confederates, who would take the same in evill Part, and of whome she may look for their grit Support in all her Necessities: And having no assured Consideration that may countervail the same, she will be loth to put in Hazard all her Friends at one Instant, praying all her loving Subjects, seeing they have had Experience of her Goodnes, that she hath neither in Times past, nor yet intends hereafter, to presse the Conscience of any, but that they may worship God in such Sort, as they are perswaded in their Conscience to be best, that they will also not presse her Conscience. As to the Establishing of Religion in the Body of the Realme, they themselves know, as appears by their Articles, that the same cannot be done onely by Consent of his Majesty, but requires necessarily the Consent of the States in Parliament; and therefore so soon as the Parliament holds, these Things which the States agree upon amongst themselves, his Majesty shall consent unto the same; and in the mean Tyme shall make sure, that no Man be troubled for using Religion according to Conscience: So that no Man shall have Cause to doubt, that for Religion's sake, Mens Lives and Heritage shall be in any Hazard.

To the second Article, it is answered, That her Majesty thinks it no ways reasonable, that she should defraud herself of so great a Part of the Patrimony of the Crown, as to put the Patronage of Benefices forth of her own Hands; for her own Necessity, in bearing of her Port and common Charges, will require the Retention thereof, and that in a good Part, in her own Hands: Nevertheless his Majesty

Majesty is well pleased, that Consideration being had of hir awn Necessity, and what may be sufficient for the reasonable Sustentation of the Ministers, a speciall Assignation be maid to thame, in Places most commodious and meet; with whiche hir Majesty sall not meddle, bot suffer the same to come to thame.

To the third Article, it is answered, That hir Majesty sall do tharein as sall be agreed by the States in Parliament.

To the fourth Article, Hir Majesty's Liberality towards the Poor sall always be so far extended, as can be reasonably required at hir Hands.

To the fifth and sixth Articles, Hir Majesty will refer the taking Ordour tharein, unto the States assembled in Parliament.

As the Quenis Majesty came from Sanct Johnstoun, over Forth to the Callender, sche was convoyed to the Water Side of Forth with two hundred Speirs: For at that Tyme it was bruted, That thare was some lying in Wait at the Path of Dron. In the meane Tyme the Erle of Murray was in Lockleven, and the Erle of Argyll with him. Now in the Callender the Lord Levingstoun had desired the Quenis Majesty to be Witnes to the Christning of a Child: For his Lady was laityly delyvered and brocht to Bed. And quhen the Minister maid the Sermon, and Exhortatioun concerning Baptism, the Quenis Majesty came in the End, and said to the Lord Levingstoun, That sche would schew him that Favour that sche had not done to any uther before; that is, that sche would give hir Presence to the Protestant Sermon, which was reckoned a grit Matter.

The Quene being in the Callender, was informed both by Word and Letters by false Brethren, that a grit Part of the Protestants of Edinburgh had laityly convened upoun Sanct Leonard's Craigs, and thare maid a Conspiratioun against hir; and had chosen for the same Purpois certane Capitanes to govern the rest. And without any Tryall, or perfect Notice taken in the Case, sche sent to the Provest and Bayliffs of Edinburgh, commanding thame to tak and apprehend Alexander Guthrie, Alexander Clerk, Gilbert Lawder and Andro Slater, and put thame in Prisone in the Castle.

This new and unaccustomed Faschioun of proceeding seemed to be very strange. And becaus the said four Men wer not apprehended, sche sent the next Day a Charge to the Provest and Bayliffs, and to hir awn grit Tresaurar, to pas to the Houses of the saids four Men, and lykewise to thair Booths or Shops, and thare to tak Inventory of all thair Goods and Chattells; and commanded the said Tresaurar to tak the Keys of the said Houses and Booths, togidder with the said Inventory; quhilk was executed in Effect, especially upoun the said Alexander Guthrie his Wife, he being then comoun Clerk, and one of the gritest in Estimatioun within the Town; his Wife and Children wer schut out of thair Hous, and compelled to seik some uther Lodging in the Town.

By this Manner of proceeding, the Hartis of all Men of Spirit and Judgement wer wonderfully abashed and wounded, seing and perceaving these Things so furiously handled, upoun sinister and wrang Informatioun; Men never called to thair Answer, nor hard, nor any Tryall takin tharein. Immediately thair-after, as sche came to Edinburgh, sche called to Counsaill such as pleased hir Majesty, and thare complains of the said Matter, alledging it to be a Conspiracy and manifest Treasoun. And ane uther Matter lykewise was complained upoun, that the Erle of Argyll (as the Quene was surely informed) was ridind with a grit Army to invade the Erle of Athole and his Lands.

For the first Matter, it was concluded by the Counsaill, That diligent Inquisition should be maid in the Matter, and to that Purpois appointed the Quenis Advocates, Mr. *Johne Spence* of *Condie*, and Mr. *Robert Crichtoun*, to examine sick as they would; and quhen the said Advocates had called befor thame, and examined a sufficient Number, and thair Depositions subscryved and dellyvered to the Quene, there was nothing found worthy of Deith nor Treasoun; at length the saids four Persones wer summouned to answer at Law.

For the second Matter, That that the Quenis Majesty should send, to the Erles of *Argyll* and *Atbole*, some of hir Counsaill or familiar Servands, to tak Oodour twiching it. And quhen the Secretary, the Justice Clerk and Lord of Sanct *Colme* had past to the said Erle of *Argyll*, they found no sick Thing; but in *Atbole* there was grit Feir come of a sudden Fray; for efter mony Proclamatiouns, the Fyre-crosse (which they maid Use of in Liew of Beacons) was raised in *Atbole*.

Now, as the Day of the Parliament approached, the Lords pretending to consult befor quhat should be done, as weil in Religioun, as for the Comounwealth, the 15th Day of *Julii* there convened at *Stirling* the Duke, the Erles of *Argyll* and *Murray*, *Rothes*, and uther Lords and Barones; and as they wer devyising and consulting, the Quenis Majesty taking thair Meeting in evill Part, sent hir Advocates, Maister *Johne Spence* and Maister *Crichton* to thame at *Stirling*, requyring the Caus of thair Meeting. They answered, That the speciall Occasioun of thair Meeting was for the Caus of Religioun, and the Assurance thair of, according as they had laitylly wrytten to the Quenis Majesty in *Seaton* from the Town of *Edinburgh*, they desiring then to prorogat the Day.

Finally, quhen the saids Advocats could by no Means perswade thame to come to *Edinburgh*, they returned agane to *Edinburgh*, and declared to the Quenis Majesty according as they had found.

In the mean Tyme the Parliament was prorogated, at the Quenis Majesty's Command, to the first of *September* nixt efter following: For it was thoct, That the maist Part and principall of the cheif Nobility being absent, there could no Parliament be holden. At the same Tyme the Quenis Majesty perceiving, that the Matter was already come to a Maturity and Rypnes; so that the Mynds and Secrecy of Mens Hairts must needs be disclosed, she wrote to a grit Number of Lords, Barones, Gentilmen, and uthers that wer neirest in *Fyfe*, *Angus*, *Lowthian*, *Mers*, *Teviotdale*, *Perth*, *Lithgow*, *Clidsdale*, and uthers to resort to hir, in this Form of Words hairefter following.

The Quenis Letter.

TRusty Freind, We greet you weill. We ar greived indeid, be the evill Bruite spread amongst our Lieges, as that we should have molested ony Man in the using of his Religioun and Conscience freely, a Thing which never entred into our Mind; yit since we perceive the too casie beleiving such Reports hath maid thame careles, and so we think it becomes us to be carefull for the Safety and Preservation of our State; quharefoir we pray you most affectionately, that with all possible Haist (after the Receipt of this our Letter) you with your Kindred, Freinds and whole Force, weill furnished with Arms for Warre, be provided for fifteen Days efter your coming, addres you to come to us, to waite and attend upoun us, according to our Expectation

tion and Trust in you, as you will thareby declare the good Affection you bear to the Maintenance of our Authority, and will do us tharein acceptable Service.

Subscribed with our Hand at Edinburgh, the 17th Day July, 1565.

There was lykewise Proclamatioun maid in *Edinburgh*, that the Quene mynded not to trouble nor alter the Religion; and also Proclamatioun maid in the Shires above mentioned, for the same Purpois, that all Freeholders and uther Gentilmen sould resort (in the foirsaid Manner) to *Edinburgh*, quhare the Erle of *Rosse* was maid Duke of *Rotkesay*, with grit Triumph, the 23d Day of *July*. The same Etternoon the Quene complained grievously upoun the Erle of *Murray* in opin Audience of all the Lords and Barones; and the same Day the Bans of the Erle of *Rosse* and Duke of *Rotkesay*, and the Quenis Marriage wer proclaimed. About this Tyme the Lord *Arskan* was maid Erle of *Murre*. In the mean Tyme thare wer divers Messages sent from the Quenis Majesty to the Lord of *Murray*, first, Maister *Robert Clirich-toun* to perswade him by all Means possible to come and resort to the Quenis Majesty. His Answer was, That he would be glad to come to himself, according to his bounden Dewty; yit for as much as sick Persones, as wer most privy in hir Company, wer his capital Enemies, quho also had conspired his Deith, he could noways come so long as they wer in Court.

Soon efter my Lord *Arskin*, and the Maister of *Maxwell* past to him to *Sandt Androis*, rather suffered and permitted by the Quene, then sent by hir Hichnes; efter thame the Laird of *Dun*, quho was sent by the Means of the Erle of *Mar*; bot all this did not prevaill with him: And quhen all Hope of his coming was past, ane Herauld was sent to him, charging him to come to the Quenis Majesty, and answer to sick Things as sould be laid to his Charge; within aucht and fourty Hous nixt efter the Charge, under the Pain of Rebellion: And becaus he appeared not, the nixt Day efter the aucht and fourty Hours, he was denounced Rebell, and put to Horn. The same Ordour they used against the Erle of *Argyle*; for the Quene said sche would serve him and the rest with the same Measure they had mete to uthers, meaning the said *Argyll*.

In the mean While, as the Fyre was weill kendled and inflamed, all Means and Ways wer sought, to stir up Enemies against the cheir Protestants that had bene laityly at *Sterling*. For the Erle of *Atkoll* was ready bent against the Erle of *Argyll*, the Lord *Lindesay* against the Erle of *Roths* in *Fyfe*, they being both Protestants; for they had contended now a long Tyme for the Heirship of *Fyfe*. And that no such Thing sould be left undone, the Lord *Gordon*, quho now had remained neir thre Yeirs in Prisone in *Dunbar*, was, efter some little Travell of his Freinds, receaved by the Quein; and being thus receaved into Favour, was restored, first to the Lordship of *Gordon*, and soon efter to the Erledom of *Huntley*, and to all his Lands, Honours and Dignities, that he might be a Bar and a Party in the North to the Erle of *Murray*.

The 18th *July*, late in the Evening, neir ane Hour efter the Sun's going down, there was a Proclamatioun maid at the Market-Crofs of *Edinburgh*, containing in Effect;

That forasmuch as, at the Will and Pleasure of Almighty God, the Quene had taken to hir Husband ane richt excellent and illustrious Prince, Harry Duke of Rothelway Erle of Rossie Lord Darnley; tharefoir it was hir Will, that he sould be bolden and obeyed, and reverenced as King: Commanding all Letters and Proclamatiouns to be maid in the Names of Henry and Mary in Tymes cuming.

The next Day following, at six Hours in the Morning, they wer married in the Chappell Royall of *Halyrudkous*, by the Dein of *Resfelrig*; the Quene being all clothed in Mourning. Bot immediatly, as the Quene went to Mefs, the King went not with hir, bot to his Pastyme. During the Space of thre or four Days, thare was nothing bot Balling, Dancing and Banqueting.

In the mean Tyme the Erle of *Rothes*, the Laird of *Grange*, the Tutor *Pitcur*, with some Gentilmen of *Fyfe*, wer put to the Horn, for none Appearene. And immediatly the Swasch, Tabron and Drums wer stricken or beaten, for Men of Wair to serve the King and Quenis Majesty, and to tak thair Pay. This suddane Alteratioun, and hasty Creatioun of Kings, moved the Hairts of a grit Number.

Now amongis the Peple thare wer divers Brutes; for some alledged, That the Caus of this Alteratioun was not for Religioun, bot rather for Hatred, Envy of suddane Promotioun or Dignity, or such wardly Causes: Bot they that considered the Progres of the Matter, according as is heirtofoir declared, thocht the principall Caus to be only for Religioun.

In this mean Tyme, the Lords past to *Argyll*, taking apparently little Care of the Trouble that was to come: Howbeit they sent into *England* Maister *Nicolas Elphinstoun* for Support, quho brocht some Monies in this Country, to the Sume of ten thousand Pounds *Sterling*. Thare came one forth of *England* to the Quene, quho got Prefence the seven of *August*, in *Halyrudkous*. He was not well, &c.

About the 15th of *August*, the Lords met at *Air*, to wit, the Duik of *Haumiltoun*, the Erles *Argyll*, *Murray*, *Glencairne*, *Rothes*, the Lords *Boyd* and *Ochiltrie*, with divers Barons and Gentilmen of *Fyfe* and *Kyle*, quhare they concluded to be in Readiness, with thair hole Forces, the 24th Day of *August*.

Bot the King and Quene with grit Celerity prevented thame; for thair Majesties sent thorow *Lowthian*, *Fyfe*, *Angus*, *Stratherne*, *Teviotdaile* and *Cliddisdaile*, and uther Shyres, making thair Proclamatiouns in this Manner.

That forasmuch as certane Rebels, quho (under the Colour of Religioun) intend ed nothing bot the Trouble and Subversiou of the Comon-wealtbe, were to convene with sick, as they micht perswade to assist thame: Tharefoir they charged all Manner of Men, under the Pain of Life, Lands and Goods, to resort and meet thair Majesties, at *Linlithgow* the 24th Day of *August*.

This Proclamatioun was maid in *Lowthian* the third Day of the said Month. Upoun *Sunday*, the 19th of *August*, the King came to the hich Kirk of *Edinburgh*, quhare *Johne Knox* maid a Sermone; his Text was taiken out of the six and twenty Chapter of *Esaias* his Prophecie, about the thirteen Verse, quhare in the Words of the Prophet, he said, *O Lord our God, uther Lords, then thou have ruled over us*. Whereupoun he took Occasioun to speik of the Government of wickit Princes, quho for the Sines of the Peple ar sent, as Ty-
rants

rants and Scourges to plague thame. And amongst uther Things, he said, *That God sets in that Room (for the Offences and Ingratitude of the Peple) Boys and Women.* And some uther Words, which appeared bitter in the Kingis Ears, as, that God justly punished *Ahab* and his Posterity, becaus he would not tak Ordour with that Harlot *Jezebell*. And becaus he had tarryed ane Hour and moir, longer then the Tyme appoyntit, the King (sitting in a Throne maid for that Purpois) was so moved at this Sermone, that he would not dine; and being troubled, with grit Fury, he past in the Efternoon to the Hawking.

Immediatly *Johne Knox* was commandit to come to the Counsaill, quhare in the Secretaries Chamber wer convened the Erle of *Atbole*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Secretary, the Justice Clerk, with the Advocat. Thare passed along with the Minister a grit Number of the most apparent Men of the Town. When he was called, the Secretary declared, That the Kingis Majesty was offendit with some Words spokin in the Sermoun (especially such as ar above reheased) desiring him to abstain from preaching for fifteen or twenty Days, and let Maister *Craig* supply the Place.

He answered, *That he had spoken nothing bot according to his Text, and if the Church would command him either to speak or abstain, he would obey so far as the Word of God would permit him.*

Within four Days efter, the King and Quene sent to the Counsaill of *Edinburgh*, commanding thame to depose *Archibald Dowglas*, and to receive the Laird of *Craigmillar* for thair Provest, which was presently obeyed.

The 25th of *August* the King and Quenes Majesties past from *Edinburgh* to *Linlithgow*, and from thence to *Striviling*, and from *Striviling* to *Glasgow*. At thair first Arrivall, thair whole Peple wer not cume. The next Day efter thair Arrivall to *Glasgow*, the Lords came to *Paisley*, quhere they remainit that Night, being in Company about One thousand Horses. On the Morow they came to *Hamiltoun*, keiping the high Passage from *Paisley* hard by *Glasgow*, quhere the King and Quene easily micht behold thame. The Nicht following, whiche was the penult of *August*, they remaned in *Hamiltoun* with thair Cumpany; bot for divers Respects moving thame, they thocht it not expedient to tarry; especially, becaus the Erle of *Argyle* was not come; for his Dyet was not afore the 2d of *September* following, to have being at *Hamiltoun*. Finally, they tuk Purpois to cume to *Edinburgh*, the whiche they did the nixt Day. And albeit *Alexander Areskin*, Captane under the Lord his Brother, causit to schot forth of the Castle two Schot of Cannon, they being neir the Towne, and likewise that the Laird *Craigmiller* Proveist, did his Endeavour to hold the Lords forth of the Town, in causing the common Bells to be rung, for the convening of the Town, to the Effect aforesaid, yet they entred easly at the West-Port or Gate, without any Molestation or Impediment, being in Number, as they esteimit thamselvis, One thousand three hundred Horses. Immediately they dispatched Messengers Southward and Northward to assist thame; bot all in vane: And immediately efter they wer in thair Ludgings, they causit to strike or beat the Drum, desiring all suche Men as wald receive Wages for the Defence of the Glory of God, That they sould resort the Day following to the Church, quhere they sould receive gude Pay. Bot they profited littill that Way; neyther culd they in *Edinburgh* get any Comfort or Support, for non or few resortit unto thame; yet they got more Rest and Sleip quhen they wer at *Edinburgh*, then they had done in five or six Nichts before.

The Nobillmen of this Cumpany wer, the Duke, the Erles *Murray*, *Glen-carne*, and *Rothesse*; the Lords *Boyd* and *Uchiltrie*; the Lairds of *Grange*, *Cunninghamehead*, *Balcomie*, and *Lavers*; the Tutor of *Pitcur*; the Lairds of *Bar*, *Carmell*, and *Dregborn*; and the Laird of *Pitarrow* Comptroller went with thame: Som said merrily, That they wer cum to keip the Parliament, for the Parliament was continued till the first Day of *September*: Upon the quhilk Day they wrote to the King and Quenes Majesties a Letter, containing in Effect, That albeit they wer persecuted most unjustly, quhich they understude procedit not of the King and Quenes Majesties awn Nature, bot onely by evill Counsaill, yit notwithstanding they wer willing and content to suffer according to the Laws of the Realme, provyding that the true Religioun of God might be establisched, and the Dependents thareupoun be likewise reformed: Beseiking thair Majesties most humbly to grant these Things: Bot otherwise, if thair Enemies wald seik thair Blood, they sould understand, It sould be deir bought. They had written twice, almost to the same Effect, to the King and Quenes Majesties, efter thair passing from *Edinburgh*; for the Laird of *Preston* presentit a Letter to the King and Quenes Majesty, and was tharefore imprisoned, bot sone efter released; neverthelesse they got no Answer. The sam Day that thay departed out of *Hamiltoun*, the King and Quenes Majesties issued out of *Glasgow* in the Morning betimes: And passing towards *Hamiltoun*, the Army met thair Majesties neir the Brige of *Calder*: As they mustered, the Maister of *Maxwell* sate down upoun his Knees, and made a long Oratioun to the Quene, declaring quhat Plesure sche had done to them, and ever laid the quhole Burden upon the Erle of *Murray*. Sone efter, they marched forward in Battell aray: The Erle of *Lenox* toke the Vanguard, the Erle of *Mortoun* the middle Battell, and the King and Quene the Reer: The quhole Number wer about Five thousand Men, quhareof the grittest Part wer in the Vanguard.

As the King and Quenes Majesties wer within three Miles of *Hamiltoun*, they wer advertisit that the Lords wer departed in the Morning; bot quhere they pretended to be that Nicht, it was uncertain: Always, sone efter thair returne to *Glasgow*, the King and Quene wer certainly advertisit, that they wer past to *Edinburgh*; and tharefore causit immediatly to warne the quhole Army to passe with thame to *Edinburgh* the nixt Day; quho early in the Morning, long befor the Sun was risen, began to march: Bot there arose such a vehement Tempest of Wind and Raine from the West, as the like had not bene sein befor in a long Time; so that a littill Brook, turned incontinent into a grit River; and the raging Storm being in thair Face, with grit Difficulty went they forward: And albeit the most Part waxed weary, yit the Quenes Courage encreasit Manlike so much, that sche was evir with the foremost. Thare was divers Persons drowned that Day in the Water of *Carren*; and amongst others, the Kings Master, a notabill Papist, quho for the Zeal he bare to the Masse, carried about his Neck a round God of Bread, well closed in a Case, which always could not serve him.

Befor the End of *August*, thare came a Post to the Quenes Majesty, sent by *Alexander Areskin*, quho declarit, That the Lords wer in the Town of *Edinburgh*, quhare thair was a Multitude of innocent Persons, and thairfore desirit to know if he sould shoot. Sche comandit incontinent that he sould return agane to the said *Alexander*, and comand him, in hir Name, that he
sould

ould shoot so long as he had eyther Powder or Bullet, and not spare for any Body.

At Night, the King and Quene cam well wet to the *Callender*, quhare they remained that Nicht, and about eight Hours at Nicht, the first of *September*, the Post came agane to the Castle, and reportit the Quenes Comand to *Alexander Areskin*, quho incontinently causit to shoot six or seven Schot of Cannon, quhareof the Marks appearit, having respect to no Reason, bot only to the Quenes Comand.

The Lords perceiving that they could get no Support in *Edinburgh*, nor Souldiers for Money; albeit they had travelled all that they could; and being advertised of the Quenes returning with her quhole Company, they tuk Purpois to depart: And so the nixt Day betimes, long befoir Day, they departed with thair quhole Cumpany, and came to *Lamrik*, and from thence to *Hamilton*, quhere the Maister of *Maxwell* cam to them, with his Uncle the Laird of *Drumlamrick*. And efter Consultatioun, the said Maister wrote to the Quenes Majesty, that being requirit by the Lords as he was passing homeward, he could not refuse to come to them; and efter that he had given them Counsaill to disperse thair Army, they thoct it expedient to passe to *Dumfreis* to repose them, quhere they would consult and mak thair Offers, and send to thair Majesties: And thus beseiking thair Majesties to take this in gude Part. The Town of *Edinburgh* sent two of the Countaill of the Town to mak thair Excuse.

The next Day the King and Quene past to *Striveling*, and sent to *Edinburgh*, and causit a Proclamatioun to be maid, commanding all Men to returne to *Glasgow*, quhere having remaned three or four Dayes, and understanding that the Lords wer past to *Dumfreis*, they returned to *Striveling*, and from thence to *Fyfe*; and in thair Passlage, causit to tak in Castle *Campbell*, which was deliverit without Impediment to the Lord of *Sanquhar*.

Befoir the King and Quene went out of *Striveling*, there came from *Edinburgh* two Ensignes of Footmen, to convey thame into *Fyfe*. In the mean Time the Borroughs wer taxed in grit Sums unaccustomed, for the Payment of these Soldiers: Farther, there was raised divers Troops of Horsemen, to the Number of five or six hundred Horse. The Souldiers had taken two pure Men that had receivit the Lords Wages; which two Men being accusit and convincit of, at the Quenes Comand, wer hanged at *Edinburgh*, the thrid Day efter the Lords departing.

At this Time, Mr. *James Balfour*, Parson of *Flesk*, had gottin all the guiding in the Court. The thrid Day efter the Quenes coming to *Fyfe*, the quhole Barons and Laids of *Fyfe* convoyed hir Majestie, till sche cam to *St. Androis*, quhere the said Laids and Barons, especially the Protestants, wer comandit to subscribe to a Band, containing in Effect, That they obliged thamefells to defend the King and Quenes Persons, against *Englischmen* and Rebels: And in case they sould come to *Fyfe*, they sould resist thame to thair utmost Power; quhich Charge every Man obeyit.

The secund Nicht efter the Quenes cuming to *Saint Androis*, sche sent a Band or Troop of Horsemen, and another of Foot, to *Lundie*, and at Mid-nicht took out the Laird, being a Man of 80 Yeirs old: Then they past to *Fawside*, and took likewise *Thomas Scot*, and brocht him to *Saint Androis*, quhare they, with the Laird of *Bavard*, and sum uthers, wer comandit to Prison. This maner of Handling and Usage being onkend and strange, wer heavily

spoken of, and a grit Terrour to uthers, quho thocht thameselfis warned of gritter Severity to cume.

In the mean Tyme the Houfes of the Erles of *Murray*, *Rothesse*, and the Houfes of divers Gentillmen, wer given in keiping to such as the Quene pleasit, efter that thair Children and Servants had bene cast out.

At the same Time the Duke, the Erles of *Glencarne* and *Argyle*, the Lords *Boyd* and *Uchiltrie*, with the Laird of *Cunninghamehead*, and the rest, wer charged to cum and present thameselfis in Saint *Androis*, befor the King and Quenes Majesties, to answer to such Things as sould be laid to thair Charge, within six Dayes, under the Pain of Rebellioun: And the Day being expirit, and they not appeiring, wer denounced Rebels, and put to the Horne.

As the Quene remaned in Saint *Androis*, the Inhabitants of *Dundie*, being fore afraid, becaus of sum evill Report made of thame to the Quene, as if they had trubled the Quene, in seiking Men of War, and sufferit sume to be raisit in thair Town for the Lords; for thare was nothing done in *Dundie*, bot it was revealed to the Quene; especially that the Minister had received a Letter from the Lords, and delivered the same to the Brethren, perswaiding thame to assist the Lords; which being granted by the Minister, the Quein remittit it. Efter grit Travell and Supplicatioun made by some Nobillmen, at length, the King and Quene being in the Town, they agreeit for Two thousand Marks, five or six of the principall left out, with sum uthers, that wer put to thair Schift. Efter the King and Quein had remainit two Nichts in the Town of *Dundie*, they cam to Saint *Androis*; and soon efter, they cam over *Forth*, and so to *Edinburgh*. During this Tyme, the Maister of *Maxwell* wrote to the King and Quein, making Offers for and in the Name of the Lords.

The next Day efter the King and Queins cuming to *Edinburgh*, there was a Proclamatioun maid at the Market-Crosse: And becaus the same is very notabill, I thocht gude to insert it here Word by Word, albeit it be some-what long.

Henry and Mary, by the Grace of God, King and Quein of *Scots*; To all and sundry Our Leiges and Subjects quhome it may concerne, and to quhose Knowlege these Letters sall cume, greiting. Forasmuch as in this Uprore laitly raisit up against us, by certane Rebels, and thair Assistants, the Authors thair of (to blind the Eyes of the simple Pepell) have gevin thame to understand, that the Quarrell they have in Hand is onely Religioun, thinking with that Cloke to cover thair ungodly Designes, and so, under that plausible Argument, to draw efter thame a large Train of ignorant Persons, easie to be seduced. Now for the Preservation of our gude Subjects, quhose Cafe wer to be pitied, if they blindly sould suffer thameselfis to be induced and trapped in so dangerous a Snare, it hath pleasit the Goodnesse of God, by the Utterance of thair awn Mouthes and Writings to us, to discover the Poyson that befor lay hid in thair Hairts, albeit to all Persons of cleir Jugement the same was evident yneuch befor: For quhat uther Thing (*is this, but to dissolve the quhole Policy, and in a maner to invert the very Order*) might move the principall Raisers of this Tumult to put thameselfis in Arms against us so unnaturally, upoun quhom we had bestowit so many Benefits, but that the grit Honour we did thame, they being thareof unworthy, made thame misknow thameselfis; and thair Ambitioun culd not be satisfied with heiping Riches

upoun Riches, and Honour upoun Honour, unless they retein in thair Hands us, and our quhole Realme to be led, usit, and disposit at thair Plesure. Bot this culd not the Multitude have perceavit, if God (for disclofing thair Hypocrisie) had not compellit thame to utter thair unresonable Desire to governe; for now by Letters sent from thamefelfis to us, which mak plane Professioun, that the establisching of Religion will not content thame, bot we must be forcit to govern by Counsaill, suche as it fall please thame to appoint us; a Thing so farre beyond all Measure, that we think the onely mentioun of so unreasonable a Demand is sufficient to mak thair neirett Kinsfolks thair most mortall Enemies, and all Men to run on thame without farder Scruple, that ar zealous to have thair native Cuntrey to remane still in the State of a Kingdome: For quhat uther Thing is this, bot to dissolve the whole Policy, and (in a maner) to invert the very Order of Nature, to mak the Prince obey, and Subjects comand. The like was never demandit by any of our most noble Progenitours heitrofor, yea, not of Governours and Regents; bot the Prince and such as have filled thair Place chose thair Counsaill of such as they thocht most fit for the Purpois. When we our selfis wer of less Age, and at our first returning into this our Realme, we had frie Choice of our Counsaill at our Plesure, and now when we ar at our full Maturity, fall we be brocht back to the stait of Pupills, and be put under Tutor? So long as sum of thame bore the whole Sway with us, this Mater was nevir callit in Questioun; bot now quhen they cannot be longer permitted to do and undo all at thair Plesure, they will put a Bridle into our Mouthes, and give us a Counsaill chosin after thair Fantasie. This is the Quarrell of Religion they maid you beleve they had in Hand; This is the Quarrell for which they would have you hazzard your Lands, Lives and Gudes, in the Company of a certane Number of Rebels against your naturall Prince. To speik in gude Language, they wald be Kings thamefelfis, or at the leist leiving to us the bare Name and Title, and tak to thamefelfis the Credit and whole Administratioun of the Kingdome.

We have thocht gude to mak Publicatioun hereof, to schew, that you suffer not your selfis to be deceivit under Pretence of Religion, to follow thame, quho prefering thair particular Advancement to the publike Tranquillitie, and having no Care of you, in respect of thamefelfis, wald (if you wald harken to thair Voice) draw you efter thame, to your utter Destruction. Assuring you that you have heretofor gude Experience of our Clemency, and under our Wings enjoyed in Peace the Possession of your Gudes, and lived at Liberty of your Conscience, so may you be in full Assurance of the like hereafter, and have us alwayes your gude and loving Princes to so many as fall continue your selves in due Obedience, and do the Office of faythfull and naturall Subjects.

Given under our Signet at Saint *Androis*, the Tenth of *December*; and of our Reignes the first and twenty thrie Yeirs 1565.

Now the Lords desired, next the establisching of Religion, that the Quenis Majesty, in all the Affairs of the Realme and Common-wealth, sould use the Counsaill and Advice of the Nobility, and ancient Bluid of the same; quhareas in the mean Tyme, the Counsaill of *David* and *Franco* the *Italians*, with

Fowler the *Englisbman*, and Maister *James Balfour* Parson of *Flisk*, was preferred befor all uthers, save only the Erle of *Athole*, quho was thocht to be a Man of groſs Judgment; bot nevertheles in all Things given to pleiſe the Quene. It was now finally come to this Point, that inſtead of Law, Juſtice and Equity, only Will ruled in all Things. Thare was thorow all the Cuntrey ſet out a Proclamatioun, in the King and Quenis Names, commanding all Perſones to come and meet thame at *Stirling*, the firſt Day of *October* following, with twenty Days Proviſioun, under Pain of Lyfe, Lands and Goods. It was uncertane whidder thair Majeſties intended to paſ from *Stirling* or not, and I beleive the principall Men knew not well at that Tyme: For a Report was, That by Reſſioun the Caſtells of *Haumiltoun* and *Draffen* wer kept fortified and victualled, at the Dukis Command, that thay would paſ to ſiege the ſaid Houſes, and give thame ſome Schot of a Cannon. Uthers ſaid, Thay would paſ towards my Lord of *Argyle*, quho had his Peple always armed, quhareof his Neighbours wer afraid, eſpecially the Iahabitants of *Athole* and *Lenox*; bot at length it was concluded, that they ſould paſ to *Dumfreis*, as ſhall be declared.

During this Tyme thare wer Propoſitiouns maid continually to the King and Quene, by the Lords, deſiring always thair Majeſties moſt humbly to receave thame into thair Hands. Thair Articles tended continually to theſe two Heids, *viz.* To abolifch the Maſs, root out Idolatry, and eſtabliſch the trew Religioun. And that thay, and the Affairs of the Realme, ſould be governed by the Advyce and Counſaill of the trew Nobility of the ſame; offering thameſelfis and thair Caus to be tryed by the Laws of the Cuntrey. Yit nothing could be accepted, nor takin in good Part, albeit the Maister of *Maxwell* laboured by all Means to redres the Matter, quho alſo entertained the Lords moſt honourably in *Dumfreis*, for he had the Government of all that Cuntrey. Bot he himſelf incurred the Quenis Wrath ſo, that he was ſummoned to preſent himſelf, and appeir befor the King and Quenis Majeſties, eſter the ſame Form that the reſt of the Lords wer charged with, and alſo commanded to give over the Houſ of *Lockmaben*, and the Caſtell which he had in keiping for the Quene. And albeit he obeyed not, yit was he not put to the Horn, as the reſt. Nevertheles thare was no Man that doubted of his good Will and partaking with the Lords, quho in the mean Tyme ſent *Robert Melvin* to the Quene of *England*, and declared thair State to hir Majeſty, deſiring Support.

Now the chief Care and Solitude that was in the Court, was, be quhat Means they micht come to have Money; for notwithstanding this grit Preparatioun for Warre, and eminent Appeirance of Trouble, yit wer they deſtitute of the Sinewes of Warre; albeit the Treasurers, and new Comptroller, to wit, the Laird of *Tillibardin*, had diſburſed mony thouſands; yit thare was no Appeirance of Payment of Souldiours, nor ſcarcely how the King and Quenis Houſes, and pompuous Trains ſould be upholden; thare was about 600 Horſmen, beſides the Guard and 3 Enſignes of Footmen. The Charge of the hole would amount to 1000 *L. Sterling* every Month; a Thing ſurpaſſing the uſuall Manner of *Scotland*. At this Tyme arrvyd the Erle of *Bothwell*, quho was welcome, and graciouſly received by the Quene, and immediatly placed in Counſaill, and maid Lieutenant of the Weſt and middle Marches. Now as every one of the Barones compounded to be exempted from this Meetinr, the Erle of *Athole* demanded of *Edinburgh* 200 *L. Sterling*, bot they reſuſed to pay it: Notwithstanding *October* 27th, thare was a certane

Number of the principall and rich Persones of the Town warned by a Macer, to pas to the Palace of *Hallyrudhous* to the King and Quene, quho declared to thame by thair awn Mouths, speiking that they had Use for Money; and tharefoir knowing thame to be honest Men, and the Inhabitants of the best City in thair Countrey, they must needs charge thame; and for Security they sould have uther Men bound for Pledges, or ony Hand tharefoir. The Sum that they desired was 1000 *L. Sterling*, and no les. They being astonisched, maid no Answer. Bot Parson *Flisk* standing by, said, That seing the King and Quenis Majesties desired thame so civilly, in a Thing most lawfull in thair Necessity, they did schew thamefelfis not honest to keip Silence, and give no Answer to thair Majesties, for that must neids be had of thame which was requyred: And if they would not, they sould be constrained by the Laws, which they would not abyde; for some of thame had deserved Hanging (said he) becaus they had lent large Sums of Money to the King and Quenis Enemies and Rebels: And tharefoir they must schortly suffer grit Punischment. Soon efter they wer called in one by one, and demanded how much they wald lend? Some maid this Excuse, and some that; by Ressoun thare wer some that offered to lend Money; amongst quhom thare was one offered to lend 20 *L.* To him the Erle of *Atkole* said, Thou art worthy to be hanged that speikest of 20 *L.* seing the Princes charge the so easily. Finally, They wer all imprisoned, and Souldiours set over thame, having thair Muskets ready charged, and thair Match lichted, even in the Hous with thame, quher they remained all that Nicht, and the nixt Day till Nicht; and then being changed from one Prison to ane uther, thare wer six chosen out, and sent in the Nicht to the Castell of *Edinburgh*, convoyed with Musketeirs round about thame, as if they had bein Murtherars, or most vile Persons. At lenth (the third Day) be Means of the Laird of *Craigmillier* Provost, and some uthers, the Sume was maid more easie, to wit, a 1000 Marks *Sterling*, to be paid immediatly, and to have the Superiority of *Leith* in Pledge, to wit, upoun Condition of Redemptioun. And besides the said Sume of 1000 Mark *Sterling*, they payd 1000 *L. Sterling*. For the Meiting at *Dumfreis* at the Day appointed, for electing the Officers, the Quene sent in a Ticket, such as sche would have thame chuse for Provest, Bayliffs and Counsaill, quhareof thare was a Number of Papists, the rest not worthy. Of the Number given in by the Quene, they named such as sould rule for that Yeir; notwithstanding without free Electioun, the Laird of *Craigmillier* remained Provest, quho schewed himself most willing to set fordward Religion, to punisch Vice, and to mantein the Comoun-wealth. All this Tyme the Ministers cryed out against the Mefs, and sick Idolatry, for it was more advanced by the Quene then befoir.

The first Day of *October* met in *Edinburgh* the Superintendant of *Lowthian*, with all the Ministers under his Charg, according to thair ordinary Custome; for every Superintendant used to convene the hole Ministry. And thare it was complained on, that they could get no Payment of thair Stipends, not only about the City, bot thorow the hole Realme. Tharefoir efter ressoning and Consultatioun takin, they framed a Supplicatioun directed to the King and Quene, and immediatly presented the same to thair Majesties, by Mr. *Johne Spotiswood* Superintendant of *Lowthian*, and Mr. *David Lindesay* Minister of *Leith*. It contained in Effect, That forasmuch as it had pleased the King and Quenis Majesties (with Advice of the Privy Counsaill) to grant unto the Ministers

of the Word thair Stipends to be takin of the Thirds of the Benefices, which Stipends ar now detained from the said Ministers, by Ressoun of the Troubles and changing of the Comptrouler, quhareby they ar not able to lyve: And tharefoir most humilly craved the King and Quenis Majesties to caus thame to be payed. Thair Answer was, That they wald caus Ordour to be takin tharein to thair Contentment.

Soon efter the Lord *Gordoun* came to *Edinburgh*, and left the most Part of his Peple at *Stirling* with his Carriage. The King and Quene, for Hope of his good Service to be done, restored him to his Father's Place, the Erldom of *Huntley*, the Lands and Heritage thareof. *October* the 8th the King and Quene marched furth of *Edinburgh* towards *Dumfreis*; and as they passed from the Palace of *Hallyrudebous*, all Men wer warned with Jack and Spear. The first Nycht they came to *Stirling*, and the nixt to *Crawford*; the Day efter the Lairds of *Drunlanrick* and *Lochinvar* met the Quene, albeit they had been with the Lords familiar enouch. The Lords perceaving, that all Hope of Reconciliation was past, they rode to *Ednam*, quhare they remained till the Quene came to *Dumfreis*, and then they past to *Carlyle*.

Now the Maister of *Maxwell*, quho had entertained the Lords familiarly, and subscryved with them, and had spoken as hichly against thair Enemies as ony of thamefelves, and had received large Money by that Means, to wit, 1000 *L.* to raise a Band or Troup of Horsemen; and that the same Day the King and Quene came to *Dumfreis*. The third Day efter thair cuming he came to thame, convoyed by the Erle of *Bothwell*, with divers uther Noblemen. At length the Erles of *Atkole* and *Huntley* wer Sureties for him, and all Things past remitted, upoun Condition that he sould be a faythfull and obedient Subject hereafter. The same Day they maid Musters, the nixt Day the Army was disperfed, being about 18000 Men; the King and Quene past to *Lockmaben*, quhere the Maister of *Maxwell* gave a Banquet, and then forthwith marched to *Twedale*, so to *Piblis*, and then to *Edinburgh*.

The best and cheif Part of the Nobility of this Reame, quho also wer the principall Instruments of the Reformatioun of Religioun, and tharefoir wer called the Lords of the Congregation, in Manner above rehearsed, wer banished and chased into *England*; they wer courteously received and intertain- ed by the Erle of *Bedford* Lieutenant, upoun the Borders of *England*. Soon efter the Erle of *Murray* took Post towards *London*, leiving the rest of the Lords at *Newcastle*. Every Man supposed, that the Erle of *Murray* sould have bein graciously received of the Quene of *England*, and that he sould have gotten Support according to his Heart's Desire; bot far beyond his Expectatioun, he could get no Audience of the Quene of *England*. Bot by Means of the *French* Ambassadour, called *Monfiour de Four*, his trew Freind, he obtained Audience. The Quene, with a fair Countenance, demanded, *How he, being a Rebell to hir Sister of Scotland, durst tak the Boldnes upoun him to come within hir Realme?* These and the like Words got he, instead of the gude and courteous Entertainment expected. Finally, Efter private Discourse, the Ambassadour being absent, sche refused to give the Lords any Support, denying plainly, that ever sche had promised ony sick Thing, as to support thame, saying, *Sche never meant ony sick Thing in that Way*; albeit hir gritest Familiars knew the contrary. In the End, the Erle of *Murray* said to hir, *Madame, whatso- evir Thing your Majesty meant in your Hairt, we ar thareof ignorant; bot thus much we know assuredly, that we had lately faythfull Promises of Ayd and Support,*
by

by your Ambassadour, and Familiar Servants, in your Name: And further, we have your awn Hand-wryting, confirming the said Promises. And efterward he tuk his Leave, and came northward from London, towards Newcastle.

Efter the Erle of Murray his Departure from the Court, the Quene sent thame some Ayd, and wryt unto the Quene of Scotland in thair Favours: Whether sche had promised it in private to the Erle of Murray, or whether sche repented hir of the harsh Reception of the Erle of Murray.

At this Tyme *David Rizio* Italian began to be hicher exalted, insomuch as thare was no Matter or Thing of Importance done without his Advice. And during this Tyme, the Faythfull within this Realme wer in grit Feir, looking for nothing bot grit Trouble and Persecutioun to be schortly. Yit Supplicatiouns and Intercessiouns wer maid thorowout all the Congregatiouns, especially for such as wer afflicted and banished, that it wald pleis God to give thame Patience, Comfort and Constancy; and this especially was done at *Edinburgh*, quher *Jobne Knox* used to call thame that wer banished, *The best Part of the Nobility, chief Members of the Congregation*: Quhareof the Courtiers being advertised, they tuk Occasioun to revyle and bewray his Sayings, alleadging, he prayed for the Rebels, and desired the Peple to pray for thame lykeways. The Laird of *Lethingtoun* cheif Secretary, in presence of the King and Quenis Majesties and Counsaill, confessed that he hard the Sermons, and said, *Thare was nothing at that Tyme spoken by the Minister, quhareat ony Man need to be offended*. And further, declared plainly, *That by the Scripture it was lawfull to pray for all Men*.

In the End of *November*, the Lords, with thair Complices, wer summoned to appeir the fourth Day of *February*, for Treasoun, and Lease-majesty: Bot in the mean Tyme, sick of the Nobility as had professed the Evangell of Christ, and had communicate with the Brethren at the Lord's Table, wer ever longer the more suspected by the Quene, quho began to declare himself in the Months of *November* and *December*, to be Maintainer of the Papiſts; for at hir Pleisure, the Erles of *Lenox*, *Arbole* and *Cassels*, with divers uthers, without ony Dissimulatioun knawn, went to the Mefs openly in hir Chapell; yit nevertheles, the Erles of *Huntley* and *Bothwell* went not to the Mefs, albeit they wer in grit Favour with the Quene. As for the King, he past his Tyme in Hunting and Hawking, and such uther Pleisures as wer agreeable to his Appetite, having in his Company Gentilmen willing to satisfie his Will and Affectiouns.

About this Tyme, in the Beginning of _____ as the Court remained at *Edinburgh*, the banished Lords, by all Means possible, by Wrytings and thair Freinds, maid Suit and Means to the King and Quenis Majesties, to be received into Favour.

At this Tyme the Abbot of *Kylwinning* came from *Newcastle* to *Edinburgh*; and efter he had gotten Audience of the King and Quene, with grit Difficulty he got Pardon for the Duke, and his Freinds and Servands, upoun this Condition, that he sould passe into *France*, which he did soon efter.

The 25th of *December*, convened in *Edinburgh* the Commisſiouners of the Churches within this Realme, for the Generall Assembly. Thare assisted to thame the Erles of *Mortoun* and *Marre*, the Lord *Lindesay* and Secretary *Lethingtoun*, with some Barones and Gentilmen. The principall Things that wer agreed and concluded wer, That forasmuch as the Mefs, with sick Idolatry, and papisticall Ceremonies, wer still manteined, expresly against the Act of Parliament, and the Proclamatiouns maid at the Quenis Arrivall; And that

the Quene had promised, that she wald hear Conference and Disputatioun; that the Church tharefoir offered to prove by the Word of God, that the Doctrine preiched within this Realme was according to the Scriptures; and that the Mass, with all the papisticall Doctrine, was bot the Invention of Men, and meer Idolatry.

Secundly, That by Rescoun of the Change of the Comptrouller, quho had put in new Collectors, forbidding thame to deliver any Thing to the Ministry, and by thois Means the Ministry was lyke to decay and faill, contrary to the Ordinance maid in the Year of God 1562. in Favour and Support of the Ministry. During this Tyme, as the Papists flocked to *Edinburgh* for making Court, some of thame that had been Friars, as black *Abercrommy* and *Roger*, presented Supplicatioun to the Quenis Majesty, desiring in Effect, That they mycht be permitted to preich, whiche was easily granted. The Noyse was further, that they offered Disputatioun. For as the Court stood, they thocht they had a grit Advantage already, by Rescoun they knew the King to be of thair Religion, as weill as the Quene, with some Part of the Nobility, quho, with the King, efter declared thameselves openly; and especially the Quene was governed by the Erles of *Lenox* and *Atbole*; bot in Matters maist weichty, and of gritest Importence, by *David Rizio* the *Italian* afoir mentioned, quho went under the Name of the *French* Secretary; by whose Means, all grave Matters, of quhat Weicht soever, must pas; providing always, that his Hands wer anoynted. In the mean Tyme he was a manifest Enemy to the Evangell; and tharefoir a griter Enemy to the banished Lords. And at this Tyme, the principall Lords that waited at Court wer divided in Opiniouns; for the Erle of *Mortoun* Chancellour, with the Erle of *Marre*, and Secretary *Lettingtoun*, wer on the one Part; and the Erles of *Huntley* and *Bothwell* on the uther Part: So that a certane Drynes was amongst thame; nevertheles, by Means of the Erle of *Atbole*, thay wer reconciled. Now as thare was Preparation maid by the Papists for Christmess, the Quene being then at Mass, the King came publictly, and bare Cumpany; and the Freirs preiched the Days following, always using ane uther Style then they had done sevin Yeirs befor; during quhilk Tyme they had not preiched publictly. They wer so little esteemed, that they continewed not lang in preiching.

At the same Tyme, convened in *Edinburgh* the Generall Assembly of the Ministers, and Commisshioners of the Kirkis reformed within this Realme. Thare assisted thame of the Nobility, the Erles of *Mortoun* and *Marre*, the Lord *Lindesay*, and Secretary *Lettingtoun*, with uthers. The cheif Things that wer concluded in this Assembly, wer, that for the avoyding of the Plagues and Scourges of God, which appeired to come upoun the Peple for thair Sins and Ingratitude, thare shuld be proclaimed be the Ministers a publict Fast, to be universally observed thorowout all the reformed Kirkis; quhilk Manner of Fasting was soon efter devysed by *Johne Knox*, at the Comand of the Church, and put in Print, quharefoir neids not here to be recyted in this Place. What followed upoun the said Fast shal be plainly, God willing, declared.

The *secund* Thing that was ordained in this Assembly, was concerning the Ministers, quho, for Want of Payment of thair Stipends, wer lyke to perish, or else to leive thair Ministry: Quharefoir it was found necessary, that Supplicatioun shuld be maid to the King and Quenis Majesties; and for the same Purpose, a certane Number of the maist able Men wer elected to go to thair Majesties afoirsaid, to lament and bemoane thair Case; quhilk Persons

sons had Commission to propose some other Things, as shall be declared. The Names of thame that past from the Church to the King and Quenis Majesties, wer, Mr. *Johne Spotiswood*, Superintendent of *Louthian*, *Johne Winram*, Superintendent of *Fife*, Mr. *Johne Row*, Minister of *Perth*, Mr. *David Lindsey*, Minister of *Leyth*, quho easily obtained Audience of the King and Quenis Majesties. And efter thair Reverence done, Mr. *Johne Row*, in Name of the rest, opened the Matter, lamenting and bewailing the miserable State of the poor Ministers, quho by publick Command had been resoundably satisfied thrie Yeirs or more, be Virtue of the Act maid with Advice of the Honourable Privy Counsaill, for the taking up of the Thirds of the Benefices, quhilk was especially maid in thair Favours: Nevertheles the Laird of *Tillibardin*, new Comptrouller would answer thame nothing: Quharefore they besought thair Majesties for Relief. *Secundly*, Seing that in all Supplicationis maid to the King and Quenis Majesties by the Church at all Tymes, they desired maist earnestly, that all Idolatry and Superstitioun, and especially the Mefs, should be rooted out and abolisched quyte out of this Realme: And that in the last Generall Assembly of the Church, by thair Commissioners, they had most earnestly desired the same. And that thair Answer was then, That they knew no Impediment in the Mefs; tharefoir the Assembly desired, that it might please thair Highnesses to hear Disputatioun, to the End that such as now pretended to preich in the Chappell Royall, and mantein such Errours; the Trewth being tryed by Disputatioun, that they might be known to be Abusers, submitting thame selves always to the Word of God wrytten in the Scriptures. To this it was answered by the Quene, *That sche was always minded, that the Ministers should be payed thair Stipends; and if thare was any Fault tharein, the same came by some of thair awn Sort*, meaning the Comptroller *Pittarow*, quho had the Handling of the Thirds. *Always, by the Advice of hir Counsaill, sche should caus sick Ordour to be taiken tharein, that none should have Occasioun to complain.* As to the *secund*, *Sche wald not jeopard hir Religion upoun sick as wer thare present; for sche knew weill enouch, that the Protestants wer more learned.*

The Ministers and Commissioners of the Kirks perceaving nothing but Delay, and Dryving of Tyme, in the old Manner, went Home every one to their awn Kirkis, wayting upoun the guid Providence of God, continually making Supplication unto Almightie God, that it would please him of his Mercy to remove the apparent Plague. And in the mean Tyme the Quene was buied with Banqueting about with some of the Lords of the Session of *Edinburgh*, and efter with all Men of Law, having continually in hir Company *David Rizio*, quho sat at Table near to himself, sometymes more privatly then became a Man of his Conditioun; for his over-grit Familiarity was already suspected: And it was thocht, That by his Advice alone the Quenis Sharpnes and Extremity towards the Lords was mantained.

In the End of *January* arrived ane Ambassadour from *France*, named *Monsieur Rambullet*, having with him about fourty Horse in Trayn, quho came thorow *England*. He brocht with him the Ordour of the Cockle from the King of *France*, to the King, quho received the same at the Mefs, in the Chappell of the Palace of *Halyrudhous*. Thare assisted the Erles of *Lenox*, *Aibole*, and *Eglintoun*, with diverse sick uther Papists, as wald please the Quene, quho thrie Days efter caused the Herauld to convene in Counsaill, and resounded quhat Armes should be given to the King. Some thocht he should have the

Armes of *Scotland*: Some uthers said, feing it was not concluded in Parliament, that he sould have the Crown Matrimoniall, he could have Armes, bot only as Duke of *Rothesay*, Erle of *Rosse*, &c. The Quene bade give him only his Dew; quhareby it was perceaved hir Love waxed cold towards him. Finally, His Armes wer left blank; and the Quene caused put hir awn Name befoir hir Husband's in all Wrytes; and thairefter sche caused to leave out his Name holely. And becaus formerly he had signed every Thing of ony Moment, sche caused to mak a Seall lyke the King's, and gave it to *David Rizio*, quho maid Use of it by the Quene's Commande, alledging, that the King, being at his Pastyme, could not always be present.

About the same Tyme, the Erle of *Glencairne* came from *Berwick* to his awn Cuntrey. Soon efter, the Erle of *Bothwell* was married unto the Erle of *Huntley* his Sister. The Quene desired, that the Marriage might be maid in the Chappell at the Mefs; quhilk the Erle *Bothwell* wald in nowise grant. Upoun *Sunday* the third Day of *March* began the Fasting at *Edinburgh*. The seven Day of *March* the Quene came from the Palace of *Malynudhous* to the Toun, in wondrous gorgious Apparell, albeit the Number of Lords and Train was not very grit. In the mean Tyme the King, accompanied with seven or aucht Horse, went to *Leyth*, to pass his Tyme thare, for he was not lyke to get the Crown Matrimoniall.

In the Tolbuth was devisit and namit the Heids of the Artickles that wer drawn against the banished Lords; upon the Morrow and *Saturday* following, there was grit Reasoning concerning the Attainder. Some alledged, That the Summons was not well libelled or dressed; uthers thocht the Matter of Treasoun was not sufficiently proved; and indeed they wer still seiking Proof, for there was no uther Way bot the Quene wald have thame all attainted, albeit the Time was very schort. The 12th Day of *March* sould have bein the Day, which was the *Tuesday* following.

Now the Mater was stayed by a marvellous Tragedy, for by the Lords (upoun the *Saturday* before, which was the ninth of *March*, about Supper-time) *David Rizio* the *Italian*, named the *French* Secrètary, was slain in the Gallery below Stairs (the King staving in the Roum with the Quene, told her, that the Designe was onely to tak Ordour with that Villain) efter that he had bein taken violently from the Quene's Prefence, quho requested most earnestly for the saving of his Lyfe; which Act was done by the Erle of *Morton*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Lord *Lindsay*, the Master of *Ruthven*, with divers uther Gentlemen. They first purposed to have hangit him, and had provided Cords for the sam Purpois; bot the grit haste which they had, moved thame to dispatch him with Whingers or Daggers, quherewith they gave him thrie and fifty Strokes. They sent away and put forth all such Persons as they suspectit.

The Erles *Bothwell* and *Huntley* hearing the Noise and Glamour, cam suddenly to the Close, intending to have made Work, if they had had a Party strong yneuch; bot the Erle *Morton* commandit thame to passe to thair Chamber, or else they sould do worse: At the which Words they retired immediately, and so past forth at a back Window, they two alone, and with grit Fear cam forth of the Towne to *Edmestoun*, on Foot, and from thence to *Crichtoun*.

This *David Rizio* was so foolish, that not onely he had drawne unto him the managing of all Affaires, the King set asyde, bot also his Equipage and
Train

Train did surpasse the Kings; and at the Parliament that was to be, he was ordained to be Chancellour; which made the Lords conspire against him. They made a Bond to stand to the Religion and Liberties of the Countrey, and to free thameselfis of the Slavery of the Villain *David Rizio*: The King and his Father subscribed to the Bond, for they durst not trust the King's Word without his Signet.

There was a *French* Priest (called *John Daniot*) who advisit *David Rizio* to mak his Fortune, and be gone, for the *Scots* would not suffer him long. His Answer was, That the *Scots* would bragg bot not fight; then he advisit him to beware of the Bastard. To this he answered, That the Bastard sould never live in *Scotland* in his Time, (he meant the Erle *Murray*) but it happened that one *George Dowglas* Bastard Son to the Erle of *Angus* gave him the first Stroke. The Quene when sche heard he was deid, left weiping, and declared sche would study Revenge; which sche did.

Immediately it was noised in the Town of *Edinburgh*, that there was Murther committed within the King's Palace, quherefore the Provost caused to ring the common Bell, or, *Sonner le tokfain*, (as the *French* speaks) and straightway past to the Palace, having about four or five hundred Men in warlike Manner; and as they stude in the utter Court, the King called to the Provost, comanding him to passe Home with his Company, saying, The Quene and he wer merry. Bot the Provost desired to heir the Quene speak herself; Quhereunto it was answered by the King, Provost, know you not that I am King? I comand you to passe Home to your Houses; and immediately they retired.

The next Day (which was the secund *Sunday* of our Fast in *Edinburgh*) there was a Proclamatioun made in the King's Name, subscribed with his Hand, That all Bischops, Abbots, and uther Papists sould avoid and depart the Towne; which Proclamatioun was indeid observed, for they had a *Flu* in their Hoses.

There wer Letters sent forth in the Kings Name, and subscribed with his Hand, to the Provost and Bailiffs of *Edinburgh*, the Bailiffs of *Leith* and *Cannongate*, commanding thame to be ready in Armour to assist the King and his Company, and likewise other private Writings directed to divers Lords and Gentillmen, to come with all Expedition.

In the mean Time the Quene being above Measure enraged, offended and trubled, as the Issue of the Mater declared, sometime railing upoun the King, and sometime crying out at the Windows, desirrit her Servants to set her at Liberty, for sche was highly offendit and troublit.

This same 10th of *March* the Erle of *Murray*, with the rest of the Lords and Nobillmen that were with him, having receivit the King's Letter, (for after the Bond, above named, was subscribed, the King wrote unto the banished Lords, to returne into thair Countrey, being one of the Artickles of the said Bond) cam at Nicht to the Abbey, being also convoyed by the Lord *Hume*, and a grit Company of the Borderers, to the Number of 1000 Horses. And first, Efter he had presented himself to the King, the Quene was informit of his suddane coming, and therefore sent unto him, commanding him to cume to her; and he obeying, went to her, who with a singular Gravity received him, efter that he had maid his Purgatioun, and declared the over-grit Affection which he bore continually to her Majesty. The Erles of *Atbole*, *Cathnes* and *Sutherland* departed out of the Town, with the Bis-

chops, upoun the *Munday*, the thrid Day efter the Slauchter of *David Rizio*. The Erles of *Lenox*, *Murray*, *Morton*, and *Rothes*, Lords *Ruthven*, *Lindsay*, *Boyd*, and *Uchiltrie*, sitting in Counsaill, desirrit the Quene, That forasmuch as the Thing which was done could not be undone, that sche would (for avoiding of gritter Inconveniencies) forget the same, and tak it as gud Service, seing thare wer so many Nobillmen restored. The Quene dissembling her Displeisure and Indignatioun, gave gud Words, neverthelesse sche desired, That all Persons armed or otherwise (being within the Palace at that Time) sould remove, leaving the Palace void of all, saving only her domestick Servants. The Lords being perswaded by the uxorious King, and the facile Erle of *Murray*, condescended to her Desire, who finally the next Morning, two Hours before Day, past to *Seaton*, and then to *Dumbar*, having in hir Cumpany the simple King, who was allured by hir sugared Words; from *Dumbar* immediately wer sent Pursuivants with Letters thorowout the Countrey; and especially Letters to the Nobillmen and Barons, comanding thame to come to *Dumbar*, to assist the King and Quene within five Dayes: In the mean Time the Lords being informed of the suddane Departure, they wer astonisched, and knew not what wer best for thame to do: Bot because it was the self-same Day (to wit, the 12th Day of *March*) that they wer summoned unto; tharefore having gude Opportunity, they past to the Tolbuith, which was richly hung with Tapistry, and adorned (bot not for them) and set thameselfis, making Protestatiouns, the Erle of *Glencarne*, and sume uthers, being present. The Erle of *Argyle*, quho was written for by the King, came to *Linlithgow*; and being informed of the Mater, he remained there.

Efter this maner above specified, to wit, by the Death of *David Rizio*, the Nobillmen wer relieved of thair Trouble, and restorit to thair Places and Rooms: And likewise the Church reformed, and all that professed the Evangell within this Realme, efter Fasting and Prayer, was delivered and freed from the apparent Dangers which wer lik to have fallen upoun thame; for if the Parliament had taken Effect, and proceeded, it was thocht by all Men of the best Judgment, that the true Protestant Religioun sould have been wrackt, and Popery erected; and for the same Purpois, thare wer certane wooden Altars maid, to the Number of twelve, found ready in the Chappell of the Palace of *Halyrudehous*, which sould have bene erected in *Saint Gyles*'s Church.

The Erles *Bothwell* and *Huntley* being informed of the King and Quenes suddane Departure forth of *Edinburgh*, cam to *Dumbar*, quhere they wer most graciously received by the Quenes Majesty; who consulting with thame and the Maister of *Maxwell*, together with Parson *Owin*, and Parson *Fliske*, chief Counsaillors, quhat was best to be done, and how sche sould be revenged upoun the Murtherers. At first they did intend to go forward, and leaving no maner of Cruelty unpractised, putting to Death all such as wer suspectit. This was the Opinioun of such as would obey thair Quene's Rage and Fury for thair own Advantage; Bot in the End they concludit, That sche sould come to *Edinburgh* with all the Force and Power sche could mak, and thare proceed to Justice: And for the sam Purpois, sche causit to summon, by open Proclamatioun, all Persons of Defence, and all Nobillmen and Gentillmen, to come to her in *Dumbar* incontinent. In the mean Time, the Capitanes laboured by all Means to tak up and enroll Men and Women. The Erles of *Morton*, *Murray*, *Glencarne*, *Rothesse*, with the rest that wer in *Edinburgh*,

burgh, being informed of the Quene's Fury and Anger towards the Comitters of the Slauchter, and perceaving they wer not able to mak any Party, thocht it best to give Place to her Fury for a Time, for they wer divided in Opiniouns, and finally, departed out of *Edinburgh*, upoun *Sunday* the 17th Day of *March*, every one a severall Way; for the Quene's Majesty was now bent only against the Slayers of *David Rixio*; and to the Purpois sche might be the better revenged upoun them, sche intended to give Pardoun to all such as be-toir had bene atrainted, for whatsoever Crime.

The 18th Day of *March*, the King and Quene came to *Edinburgh*, having in thair Company Horse and Foot, to the Numer of 8000 Men; quharcof there wer four Companies of Footmen of War. The Town of *Edinburgh* went out to meet thame for fear of War. And finally, coming within the Town, in most awfull maner, they causit to place thair Men of War within the Town, and likewise certane Field-pieces against thair Lodging, which was in the middle of the Town, over against the Salt Trone: Now a litle before the Quenes Entrance into the Town, all that knew of hir cruell Pretence and Hatred towards thame, fled here and thare; and amongst others, Maister *James Macgill* the Clerk Register, the Justice Clerk, and the common Clerk of the Town: The chief Secretary *Letbington* was gone before; likewise *Johne Knox* past West to *Kyle*: The Men of War likewise kept the Ports or Gates. Within five Days after thair Entry, thare was a Proclamatioun maid at the Market-crosse, for the Purgatioun of the King from the afore-said Slauchter; which made all understanding Men laugh at the Passages of Things, since the King not only had gevin his Consent, bot also had subscribed the Bond afore-named; and the Businesse was done in his Name, and for his Honour, if he had had Wisdom to know it. Efter this Proclamatioun, the King lost his Credit among all Men, and so his Freinds, by this his Inconstancy and Weaknesse.

And in the mean time the Men of War comitted grit Outrages in breaking up Doors, thrusting thamefselfis into every House: And albeit the Number of thame wer not grit, yet the whole Town was too little for thame. Soon after, the King and Quene past to the Castell, and causit to warn all such as had absented thamefselfis, by open Proclamatioun, to appear before thair Majesties and the Privy Counsaill within six Days, under Pain of Rebellion; which Practise was devised in the Erle of *Huntley's* Case, before the Battell of *Corrichy*: And becaus thay appeared not, they wer denounced Rebels, and put to the Horne, and immediatly thereafter, thair Escheats given or taken up by the Treasurer. There was a certane Number of the Townsmen charged to enter thamefselfis Prisoners in the Tolbuith, and with thame wer put in certane Gentillmen: Quhare, efter they had remaned eight Days, they wer convoyed down to the Palace by the Men of War, and then kept by thame eight Days more: And of that Number was *Thomas Sect* Sheriff-depute of Saint *Johneston*, quho was condemned to Death, and executed cruelly, to wit, hanged and quartered, for keeping the Quene in Prison, as was alledged, althoch it was by the King's Command. And two Men likewise wer condemned to Death, and carried likewise to the Ladder-foot; bot the Erle *Botkwell* presentit the Quene's Ring to the Provost, which then was Justice, for Safety of thair Life. The Names of those two wer *Johne Melroy* Merchant, and *William Harlew* Sadler. About the same Time, notwithstanding all this hurlyburly, the Ministers of the Church, and Professors of

Religioun ceasit not ; for the People, they convened to publike Prayers and Preaching with Boldnesse ; yea, a grit Number of Nobillmen assisted likewise. The Erle *Bothwell* had now, of all Men, grittest Accessse and Familiarity with the Quene, so that nothing of any grit Importance was done without him ; for he schewed Favour to such as liked him ; and amongst uthers, to the Lairds of *Ormiston*, *Hawton*, and *Calder*, quho war so reconciled unto him, that by his Favour they wer relieved of grit Trouble.

The Erles of *Argyle* and *Murray*, at the Quenis Commande, past to *Argyle*, quhere, efter they had remained about a Month, they wer sent for by the Quene ; and coming to *Edinburgh*, they wer received by the Quene into the Castell, and banquetted, the Erles of *Huntley* and *Bothwell* being present.

At this Tyme the King grew to be contemned and disesteimed, so that scarcely ony Honour was done to him, and his Father lykewise.

About *Esther* the King past to *Stirling*, quher he was shruven, efter the Papist Manner. And in the mean Tyme, at the Palace of *Halyrudhous*, in the Chapell, thare resorted a grit Number to the Mess, albeit the Quene remained still in the Castell, with hir Priests of the Chapell Royall, quher they used Ceremonies efter the Popisch Manner.

At the same Tyme, departed this Lyfe Maister *Johne Sinclair* Bischope of *Rosse* and Dean of *Lesterrig*, of quhom hath bene oft Mentiou, President of the Colledge of Justice, called the Sessioun ; quho also succeeded in the said Office and Dignity, efter the Decease of his Brother Maister *Johne Sinclair*, Bischope of *Rosse*, Dean of *Glasgow*, quho departed this Lyfe at *Paris*, about a Yeir befoir. They wer both learned in the Laws, and given to maintain the Popisch Religioun ; and tharefoir grit Enemies to the Protestants. A littell befoir dyed Mr. *Abraham Chrichtoun*, quho had been President lykewise now in thair Rooms.

The Quene placed sick as sche pleased, and had done hir Service (always very unfit.) The Patrimony of the Kirk, Bischopricks, Abbyes, and such uther Benefices, wer disposed by the Quene to Courtiers, Dancers and Flatterars. The Erle of *Bothwell*, quhom the Quene preferred above all uthers, efter the Decease of *David Rizio*, had for his Part *Melrosse*, *Hadingtoun* and *New Bottel* ; lykewise the Castle of *Dunbar* was given to him, with the principall Lands of the Erledom of *Marche*, which wer of the Patrimony of the Crown.

At the same Tyme the Superintendents, with the uther Ministers of the Kirkis, perceaving the Ministry lyke to decay for lack of Payment of Stipends to Ministers, they gave this Supplicatioun at *Edinburgh*.

The Supplicatioun of the Ministers to the Quene.

UNto your Majesty, and your most honourable Counsaill, most humbly and lamentably complains, your Hichnes poor Oratours, the Superintendents and uther Ministers of the Reformed Church of God, travelling thorowout all your Hichnes's Realme, in teaching and instructing your Leiges in all Quarters, in the Knowledge of God, and Christ Jesus his Son ; That quher your Majesty, with Advice of the Counsaill and Nobility afoirsaid, moved by godly Zeal, concluded and determined, that the travelling Ministry thorowout this Realme, sould be mantained upoun the Rents of the Benefices of this Realme of *Scotland* ; and for that Caus your Majesty, with the Advice of the

Counsaill

Counsaill and Nobility afoirsaid, upoun the 15th Day of *December* 1562. in like Manner concluded and determined, that if the said Part of the Rents of the hole Benefices Ecclesiasticall within this Realme, would be sufficient to mantein the Ministers thorowout the hole Realme, and to support your Majesty, in the setting forward of your comoun Affairs, sould be imployed accordingly: Failing thareof, the third Part of the said Fruits or more, to be taken up yeirly in Tyme cuming, untill a generall Ordour be taken tharein; as the Act maid thareupoun at mor Length bears. Which being efterward considered by your Majesty, the hole Thirds of the Fruits afoirsaid wer propounded to the Ules afoirsaid, by Act of Counsaill. And we your Majesties poor Oratours, put in peaceable Possession of the Part assigned by your Majesty to us, by the Space of thrie Yeirs or thareabouts, which we did enjoy without Interruption; notwithstanding all this, now of late, we your Majesties poor Oratours afoirsaid, ar put wrongfully and unjustly from thair afoirsaid Part of the above specified Thirds, by your Majesties Officers, and thareby brought to sick extreme Penury, and extreme Distres, as we ar not able ony langer to mantein ourselvis. And albeit we have given in divers and sundry Complaints to your Majesty herein, and have received divers Promises of Redres; yit have we found no Relief: Tharefoir we most humbly beseech your Majesty to consider our most greivous Complaint, togidder with the Richt above specified, quhareon the same is grounded. And if your Majesty, with Advice of your Counsaill afoirsaid, finds our Richt sufficient to continue us in Possessioun of our Part assigned to us, while and untill a generall Ordour be taken; quhilk Possessioun was ratified by the yeirly Allowance of your Majesties Exchequer's Accompt, that your Majesty would grant us Letters, upoun the afoirsaid Act and Ordinance past thareupoun, against all Intromettours and Medlers with the afoirsaid Thirds, to answer and obey, according to the afoirsaid Act and Ordinance of our Possessioun proceeding thareupoun. And lykewise that we may have Letters, if need be, to arrest and stay the afoirsaid Thirds in the Possessours Hands, while and till sufficient Caution be found to us, for our Part afoirsaid. And your Answer maist humbly we beseech.

This Supplication being presented by the Superintendent of *Louthian*, and Mr. *Johne Craig*, in the Castell of *Edinburgh*, was graciously received by the Quene, quho promised, that sche would tak sufficient Ordour tharein, so soon as the Nobility and Counsaill might convene.

The 19th of *June*, the Quene was delivered of a Man-Child (the Prince in the afoirsaid Castle) and immediately sent into *France* and *England* hir Posts, to advertise the neychbour Princes, and to desire thame to send Gossips or Witnesses of the Prince's Baptisme.

In the mean Tyme, there was Joy and Triumph maid in *Edinburgh*, and sick uther Places quhere it was knawn, efter Thanks and Praises given unto God, with Supplications for the godly Education of the Prince; and principally wisching, that he sould be baptized according to the Maner and Form observed in the Reformed Churches within this Realme.

About the same Tyme, to wit, the 25th of *June*, the Generall Assembly of the hole Church convened at *Eainburgh*. The Erles of *Argyle* and *Murray* assisted at the Assembly. *Paull Metkven*, quho befoir, as we have heard, was excommunicate, gave in his Supplication, and desired to be heard, as he

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had

had done divers Tyme; for the said *Paull* had written oft-tymes out of *England* to the Laird of *Dun*, and to divers uthers, most earnestly desiring to be receaved agane into the Fellowship of the Church. Efter reasoning of the Matter, it was finally granted, that he sould be hard. And so being befoir the Assembly, and falling upoun his Knees, burst out with Tears, and said, *He was not worthy to appear in thair Presence; always he desired thame, for the Love of God, to receave him to the open Expressioun of his Repentance.* Schortly efter, they appointed certane of the Ministers to prescribe to him the Form of his Declaratioun of Repentance, quhilk was thus in Effect. *First*, That he sould present himself Bare-foot and Bare-head, arayed in Sack-cloth, at the principall Entry of Sanct *Gyles Kirk* in *Edinburgh*, at seven Hours in the Morning upoun the nixt *Wednesday*, and thare to remain the Space of ane Hour, the hole Peple beholding him, till the Prayer was maid, Psalmes sung, and Text of Scripture was read, and then to come in into the Place appointed, for Expressioun of Repentance, and tarry the Tyme of Sermon; and to do so lykewise the nixt *Friday* following, and also upoun the *Sunday*; and then, in the Face of the hole Kirk, to declare his Repentance with his own Mouth. The same Form and Manner he sould use in *Jedwart* and *Dundie*: And that being done, to present himself agane at the nixt Generall Assembly following in Winter, quhare he sould be receaved to the Communioun of the Church. When the said *Paull* had receaved the said Ordinance, he took it very greivously, alledging, *They had used over grit Severity.* Nevertheles, being counsailled and perswaded by divers notable Personages, he began weill in *Edinburgh* to proceed, quhareby a grit Number wer moved with Compassion of his State, and lykewise in *Jedwart*; but he left his Duty in *Dundie*, and passing agane into *England*, the Matter, not without Offence to mony, ceased.

The Ministers complained, That they could not be payed thair Stipends, wer licensed by the Assembly to pas to uther Kirkis to preich, but in nowise to leave the Ministry. And becaus that the Quenis Majesty had promised often befoir to provide Remedy, it was thocht expedient, that Supplicatioun sould be yit maid, as befoir, that the Quenis Majesty sould caus sick Ordour to be taken, that the poor Ministers micht be payed thair Stipends. The Bischop of *Galloway*, quho was Brother to the Erle of *Huntley*, and now a grit Man in the Court, travelled much with the Quenis Majesty in that Matter, and got of hir a gude Answer, and fair Promises. A few Yeirs befoir, the said Bischope of *Galloway* desired of the Generall Assembly to be maid Superintendent of *Galloway*; bot now being promoted to grit Dignity, as to be of the Number of the Lords of the Privy Counsaill, and lykewise one of the Sessioun, he would no more be called Over-looker, or Over-seer of *Galloway*, bot Bischop. Always Truth it is, that he laboured much for his Nephew the Erle of *Huntley*, that he micht be restored to his Lands and Honours; for the said Erle was now Chancellour, since the Slauchter of *David Rizio*, and had for his Clawback the Bischop of *Rosse*, Maister *Johne Lesley*, one of the chief Counsaillors to the Quene. Bot of all Men the Erle *Batbwell* was most in the Quenis Favour, so far that all Things past by him; yea, by his Means the most Part of all those that wer Partakers in the Slauchter of *David Rizio* got Remissioun and Releif. Bot from that Day he was not present at ony Sermon; albeit befoir he professed the Evangell by outward speaking, yit he never joyned to the Congregatioun. Bot this Tyme the Erle of *Cassells* was contracted with the Lord of *Glames* Sister, by quhos Perswasoun he became a Protestant,

Protestant, and caused, in the Month of *August*, to reform his Kirkis in *Car-risk*, and promised to mantein the Doctrine of the Evangell.

The Quene not yit satisfied with the Death of hir Man *David*, caused in *August* to be apprehended a Man called *Hary*, quho sometyme had been of hir Chappell Royall, bot efterward became an Exhorter in a Reformed Kirk; and for Want of Stipend, or uther Necessaries, past in Service to my Lord *Rutheven*, and chanced that Nycht to be present quhen the said *David* was slain; and so finally, he was condemned, and hanged, and quartered.

The King being now contemned of all Men, becaus the Quene cared not for him, he went sometyme to the *Lenox* to his Father, and sometyme to *Stirling*, whidder the Prince was carried a littell befoir. Always he was destitute of sick Things, as wer necessary for him, having scarcely six Horses in Trayn. And being thus desolate, and half desperate, he sought Means to go out of the Countrey. And about the same Tyme, by the Advice of *Forlish Gages*, he wrote to the *Paip*, to the King of *Spain*, and to the King of *France*, complaining of the State of the Countrey, quhilk was all out of Ordour, all becaus that Mefs and Popery wer not agane erected, giving the hole Blame thareof to the Quene, as not managing the Catholick Caus arycht. By some Knaue this pure Prince was betrayed, and the Quene got a Copy of these Letters into hir Hands, and tharefoir threatnit him fore; and thare was never efter that, ony Appearance of Love betwix thame.

The Churches of *Geneva*, *Berne* and *Basill*, with uther Reformed Churches of *Germany* and *France*, sent to the hole Church of *Scotland*, the Sum of the Confessioun of thair Fayth, desiring to know if they agreed in Uniformity of Doctrine, alledging, that the Church of *Scotland* was dissonant in some Artickles from thame. Quharefoir the Superintendents, with a grit Part of the uther most qualified Ministers, convened in *September* in *Sanct Androis*; and reading the said Letters, maid Answer, and sent Word agane, that they agreed in all Points with those Churches, and differed in nothing from them: Albeit in the keeping of some festivall Days, our Church assented not; for ony the *Sabbath* Day was kept in *Scotland*.

In the End of this Month the Erle *Boikwell*, riding in Pursuit of the Theives in *Liddisdale*, was ill hurt, and worse terrified, by a Thief; for he believed surely to have departed furth of this Lyfe, and sent Word thareof to the Quenis Majesty, quho soon efter past furth of *Jedwart* to the *Hermitage*, to visit him, and give him Comfort. And within a few Days efter, sche took Sicknes in a most extreme Manner; for sche lay two Hours long, cold dead, as it wer without Breath, or ony Signe of Lyfe; at lenth sche revived, by Ressoun they had bound small Cords about hir Shackle-bones, hir Knees and grit Toes, and speiking very softly, sche desired the Lords to pray for hir to God: Sche said the Creed in *Engliche*, and desired the Lord of *Murray*, if sche sould chance to depart, that he would not be over extreme to such as was of hir Religion; the Duke and he sould have been Regents. The Bruit went from *Jedwart*, in the Month of *October* 1565. that the Quene was departed this Lyfe, or at least sche could not live ony Tyme; quharefoir thare was continually Prayers publictly maid at the Church of *Edinburgh*, and divers uther Places, for hir Conversions towards God, and Amendment. Many wer of Opinioun, That sche sould come to the Preaching, and renounce Popery: Bot all in vain, for God had some uther Things to do by hir. The King being advertised, rod Post from *Stirling* to *Jedburgh*, quhare he found the Quene

somequhat convalesced, bôt sche wald scarce speik to him, and hardly give him Presence, or a gud Word; quharfoir he returned immediatly to *Stirling*, quhare the Prince was, and efter to *Glasgow* to his Father.

Thare appeared grit Trouble over the whole Realme, and especially in the Countreys near the Borders, if the Quene had departed at that Time. As sche began to recover, the Erle *Bothwell* was brocht in a Charriot from the Hermitage to *Jedburgh*, quhere he was cured of his Wounds; in whose Prefence the Quene took more Pleasure then in all the rest of the World; always by his Meanes most Part of all that wer out-lawed for the Slauchter of *David Rizio* got Relief, for thare was no uther Means, bot all Things must needs passe by him; quharefore every Man sought to him, quhere immediately Favour was to be had, as befoir to *David Rizio*.

Soon efter, the Quene passing along the Borders, sche cam within the Bounds of *Berwick*, quhere sche viewed the Town at her Plesure as far off, being within half a Mile and lesse; all the Ordnance within *Berwick* wer discharged: The Captane cam forth with fourscore Horses bravely arrayed, to do her Honour, and offer her lawfull Service. Then sche cam to *Craig-miller*, quhare sche remaned in *November* till sche was advertisit of the coming of the Ambassadours to the Baptisme of the Prince; and for that Purpose thare was grit Preparatioun maid, not without the Trouble of such as wer supposed to have Money in store, especially of *Edinburgh*; for thare was borrowed a gude round Sum of Money for the same Businesse. All her Care and Solitude was for that Triumph. At the same Time arrived the *Counte de Briance*, Embassadour of the King of *France*, quho had a grit Train. Soon efter the Erle of *Bedford* went forth of *England* with a very gorgeous Company, to the Number of fourscore Horses, and passing to *Stirling* he was humanly received of the Quene's Majesty, and every Day banquetted. The excessive Expences and superfluous Apparell, which was prepared at that Time, exceeded farr all the Preparatioun that ever had bene devised or set forth afore that Time in this Countrey. The 17th of *December* 1566, in the grit Hall of the Castle of *Stirling* was the Prince baptized by the Bischop of *Saint Androis*, at five a Clock at Even, with grit Pompe, albeit with grit Paine could they find Men to beare the Torches, quharefore they took Boyes. The Quene laboured much with the Nobillmen to bear the Salt, Grease and Candle, and such other Things, bot all refused; sche found at last the Erles of *Eglington*, *Athole*, and the Lord *Seaton*, quho assisted at the Baptisme, and brocht in the said Traish. The *Counte de Briance* (being the *French* Ambassadour) assisted likewise. The Erle of *Bedford* brocht for a Present from the Quene of *England* a Font of Gold, valued to be worth Thrie thousand Crowns. Soon efter the said Baptisme, as the Erle was in communing with the Quene, quho entertained him most reverently, he began to say merrily to her, amongst other talking, Madame, I rejoyce very gritly at this Time, seeing your Majesty hath here to serve you so many Nobillmen, especially twelve Erles, quhareof two only assist at this Baptisme to the Superstitioun of Popery. At the which saying the Quene kept good Countenance. Soon efter they banquetted in the said grit Hall, quhare they wanted no Prodigality. During the Time of the Erle of *Bedford's* remaining at *Stirling*, the Lords for the most Part waited upoun him, and conveyed him every Day to the Sermon, and efter to banquetting.

The King remaned in *Stirling* all that Tyme (never being present) kept his Chamber: His Father hearing how he was used, writ to him to repair unto him; who soon etter went (without God-night) toward *Glasgow* to his Father; he was hardly a Mile out of *Stirling* when the Poyson (which had been given him) wrocht so upoun him, that he had very great Pain and Dolour in every Part of his Body. At length, being arrived at *Glasgow*, the Blisters brake out, of a blewish Colour, so the Physicians presently knew the Disease to come by Poyson; he was brought so low that nothing bot Death was expected; yet the Strength of his Youth at last did surmount the Poyson.

During the Time of this Triumph the Quene was most liberall in all Things that wer demanded of hir; amongst other Things, sche subscribed a Writing for the Maaintenance of the Ministers in a reasonable Proportioun, which was to be taken up of the Thrids of Benefices: Which Writing being purchased by the Bischop of *Galloway*, was presented at the Generall Assembly of the Church at *Edinburgh*, the 25th Day of *December* 1566, where were conveened the Superintendents and other Ministers in reasonable Number, bot very few Commissioners. The first Mater that was thare proposed, was concerning the said Writing lately obtained; and the most Part of the Ministers being demanded their Opiniouns in the Mater, etter Advice, and passing a little aside, they answered very gravely, That it was thair Duty to preach to the Peple the Word of God truly and sincerely, and to crave of the Auditors the Things that were necessary for thair Sustentatioun, as of Duty the Pastour might justly crave of thair Flock; and further it became thame not to have any Care. Neverthelesse the Assembly taking in Consideratioun, that the said Gifts granted by the Quenes Majesty, was not to be refused; they ordained, That certane faithfull Men of every Shire sould meet, and do thair utmost Dilligence for gathering and receiving the said Corne and Money, and likewise appointed the Superintendent of *Lowthiane*, and Mr. *Johne Row* to wait upon the Bischop of *Galloway*, and concurre and assist him for further Expeditioun in the Court, that the said Gift might be dispatched throch the Seales.

In the same Assembly there was presented a Remonstrance by Writ by sum Gentillmen of *Kyle*, conteining in Effect, That in asmuch as the Tythes ought to be given only to the Ministers and Schooles of the Word, and for Maaintenance of the Poor, that therefore the Assembly would Statute and Ordain, That all the Professors of the Evangell sould keip the same in thair own Hands to the Effects aforesaid, and no Way permit the Papists to meddle tharewith. This Writing tuke no Effect at that Time, for thare was none else bot the Gentillmen of *Kyle* of that Opinioun. It was statuted in the said Assembly, That such publike Fornicators, and scandalous Livers as would not confesse thair Offences, nor come to declare thair Repentance, sould be declared by the Minister to be out of the Church, and not of the Body thareof, and thair Names to be declared publikely upoun the *Sunday*. Etter this Assembly, the Bischop of *Galloway* (with the Superintendent of *Lowthian* and Mr. *Johne Row*) passing to *Stirling*, obtained thair Demands in an ample maner at the Quenes Majesties Hand, according to thair Desire; and likewise they obtained for every Borough, a Guift or Donatioun of the Altarages, Annuals, and Obites, which before were given to the Papists, now to be disposed for the Maintenance of the Ministers and Schooles within the Boroughs, and the rest to the

Poor or Hospital. Notwithstanding the domestick Troubles that the Church of God in *Scotland* suffered in the Time of these Hurliburlies within the Kingdom, yet they wer not unmindfull of the Affliction of *Jacob* every where upoun the Face of the Earth; namely, they had befor thair Eyes the State and Conditoun of the Church of God in *England*, witnesse this Letter from the Generall Assembly to the Reulars of the Church of God in *England*.

The Superintendents, with other Ministers and Commissioners of the Church of God in the Kingdome of Scotland, to their Brethren the Bishops and Pastours of God's Church in England, who professe with us in Scotland the Treuth of Jesus Christ.

BY Word and Letters it is come to our Knowledge (Reverent Brethren, Pastors of God's Word in the Church of *England*) that divers of our Brethren (of quhom some be of the most learned in *England*) are deprived from all Ecclesiastical Functioun, namely, are forbidden to preach, and so by you ar stopped to promote the Kingdom of God, becaus they have a Scruple of Conscience to use at the Command of Authority such Garments as Idolaters in Time of grittest Darknesse, did use in thair Superstitious and Idolatrous Service; which Report cannot bot be very grievous to our Hearts, considering the Sentence of the Apostle, *If ye bite and devour one another, take heed ye be not consumed one of another.* We intend not at this present to enter into the Questiou, which we hear is agitated and handled with griter Vehemency by eyther Party, then well liketh us, *to wit*, Whether such Apparell be accounted amongst Things indifferent, or not; quhewherefore (throch the Bowells of Jesus Christ) we crave that Christian Charity may so farre prevaill with you, quho ar the Pastours and Guides of Christs Flock in *England*, that ye do one to another as ye desire others to do to you. You cannot be ignorant quhat Tendernesse is in a scrupulous Conscience, and all that have Knowledge are not alyke perswaded; the Consciences of some of you stirres not, with the wearing of such Things, on the other Side many Thousands (both godly and learned) are otherwise perswaded, quhose Consciences are continually stricken with these Sentences, *Quhat hath Christ to doe with Belial? Quhat Fellowship is thare betwixt Light and Darknesse?* If Surplice, Corner-Cap and Tippet have bene the Badges of Idolaters in the very Act of thair Idolatry, quhat hath the Preachers of Christian Liberty, and the Rebukers of Superstitioun with the Dregs of that *Romish* Beast? Yea, quhat is he that ought not to fear, *eyther to take in his Hand, or on his Forehead the Prints and Mark of that odious Beast*: The Brethren that refuse such unprofitable Apparell do neyther condemne nor molest you quho use such Trisles. On the other Side, if ye that use these Things, will do the lyke to your Brethren, we dout not bot tharein you shall please God, and comfort the Hearts of many, which ar wounded to see Extremity used against these godly Brethren: Humane Arguments or colloured Rhetoricke, we use none to perswade you, onely in Charity we desire you to mind the Sentence of *Peter*, *Feed the Flock of Christ which is comitted to your Charge, caring for it, not by Constraint, bot willingly; not being as Lords of God's Heritage, bot being Examples to the Flock.* We further desire you to meditate upoun that Sentence of *Paul*, *Give no Offence neither to Jewes, nor Gentiles, nor to the Church of God; in quhat Conditoun you and we both travell, at least are bound to travell*

for

for the promoting of Christ's Kingdom, you are not ignorant ; therefore we are the more bold to exhort you to deall more wisely, then to trouble the godly for such Vanities, for all Things which seem lawfull, edifie not ; if Authority urge you farther then your Consciences can bear, I pray you remember, that the Ministers of the Church are called the *Light of the World, and Salt of the Earth* ; all civill Authority hath not always the Light of God shining befor thair Eyes, in Statutes and Commands, for thair Affectionous favour too much of the Earth and worldly Wisdome : Tharefore we tell you, That ye ought to oppose yourselfis boldly, not onely to all Power that dare extoll itself against God, bot also against all such as dare burden the Consciences of the faithfull, farther then God chargeth thame in his own Word. But we hope you will excuse our Freedom in that we have entred in Reasoning farther then we intended in the begining. Now agane we return to our former Request, which is, That the Brethren among you quho refuse the *Romish* Rags, may find of you quho use and urge thame, such Favour as our Head and Master commandeth each one of his Members to shew to another, which we look to receive of your Courtesie, not only because you will not offend God in troubling your Brethren for such vain Trisles, bot also becaus you will not refuse the earnest Request of us your Brethren and Fellow-Ministers, in whom althoch thare appear no worldly Pompe ; yet we are assured you will esteem us as God's Servants, travelling to set forth his Glory against the *Roman* Antichrist. The Days are evill, Iniquity aboundeth, and Charity (alas) waxeth cold, quherefore we ought to walk diligently, for the Hour is uncertain quhen the Lord fall come, befor quhom we must all give an account of our Administratioun. In Conclusioun, yet once more we desire you to be favourable one to another. Lord Jesus rule your Hairs in his Fear unto the End, and give to you and us Victory over that conjured Enemy of true Religion, (*the Pope*) quhose wounded Head Sathan by all Means strives to Cure agane ; bot to Destruction fall he go, and all his Manteiners, by the Power of our Lord Jesus, to quhose mighty Protection we commit you. From our Generall Assembly, *December 27. 1566.*

At the same Tyme the Bischop of Sanct *Androis*, by Means of the Erle of *Botbwell*, procured a Wrying from the Quenis Majesty, to be obeyed within the Diocesse of his Jurisdiction, in all such Causes as befor in Tyme of Popery wer used in the Consistory ; and tharefoir to discharge the new Commissioners : And for the same Purpose came to *Edinburgh* in *January*, having a Cumpany of one hundred Horses or more, intending to tak Possessioun, according to his Gift lately obtained. The Provest being advertised thareof, by the Erle of *Murray*, they sent to the Bischop thrie or four of the Counsaill, desiring him to desist from the said Matter, for Fear of Trouble and Seditioun, that might rise thareupoun ; quherby he was perswaded to desist at that Tyme. Soon efter, the Quene came to *Edinburgh*, quhare sche remained a few Days. In the Month of *January* sche was informed, that the King was recovered of the Poyfoun given him at *Stirling* ; and tharefoir sche past to *Glasgow* to visite him, and thare tarried with him six Days, using him wonderfully kindly, with many gracious and gude Words ; and lykewise his Father the Erle of *Lenox* ; infomuch that all Men marvelled quhareunto it sould turn, considering the grit Contempt and Drynes that had been befor so long togidder : The Quene, notwithstanding all the Contempt that was given him,

with a knawn Design to take away his Lyfe, yit, by hir sweet Words, gains so far upoun the uxorious Husband, and his facile Father, that he went in Company with hir to *Edinburgh*, quhare sche had caused to lodge him at the Church of *Field*, in a Lodging laity bocht by Maister *James Balfour* Clerk Register, trewly very unmeit for a King. The Quene resorted often to visit him, and lay in the Hous two Nychts by him (although hir Lodgings was in the Palace of *Halyrudhous*.) Every Man marvelled at this Reconciliatioun and sudden Change. The nyth of *February* the King was murdered, and the Hous quhare he lay burned with Powder. About twelve of the Clock in the Nycht; his Body was cast furth in a Yard without the Town-wall adjoyning cloß by. There was a Seryant lykewise murdered beside him, quho had been also in the Chamber with him. The Peple ran to behold this spectacle, and wondring thareat, some judged one Thing, some another.

Schortly thereafter, *Bothwell* came from the Abbey, with a Cumpany of Men of War, and caused the Body of the King to be carryed to the next Hous; quhare, efter a little, the Chirurgiouns being convened at the Quenis Command, to view and consider the Manner of his Death; most Part gave out, to pleise the Quene, That he was blown in the Ayr, albeit he had no Mark of Fyre; and trewly he was strangled. Soon efter he was carryed to the Abbey, and thare buried.

This tragicall End had *Henry Stewart*, efter he had been King auchteen Months. A Prince of grit Linage, both by Mother and Father. He was of a comely Stature, and none was lyke unto him within this Island; he died under the Age of one and twenty Yeirs; prompt and ready for all Games and Sports, much given to Hawking and Hunting, and running of Horfes, and lykewise to playing on the Lute, and also to *Venus* Chamber; he was liberall enouch: He could wryte and dictate weill; but he was somequhat given to Wine and much Feeding, and lykewise to Inconstancy, and proud beyond Measure; and tharefoir contemned all uthers. He had learned to dissemble weill enouch, being from his Youth missed up in Popery. Thus within two Yeirs efter his Arryving in this Realme, he was hichly by the Quene alone extolled; and finally, had his unfortunate End by hir Procurement and Consent. To lay all uther Proofs aside, hir Marriage with *Bothwell*, quho was the main Executioner of the King, notwithstanding all the Advices and Counsaills that the King of *France*, and Quene of *England*, did earnestly and carefully give hir, as uther Friends did lykewise, witness anent their Guilt. Those that laid Hands on the King to kill him, by *Bothwell's* Directioun, was Sir *James Balfour*, *Gilbert Balfour*, *David Chalmers*, black *Jobne Spense*, *Francis Sebastien*, *Jobne de Bourdeau*, and *Joseph* the Brother of *David Kizio*. These last four wer the Quenis Domesticks and Strangers. The Reasoun why the King's Death was so hastened, becaus the Affectioun or Passioun of the Erle *Bothwell* could not bear so long a Delay, as the Procurement of a Bill of Divorce required, although the *Romish* Clergy offered thair Service willingly to the Busines, namely, Bisshop *Hamilton*, and so he came grit agane at Court; and he, for the Advancement of the Busines, did gude Offices to encrease the Hatred betwix the King and Quene; yea, some that had been the cheif Instruments of the Marriage of the King and Quene, offered their Service for the Divorce, seeing how the Quenis Inclinatioun lay. So unhappy ar Princes, that Men, for thair awn Ends, further thame in all thair Inclinatiouns and Undertakings, be they never so bad or destructive to thameselfis.

The

The Erle of *Lenox* in the mean Tyme wrote to the Quene, to cause to punishe *Bothwell*, with his uther Complices, for murdering of the King. The Quene, not daring openly to reject the Erle of *Lenox* his Solicitacioun, did appoint a Day for the Tryall of *Bothwell* by an Assize; the Members quhareof, was the Erle of *Gatnes* President, the Erle of *Cassells*, (quho at the first refused, bot thairefter being threatned to be put in Prisoun, and under the Pain of Treasoun, was present by the Quenis Command) *Jobne Haumiltoun* Commendator of *Aberbrothick*, Lord *Rosse*, Lord *Semple*, Lord *Boyd*, Lord *Hereis*, Lord *Olyphant*, the Maister of *Forbes*, the Lairds of *Lochinvar*, *Langtoun*, *Cumbylesham*, *Barnbouggell* and *Boyne*. They, to please the Quene, and for Fear, did pronounce *Bothwell* not guilty, notwithstanding the manifest Evidences of the cruell Fact committed by *Bothwell*, quho, befor the Tryall, did make himself strong by divers Means, namely, by the Possessioun of the Castell of *Edinburgh*; so that the Accusers durst not appeir, not being strong enough. The Erle of *Marre* did retire to *Stirling*, and had committed to his Charge the young Prince. And this was done in *February*.

In *Apryle*, *Bothwell* called togidder sundry of the Lords, quho had come to *Edinburgh*, to a Meeting that was thare; and having gained some befor, maid thame all, quhat by Fear, quhat by fair Promises, first of thair private State, and then of advancing the Papiests Religioun, to consent by thair Subscriptions to the Marriage with the Quene. Then the Quene goes to *Stirling* to see her Son. *Bothwell* makes a Schew, as if he wer going to the Borders to suppress the Robbers, and so he raiseth some Men of War; which when he had done, he turneth towards the Way to *Stirling*, quhare he meets the Quene, according to Apoyntment betwix thame, and carrieth hir to *Dumbar*, as it had been by Force, although every one knew it was with the Quenis Lyking. The prime Nobility convened at *Stirling*, and from thence sent to hir, to know whether or not sche was taken against hir Will. Sche answered, *That it was trew sche was taken against bir Will; bot since bir taking, sche had no Occasioun to complain; yea, the courteous Entertainement sche had, maid bir forget and forgive all former Offences.* These Expeffiouns wer used by Way of Preface to the Pardoun, quhilk was granted immediately thairefter to *Bothwell*; for by Letters patent he was pardoned by the Quene, for laying violent Hands upoun hir Majesty, and for all uther Crimes: So by this, &c. the Murther of the King was pardoned. During the Quenis Abode in *Dumbar*, thare was Letters of Divorce demanded and granted unto *Bothwell* from his Lady (quho efterward was married to the Erle of *Sutherland*) sche was Sister to the Erle of *Huntley*. The Ground of the Divorce was, The Parties being within the Degrees prohibited, could not be lawfully joyned. Nixt, because *Bothwell* was an Adulterer, the Marriage was void. The Bill of Divorce was granted by the Papiesticall Court of the Archbischope of Sanct *Androis*. And here mark how they juggle in sacred Things; for quhen it pleiseth them, they untie the Bond of Marriage, as now, and as we have seen in the first Buik of this History. Quhen the Quene fell in Distaste of the late King hir Husband, it was proposed unto hir, to have Divorce upoun the same Ground from the King: To which, first Ear was given, bot efter second Thochts, a Bill of Divorce was too tedious (as we have now said) and could not be stayed for, tharefor the King must be dispatched.

The Quene, quhen *Bothwell* had obtained by the Archbischope a Leter of Divorce from his lawfull Wyfe, sent a Letter signed with hir awn Hand, to

K k k k k

Maister

Maister *Johne Craig* Minister of *Edinburgh*, commanding him to publishe the Bánd of Matrimony betwix hir and *Bothwell*. Mr. *Johne Craig*, the nixt Sermon Day thairefter, declared in full Congregation, that he had receaved sick a Command, bot in Conscience he could not obey it: The Marriage was altogether unlawfull; and of that he would declare the Ressonns to the Parties, if he had Audience of thame, utherwise he would make knawn his just Ressonns in the Hearing of the Peple. Immediatly thairefter *Bothwell* sends for Maister *Craig* to the Counsaill; Quhare Maister *Craig*, told, *first*, That, by an Act of the Assembly, it was forbidden to allow the Marriage ony divorced for Adultery: The Divorce of *Bothwell*, from his lawfull Wyfe, was by Collusion. Witnes the quick Dispatch thareof; for it was sought and had within ten Days, and his contracting with the Quene instantly thairefter; then his Rape of the Quene, and the Guilt of the King's Death, quhilk was confirmed by this Marriage: With all, he desired the Lords to stop the Quene from that infamous Marriage. The Sunday efter, he told publickly to the Peple, quhat he had said to the Counsaill, and he took Heaven and Earth to witnes, That he detested that scandalous and infamous Marriage; and that he discharged his Conscience unto the Lords, quho seemed unto him, as so many Slaves, quhat by Flattery, quhat by Silence, to give Way to that Abhominatioun. Upoun this he was called to the Counsaill agane, and was reproved, as if he had exceeded the Bounds of his Calling. Whereunto he answered, That the Bounds of his Commiſsioun was the Word of God, richt Resson, and gude Laws, against quhilk he had said nothing; and by all these offered to prove, this Marriage to be scandalous and infamous. At this he was stopped by *Bothwell*, and sent from the Counsaill. Notwithstanding all this done and said by Maister *Craig*, and the Oppositioun of mony that wisched weill to the Quene, and wer jealous of hir Honour, the Marriage went on, and they wer married, the 15th of May. This makes gude the *Latine* Proverb, *Malu nubunt mense Maio*: And a Bischop must bleſs the Marriage; the gude Prelate was Bischop of *Orkney*. If thare be a gude Work to be done, a Bischop must do it. Here mark the Difference betwix this worthy Minister Maister *Craig*, and this base Bischop.

The Erle *Athole*, immediately efter the Murther of the King, had retired Home, waiting for the Occasioun to revenge the King's Death. Bot seeing this abhominable Marriage, he went to *Stirling*, quhare uther honest Lords with him had a Meeting, and maid a Bond, to defend the young Prince from the Murderers of his Father; as already they had had one Plot to cut him off, quhilk God in his Mercy did prevent. The Nobles that entred in this Bond, wer the Erles of *Argyle*, *Athole*, *Mortoun*, *Marr*, and *Glencarne*, the Lords *Lindesay* and *Boyd*. *Argyll* thairefter, seduced by some fair Words, fell off; and *Boyd* became a grit Factionary for *Bothwell* in all Things.

The Quene, soon efter the Marriage, was advised to send Abroad an Ambassadour to acquaint hir forraign Freinds and Kindred; and this must be a Bischop. It is Pity that ony gude Wark schould be done without a Bischop. Was not this a worthy Employment for a Pastour in God's Church?

Bothwell seeing the Bond maid at *Stirling*, causeth the Quene to wryte to sundry of the Nobility. Divers repaired unto hir, quhare they found a Bond tendered unto thame, by quhilk they wer to bind thamelelſis to defend the Quene and *Bothwell*. Some that wer corrupt did willingly subscribe; uthers for Fear did the same. And thare was not one that went to Court that did
refuse

refuse, but the Erle of *Murray*, quho refusing absolutely to enter into a Bond with *Bothwell*, said, *It was not the Part of a gude Subject; yit since he had been maid Friends with him sometyne befor, he wald keep his Promise unto the Quene: And to enter into a Bond with the Quene, it was needles and unfit, since he was to obey hir in all lawfull and just Things.* Upoun this he gat Leave, although with grit Difficulty, to go into *France*.

The Quene receaves now *Hamilton* Archbisshop of Sanct *Androis* into Favour since these Changes, quho was no less a faythfull Counsaillour to hir, than he was a gude Pastor of Christ's Flock; that is, he betrayed hir, and disobeyed God. With this a Proclamatioun comes out in Favours of the pure Protestants; quhareby the Quene declaires, That sche will keep and confirm all that sche had promised at hir Arryvell into *Scotland*. This was done to stop the Peples Mouthes; bot all in vain, for the Peple wer univertally against the Abhominatioun of the Court.

Within few Days, *Bothwell* and the Quene, were raising Men, under Pretext to go to the Borders to repress the Robbers there; bot in effect, to go to *Stirling*, to have the Prince in thair Custody, that they might dispose of him according to thair Minde. Then a new Proclamatioun came out, That the Quene hereafter would rule only by the Advice of the Nobles of the Land, as her best Predecessors had done. The Lords at *Stirling* hearing of this Plot, strives to prevent it, and to this Purpois they appointed with the Lord *Hume* to besiege the Castle of *Borthwick*, quhere the Quene and *Bothwell* was: Bot becaus the Erle of *Arbole* did not come at the Hour appointed, they had not Men enough to environ and compasse the Castle; so that *Bothwell* having Notice given him of the Businesse, escaped to *Dumbar*, and the Quene efter him in Man's Clothes. The Lords failing of thair Design at *Borthwick* Castle, went to *Edinburgh*, quhereof they made thameselfis Masters easily, having the Affectionous of the Peple, notwithstanding the Erle of *Huntley*, and the Archbisshop of Saint *Androis* Perswasion to the contrary: These two, with thair Associates, wer constrained to retire to the Castle, quhere they wer received by Sir *James Balfour*, left there by *Bothwell*.

The 12th of *June*, which was the next Day following, the Lords at *Edinburgh* caused to publish a Proclamatioun, quhareby they declared, That the Erle *Bothwell*, quho had bene the principall Author, Deviser, and Actor of the cruell Murther of the late King, had since laid Hand upon the Quenes Person, and had her for the present in *Dumbar* in his Power; and finding her utterly destitute of all good Counsaill, had seduced her to a dishonest and unlawfull Marriage with himself; yea, that now he was gathering Forces, and stirring himself to get the young Prince in his Hands, that he might murder the Child, as he had murdered the Father. This wicked Man the Nobles of the Land resolved to withstand, and deliver the Quene out of his Bondage; quharefore they did charge all Lieges within the Kingdom that could come to them, to be in Readinesse at three Hours Warning to assist thame, the Nobles, for the freeing of the Quene from Captivity, and bringing the said Erle *Bothwell* to a legall Triall, and condigne Punishment for the aforesaid Murder and other Crimes. All such that would not syde with the Lords wer by this Proclamation comandit to depart from *Edinburgh* within four Hours, under the Pain of being accounted Enemies, &c.

Notwithstanding this Proclamatioun, the Peple did not joyn unto these Lords as was expected, for sundry of the Nobles wer Adversaries to the Bu-

finesse, other stood as Neuters ; and withall, those that wer convened together wer not well provided of Armes and Munitioun for Exploits of Warre ; so that they wer even thinking to dissolve and leave off thair Enterprize till another Time, and had absolutely done so ; bot God had ordained other wayes, as the Event did shew (if the Quene and *Bothwell* could have had Patience to stay at *Dumbar* for three or four Days without any stirre) bot the Quene and *Bothwell* having gathered together about four or five thousand Men, trusting in thair Force (the Quene being puffed up by Flatterers) set forth and marched towards *Leith*. Being come forward as farr as *Glaids-mure*, sche caufit publike Proclamatioun against the aforesaid Lords, calling thame a Number of Conspirators, and that sche now discerned thair inward Malice against her and her Husband, the Duke of *Orkney* (for so now they called *Bothwell* :) After they had endeavoured to apprehend her and her Husband at *Brothwick*, and had made a seditious Proclamatioun, under Pretence of seeking the Revenge of the King her late Husband ; and to free her from Captivity, giving out, that the Duke her Husband had a mind to invaid the Prince her Sonne ; all which was false, for the Duke her Husband had used all Means to clear himself, both by a legall Way, and by the Offer of a Combate to any that did accuse him, as they knew well yneuch. As touching hir Captivity, sche was in none, bot was in Company with her Husband, unto quhom sche was publikely married in the View of the Warld, and mony of the Nobles had given thair Consent unto this her Mariage. As for the Prince her Sonne, it was bot a specious Pretence to the Treason and Rebellion against hir thair naturall Sovereign, and her Posterity, which they intended to overthrow ; quherfore sche declared herself necessitated to take Arms, hoping that all her faithfull Subjects would adhere unto her, and that those quho wer already assembled with her, would with good Hearts and Hands stand to her Defence ; and for the Recompence of thair Valour thay sould have the Lands and Goods of these unnaturall Rebels. Efter this Proclamatioun the Army went on, and the Quene that Nicht came to *Seaton*, quhere sche lay.

About Midnight the Lords of *Edinburgh* wer advertised of the Quenes Approach, presently they took Arms ; and at the Sun-rising they wer at *Musselburgh*, quhere they retrefched thameselfis with Meat and Rest. The Quenes Camp was not yet stirring. About Mid-day the Scouts that the Lords had sent out, brocht Word that the Enemy was marching towards thame ; presently they put thameselfis in two Battalias, the first was conducted by the Erle *Mortoun*, and the Lord *Hume* ; the second by the Erles *Athole*, *Glencarne*, the Lords *Lindesay*, *Ruthven*, *Semple* and *Sancharmar*, with the Laids *Drumlanrick*, *Tullibardin*, *Cesford*, and *Grange*, with divers uthers, thair Number was almost as grit as the Quenes, thair Men better, being many of thame expert Men, that I say nothing of the Cause. The Quene had gained a Hill, called *Carbarry*, which the Lords (by Reason of the Steepnesse of the Ascent) could not well come at ; quherfore they wheeled about to get a more convenient Place to go to the Hill, quhere the Enemy was, and to have the Sunne behind thame in the Time of the Fight. At the first the Quene seeing their thus going about, did imagine thay wer fleeing away to *Dalketh*, bot quhen sche saw thame come directly towards her, sche found herself deceived.

The *French* Ambassadour seeing thame ready to fight, strived to take up the Businell, and having spoken with the Quene, went to the Lords, telling thame, that the Quene was disposed to Peace, and to forgive and pardon this Inturrection; quheretore it was very fit to spare Blood, to agree in a peaceable Way. The Erle of *Morton* (in the Name of all the rest) answered, That they had taken up Armes, not against the Quene, bot against the murderer of the King; quhom if sche would deliver to be punished, or at lest put from her Company, sche should find a Continuatioun of dutifull Obedience by thame, and all other good Subjects; otherwile no Peace: Besides, we ar not to ask Pardoun for any Offence done by us. The Ambassadour seeing thair Resoloutioun to stand to the Right of thair Cause, withdrew, and went to *Edinburgh*.

While the *French* Ambassadour was thus labouring for Accommodatioun, *Bothwell* came out of the Camp (which was in the Trench that the *Englishmen* had left at thair last being in these Places, as we have said in the former Book) well mounted, with a Desie to any that would fight with him. *James Murray*, Brother to the Laird of *Tullibardin*, quho before had accepted of *Bothwell's* Challenge, quhen he maid the Rodomontade at *Edinburgh*, immediately efter the King's Death; bot then *James Murray* did not mak known his Name. *Bothwell* refused to fight with *James Murray*, alledging he was not his Equall. Upoun this the elder Brother *William Murray*, Laird of *Tullibardin*, answered, That he would fight with him, as being his Better in Estate, and in Antiquity of House many Degrees above him; yet *Bothwell* refused him, saying, That he was not a Peer of the Kingdome, as he was; then sundry Lords would have gone to fight with *Bothwell*, bot the Lord *Lindsay* namely, quho said to the rest of the Lords and Gentillmen, That he would tak it as a singular Favour of thame, and as a Recompence of his Service done to the State, if they would suffer him to fight with the *Pragga-don*. *Bothwell* seeing that thare was no more Subterfuge nor Excuse, understood maid the Quene to forbid him. Efter this Challenge and Answers, *Bothwell's* Complices and Followers wer very earnest to fight, bot others that had come only for the Quene's sake, became little cold, saying, That *Bothwell* would do well to fight himself, and spare the Blood of divers Gentillmen that wer there. Some counselled to delay the Battell till the *Hamiltons* came, quhom they did expect. All this the Quene heard with Anger; and riding up and down, burst out in Tears, and said, They wer all Cowards and Traytors that would not fight. Immediately efter, thus vapouring, the Quene perceaving sundry to leave her, sche advised *Bothwell* to look unto himself, for sche said to him, Sche would render herself unto the Nobillmen. Upoun this sche sent for *James Kirkaldie* of *Grange*, with quhom sche kept Discourse for a while, till that sche was assured that *Bothwell* was out of Danger. Then sche went to the Lords, quhom sche did entertain with many fair Words, telling thame, That it was neither Fear, nor want of Hope of Victory, that maid her come unto thame, bot a mere Desire to spare schedding of innocent Blood: Withall sche promised to be ruled and advised by thame. With this sche was received with all respect. Bot shortly efter, declaring that sche would go to the *Hamiltons*, with Promise to return, they restrained her Liberty, and brecht her along with thame to *Edinburgh* at Nicht: Sche was very slow in marching, looking to be reſcued by the *Hamiltons*; bot in vain: Sche lay that Nicht in the Provost's House. The next Day, the

Lords sent the Quene to the Castle that is within an Isle of *Locklevin*. Sir *James Balfour* seeing the Quene comitted, and *Bothwell* consequently defeated, he capitulated with the Lords for the Delivery of the Castle. *Bothwell* finding himself thus in Disorder, sent a Servant to Sir *James Balfour*, to save a little Silver Cabinet, which the Quene had given him. Sir *James Balfour* delivers the Cabinet to the Messenger, and under-hand giveth Advice of it to the Lords. In this Cabinet had *Bothwell* kept the Letters of Privacy he had from the Quene: Thus he kept her Letters to be an Aw-bond upoun her, in case her Affection should change. By the taking of this Cabinet, many Particulars betwix the Quene and *Bothwell* wer clearly discovered. These Letters wer after printed: They wer in *Frenche*; with some Sonnets of his own making.

Few Days after the Committment of the Quene, the Erle of *Glencarne* with his Domesticks, went to the Chappell of *Halyrudshous*, quhere he brake down the Altars and the Images: Which Fact, as it did content the zealous Protestants, so it did highly offend the popishly affected. The Nobles, quho had so proceeded against *Bothwell*, and dealt so with the Quene, hearing that the *Hamiltons* had a grit Number of Men, and had drawn the Erles of *Argyle* and *Huntley* to their Side, sent to *Hamilton*, desiring those that wer thare to joyn with thame, for the Redresse of the Disorders of Church and State: Bot the *Hamiltons* thinking now they had a fair Occasioun fallen unto thame to have all agane in their Hands, and to dispose of all according to their own Mind, did refuse Audience to the Message sent by the Lords.

Upon this, the Lords moved the Generall Assembly then met in *Edinburgh*, in the Moneth of *June*, to write to the Lords that either wer actually declared for the *Hamiltons*, or wer Neuters: And so severall Letters wer directed to the Erles of *Argyle*, *Huntley*, *Cathnes*, *Rothesse*, *Crawford*, and *Menteth*; to the Lords *Boyd*, *Drummond*, *Grame*, *Cathcart*, *Yetter*, *Fleming*, *Levinstoun*, *Seaton*, *Glamis*, *Uchiltrie*, *Gray*, *Olyphant*, *Melbuen*, *Innermeth* and *Somerville*; as also to divers uther Men of Note. Besydes the Letters of the Assembly, Commissioners wer sent from the Assembly to the Lords above named; to wit, *Johne Knox*, *Johne Dowglas*, *Johne Row*, and *Johne Craig*, quho had Instructions conform to the Tenor of the Letters, to desire these Lords and others, to come to *Edinburgh*, and joyn with the Lords there, for the settling of God's true Worschip in the Church, and Policy reformed according to God's Word, a Manteinance for the Ministers, and Support for the Poor: Bot neyther the Commissioners nor the Letters did prevail with these Men; they excused, that they could not repair to *Edinburgh* with Freedom, quhere there was so many armed Men, and a Garison so strong: Bot for the Church-affairs, they would not be anywayes wanting, to do what lay in thame.

The Lords at *Edinburgh* seeing this, joyneth absolutely with the Assembly (which had bene prorogated to the 20. of *July*, upoun the Occasioun of these Letters and Commissioners aforesaid) and promisseth to make gude all the Artickles they thought fit to resolve upoun in the Assembly: Bot how they performed their Promises, God knows always. The Artickles they agreed upoun wer these.

I. **T**hat the *Acts* of Parliament holden at Edinburgh, the 24th of August 1560. touching Religion, and abolishing the *Papists* Authority, should have the Force of a publick Law; and consequently this Parliament defended, as a lawfull Parliament, and confirmed by the first Parliament that should be kept next.

II. That the *Thirds* of the *Tithes*, or any moir reasonable Proportion of *Benefices*, should be allowed towards the Maintenance of the Ministry; and that there should be a charitable Course taken concerning the *Exacting* of the *Tithes* of the pure *Labourers*.

III. That none should be received in the Universities, Colledges, or Schools, for Instruction of the Youth, but efter dew Tryall, both of Capacity and Probity.

IV. That all Crimes and Offences against God, should be punished according to Gods Word; and that there should be a Law maid thereanent, at the first Parliament to be holden.

V. As for the horrible Murder of the late King, Husband to the Quene, which was so baynous befor God and Man, all trew Professours, in whatsoever Rank or Condition, did promise to strive, that all Persones should be broucht to condign Punishment, quho ar found guilty of the same Cryme.

VI. They all promised to protect the young Prince against all Violence, lest he should be murdered, as his Father was; and that the Prince should be committed to the Care of four wise and goodly Men, that by a good Education, he might be fitter for that high Calling he was to execute one Day.

VII. The Nobles, Barones, and others, doth promise to beat down and abolish the Popery, Idolatry and Superstitioun, with any Thing that may contribute unto it. As also to set up, and further the trew Worschip of God, his Government, the Church, and all that may concerne the Purity of Religion and Lyfe; and for this to convene and take Arms, if Need require.

VIII. That all Princes and Kings hereafter in this Realme, befor thair Coronatioun, shall take Oath to maintain the trew Religion now professed in the Kirk of Scotland, and suppress all Things contrary to it, and that ar not agreeing with it.

To these Articles subscribed the Erles of Mortoun, Glencairne, and Marre, the Lords Hume, Ruthven, Sanchar, Lindeſay, Grabame, Inermeth and Uchiltrie, with many uther Barones, besides the Commissioners of the Burroughs.

This being agreed upoun, the Assembly dissolved. Thairefter the Lords Lindeſay and Ruthven wer sent to Lochlevin to the Quene, to present unto hir two Wrytes; the one contained a Renounciatioun of the Crown and Royall Dignity, in Favours of the Prince hir Son; with a Commissioun to invest him into the Kingdome, according to the Manner accustomed: Which, efter some Reluctancy with Tears, sche subscribed, by the Advice of the Erle of Athole, quho had sent to hir, and of Secretary Lethingtoun, quho had sent to hir Robert Melvill for that Purpose: So there was a Procuratioun given to the Lords Lindeſay and Ruthven, by the Quene, to give up and resign the Rule of the Realme, in Presence of the States.

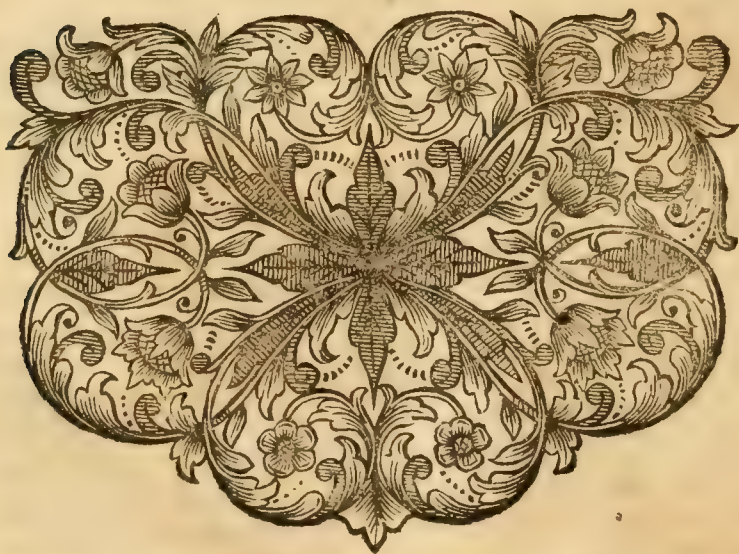
The second Wryte was, to ordain the Erle of Murray Regent, during the Prince's Minority, if he would accept the Charge: And in case he refused, the

Duke *Chattellaraunt*, the Erles of *Lenox*, *Argyle*, *Atkole*, *Mortoun*, *Glencairne* and *Marr* sould govern conjoyntly.

These Wrytes wer published the 29th of *July* 1567. at the *Merkat-Cross* of *Edinburgh*; then at *Stirling* was the Prince crowned King, quhare *Jobne Knox* maid the Sermon. The Erle *Mortoun*, and the Lord *Hume*, took the Oath for the King, that he sould constantly lyve in the Professioun of the trew Religioun, and maintain it; and that he sould govern the Kingdom according to the Law thareof, and do Justice equally to all.

In the Beginning of *August*, the Erle *Murray* being sent for, cometh Home. In all Haste he visites the Quene at *Lochevin*, strives to draw the Lords that had taken Part with the *Hamiltouns*, or wer Neuters, to joyn with those that had bound thameselfis to stand for the King's Authority: He was very earnest with divers, by Ressoun of their old Friendschip, but to little Purpose. The 20th of *August*, he received the Regency, efter mature and ripe Deliberatioun, at the Desire of the Quene, and Lords that wer for the King, and so was publicly proclaimed Regent, and Obedience schewed unto him, by all that stood for the young King.

The End of the History of the Church of
Scotland, till the Yeir 1567. and Month of
August.





The Copie of
A L E T T R E
 Deliuered
 To the *Ladie Marie*, Regent
 O F
S C O T L A N D,
 F R O M

JOHN KNOX Minister of Goddes Worde, in the
 Yeare of our Lord 1556, and nowe augmented, and ex-
 planed by the Author, in the Yeare of our Lord 1558.

To the excellent *Ladie Marie* Dowagier Regent of *Scotland*.



HE cause mouing me, right honorable, to present this my supplica-
 ' tion vnto your grace, enlarged and in some places explained
 ' (which being in the realme of *Scotland* in the mone h of *Maie*
 ' 1556. I caused to be presented to your grace) is the incredible rage
 ' of such as beare the title of Bishoppes, who against all iustice and
 ' equitie, have pronounced against me a most cruell sentence,
 * condemning my bodie to fire, my soule to damnation, and all doctrine taught
 * by me to be false, deceauable, and hereticall. If this iniury did tende to me alone,
 M m m m m
 hauing

' hauing the testimonie of a good conscience, with silence I could passe the mater,
 ' being assured, that such as they curse and expell their synagoges for such causes,
 ' shall God blesse, and Christ Iesus receiue, in his eternall societie. But consider-
 ' ing that this their blasphemie is vomited furth against the eternall truthe of Christes
 ' Euangile, (wherof it hath pleased the greate mercie of God to make me a mini-
 ' ster) I can not cease to notifie, aswell to your grace, as unto them, that so litle I
 ' am affrayed of their tyrannicall and surmised sentence, that in place of the picture
 ' (if God impede not my purpose) they shall haue the bodie to iustifie that
 ' doctrine, which they (members of Satan) blasphemously do condemne. Adver-
 ' tising your grace in the mean time, that from them, their sentence, and tyrannie,
 ' and from all that list mainteine them in the same, I do appeale to a lafull and
 ' generall Counsell; beseeching your grace to take in good part, that I call you for
 ' witnesse, that I have required the libertie of the tonge, and my cause to be hard
 ' before your grace, and the bodie of that Realme, before that any such proceesse
 ' was laid against me. As this my lettre directed to your grace doth testifie."

The Beginning of the Lettre.



HE eternall providence of the same God, who hath appointed his cho-
 ' sen children, to fight in this transitorie and wretched life a battell
 ' strong and difficile, hath also appointed their final victorie by a mer-
 ' uelous fashion, and the maner of their preferuation in their battell
 ' more meruelous. Their victorie standeth not in resisting, but in suf-
 ' fering, as our souereine maister pronounceth to his disciples; *that in their pa-*
 ' *cience shuld they possesse their soules.* And the same forsaue the prophete *Isaie*, when
 ' that he painteth furth all other battell to be with violence, tumult, and blood shad-
 ' ding, but the victorie of Goddes people to be in quietnes, silence and hope: Mean-
 ' ing that all others that obtain victorie, do inforce them selues to resist their ad-
 ' uersaries, to shed blood, and to murder. But so do not the elect of God, but all
 ' thinges they sustein at the commandement of him, who hath appointed them to
 ' suffer, being most assuredlie perswaded, that then only they triumphe, when all
 ' men iudge them oppressed. For in the crosse of Christ alwaies is included a se-
 ' crete and hid victorie, neuer well knowen till the sufferer appeare all together to
 ' be (as it were) exterminate. For then onlie did the blood of *Abell* cry to God,
 ' when proude *Cain* iudged all memorie of his brother to haue bene extinguished.
 ' And so I say their victorie is meruelous. And howe that they can be preferred,
 ' and not brought to vtter confusion, the eye of man preceiueth not. But he, whose
 ' power is infinite, by secret and hid motions toucheth the hartes of such, as to
 ' mannes iudgement haue power to destroye them, of verie pitie to and compassion
 ' to saue his people. As that he did the hartes of the *Egyptian* midwives, to pre-
 ' serue the men children of the *Israelites*, when precept was giuen by *Pharao* of
 ' their destruction. The hart of *Pharao's* daughter likewise to pitie *Moses* in his
 ' yong infancie, exposed to the danger of the waters. The hart of *Nebuchadnezer*
 ' to preferue the captiues aliue, and liberallie to nourish the children that were found
 ' apt to lettres. And finally the hart of *Cyrus*, to set at libertie the people of God,
 ' after long bondage and thraldome. And thus doth the inuisible power and loue
 ' of God, manifeste it selfe towards his electe frome time to time; for two
 ' causes especially. *First*, To comfort his weake warriours in their manifold ten-
 ' tations, letting them vnderstand that he is able to compell such, as sometimes
 ' were enemies to his people, to fight in their cause, and to promote their deliue-
 ' rance. And *secondarillie*, To giue a testimonie of his fauour to them, that by
 ' all appearance did liue before (as *St. Paule* speaketh) *wanting God in the world, as*
 ' *strangers frome the common welth of Israel, and without the leage of his mercifull pro-*
 ' *mise and free grace made to his Church.* For who could haue affirmed, that any of
 ' these personnes afore named, had bene of that nature and clemencie, before occa-
 ' sions were offred unto them. But the Workes of mercie shewed to the afflicted, haue

‘ haue left to us assurance, that God vsed them as vessels of his honour. For pitie
‘ and mercie shewed to Christes afflicted flock, as they neuer lacked reward tem-
‘ porall, so if they be continued, and be not changed into crueltie, are assured
‘ signes, and seales of eueralting mercie to be receiued from God, who by his
‘ Holie Spirit moueth their hartes, to shew mercie to the people of God oppressed
‘ and afflicted.’

A D D I T I O N.

THis Preface I vsed to giue your grace occasion more depelie to consider what
hath bene the condition of Christes membres from the beginning, that in so
doing, ye might se that it is no newe thing that the saintes of God be oppressed in
the world; that ye, moued by earnest contemplation of the same, might also flue-
die rather to saue them from murther (althogh by the wicked counsels of many ye
were prouoked to the contrary) then to be a sclaue to Satan, obeying his seruantes
your clergie, whose furie is bent against God and his veritie. But this will after
followe in our lettre, which thus procedeth.

L E T T R E.

YOur grace perchance doth wonder to what purpose these thinges be recit-
‘ ed, and I in verie dede can not wonder ynough, that occasion is offred to
‘ me (a worme most wretched) to recite the same at this present. For I haue look-
‘ ed rather for the sentence of death, then to haue written to your grace, in these
‘ last and most wicked daies, in which Satan so blindeth the hartes of many, that
‘ innocentes are damned, their cause neuer tryed.

A D D I T I O N.

Hereof ye can not be ignorant. For besides these, whom ye heare from time
to time, most cruelly to be murdered in *France, Italie, Spayn, Flanders*, and
now of late yeares besides you in *England*; for no cause, but that they professe,
Christ Iesus to be the onlie Sauour of the world, the onlie Mediatour betwixt God and man,
the onlie Sacrifice acceptable for the synnes of all faithfull; and finallie, *The onlie head to*
his church. Besides these, I say, (of whome ye beare the brute) ye haue bene wit-
nesse, that some, within the realme of *Scotland*, for the same cause, most cruellie
haue bene murdered, whose cause was neuer hard with indifferencie. But murthe-
reres, occupying the seat of iustice, haue shed the blood of Christes true witnesses,
which albeit did then appeare to be consumed away with fire, yet is it recent in the
presence of hym, for whose cause they did suffer, and ceaseth not to call for ven-
geance, with the blood of *Abell*, to fall not onlie vpon such as were authors of that
murther, but also vpon all those that maintein those tyrannes in their tyranny, or
that do consent to their beastlie crueltie. Take not this as the affirmation of any
man; but heare and consider the voice of the Sonne of God. *Fulfill* (saith he)
the measure of your fathers, that all the blood which hath bene shed, since the blood of Abell
the iust, till the blood of Zacharie, &c. may come vpon this generation. Herebie it is
evident, that the murderers of our time, aswel as in the time of Christ, are gyl-
tie of all blood that hath bene shed from the begynnyng. Fearfull I grant is the
sentence, yet is it most equall and iuste. For who soeuer sheddeth the blood of any
one of Christ Iesus his membres, for professing of his truth, consenteth to all the
murther, which hath bene made since the begynnyng of the world, for that cause.
So that as there is one communion of all Goddes elect, of whom euerie membre is
participant of the hole iustice of Christ; so is there a communion amonge the re-
probat, by which euerie one of the serpentes seed are criminall and gyltie of all ini-
quitie, which the hole bodie committeth; for because they are all together coniu-
red against Christ Iesus. and against his eternal veritie: Euerie one seruing Satan,
the prince of this world, in their rank, age, degree, and estat; the murderers of their

brethren, whiche this day liue, are gyltie with *Cain* of the blood of *Abel*. The kinges and princes, whiche by power oppresse the people of God, and will not suffer that the people trulie worshippe God, as he hath commanded; but will retein them in *Egypt*, are brethren and companions to *Pharao*. The prelates and priestes, whose horrible iniquities and insolent life, haue infected all realmes where they reigne, haue with their fathers, the old *Pharises*, taken away the key of knowledge, and haue shut up the kingdome of heauen before men, so that nether they themselues will enter, nether yet will they suffer others to enter in the same. And the multitude blynded, some by ignorance, some by feare, and by insatiable appetite of their parte of the spoyle, (for Christ being crucified, the souldiours parted amongst them his garments) are coniuured to defende those murtherers, proude pestilent prelates, against Christ Iesus, and against his poore flocke; and therefor because of one crime they are all gyltie (which is of treason and rebellion against Christ) of one torment they shall all tast, which is, of the fier that neuer shall be quenched. And herin ought you, Madam, becircumspect and careful, if that ye haue any hope of the life to come. For if the consente, which procedeth of ignorance and blyndnes, bringeth destruction and death, (as Christ our maister doth witnesse, saying, *If the blynde lead the blynde, they shall both fall in the ditch*) What shall become of the proud and malicious contemptners of Goddes veritie offered? But our doctrine parchance, shall be denyed to be the veritie. Whereunto I answer, That so was the doctrine of *Noah*, of *Moses*, of the Prophets, of Christ Iesus, and of his Apostles, and yet the original worlde perished by water, *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* by fier, descending from heauen, *Pharao* and his adherentes in the *Red Sea*; The citie of *Ierusalem*, the hole nation of the *Iewes* by punishmentes and plagues, notwithstandinge that the hole multitud cryed, *This is newe doctrine, this is heresie, and tendeth to sedition*. Our petition is, that our doctrine may be tryed by the playn word of God, that libertie be granted to vs, to vtter and declare our myndes, at large in euerie article and poynt, which now are in controuersie, which if ye denie, geuing eare to Christes ennemies (who contemne his doctrine for heresie) ye shall drink the cup of Goddes vengeance with them. But now to the former lettre.

L E T T E R.

I Doubte not, but the rumors which haue comen to your graces eares of me haue bene such, that if all reportes were true, I were vnworthie to liue in the earth, and wonder it is that the voices of the multitude shuld no so haue inflamed your graces hart with iuste hatred of such a one as I am accused to be, that all access to pitie shuld haue bene shut up. I am traduced as an heretike, accused as a false teacher and seducer of the people, besides other opprobries, which (affirmed by men of worldlie honour and estimation) may easelie kyndle the wrath of magistrates, where innocencie is not known. But blessed be God the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, who by the dewe of his heauenlie grace, hath so quenched the fier of displeasure as yet in your graces hart (which of late dayes I haue vnderstaude) that Satan is frustrat of his interprise and purpose. Whiche is to my hart no small comfort. Not somuch (God is witnesse) for any benefit that I can receiue in this miserable life by protection of any earthlie creature (for the cuppe which it behoueth me to drynke, is appinted by the wisdome of hym whose counsels are not changeable,) as that I am for that benefit, which I am assured your grace shall receiue, if that ye continue in lyke moderation and clemencie towards others, that most vniustlie are, and shall be accused, as that your grace hath began towards me and my most desperate cause. That is, if that by godlie wisdome ye shall studie to bridle the furie and rage of them, who for the maintenance of their worldlie pompe, regarde nothinge the cruel murthering of simple innocentes: then shall he, who doth pronounce mercie to appertein to the mercifull, and promiseth that a cuppe of cold water geuen for his name's sake shall not lacke reward, first cause your happie gouernement to be praised in this present age, and in posterities to come, and last recompense your godlie paynes

paynes and studie with that ioye and glorie, which the eye hath not seen nor yet can entre into the hart of mortall creature.

A D D I T I O N.

IF Christes words were esteemed true, that of euerie ydle word an accompt shall be geuen, and that nothing is so secretlie done, which shall not come to knowledge and light, I suppose that the tongues of men shuld be better bridled, then impudently to speak their pleasure in matters vnknown. For albeit that the true feare of God shuld not moue them to speake truthe, yet wold I thinke (if any sparke of humanitie remained) that worldlie shame shuld impede them to lie. When reasonings was before your grace what man it was that preached in *Aire*, and diuers men were in diuers opynion, some affirming that it was an *Englishman*, and some supposing the contrerie, A prelat not of the least pride, saide, Nay, no *Englishman*, but it is *Knox* that knaue. It was my Lordes pleasure so to baptise a poore man. The reason whereof, if it shulde be required, his rochet and miter must stand for authoritie. What farther libertie he vsed in defining thinges like vncertain to him, to witt, of my learning and doctrine, at this present I omitt. Lamenting more that such pestilent tonges haue libertie to speake in the presence of Princes, than that I am sorie for any hurt, that their venom can do to me in bodie or fame. For what hath my life and conuersation bene, since it hath pleased God to call me frome the puddle of papistris, let my verie enemies speak. And what learning I haue, they may proue when they please. The report of your graces moderation aswell at that time as after, when sute was made for my apprehension, moued me to write this my other lettre. In which albeit I haue not played the orator, dilating and decking the mater for the pleasure of yehing and delicate eares, yet doth my conscience beare me recorde, that with simplicitie I haue aduertised you of a mortall danger. As this portion subseqent shall proue.

L E T T R E.

SVperfluous and foolish it shall appeare to many, that I a man of base estat and condition, dare enterprise to admonish a Princes so honourable, endued with wisdom and graces singular. But when I consider the honour, which God commendeth to be geuen to Magistrates, which no doubt (if it be true honour) containeth in it selfe, in lausful thinges obedience, and in all thinges loue and reuerence. When further I consider the troublesome estat of Christes true religion, this day oppressed by blindnes of men, and last, the greate multitude of flatterers, and the rare nombre of them that boldlie and plainlie dare speake the naked veritie in presence of their princes, and principallie in the cause of Christ Iesus: These thinges I say, considered, whatsoeuer any man shall iudge of my interprise, I am compelled to say, that,

Onles in your regiment and in vsing of power, your grace be found different from the multitude of princes, and head Rulers, that this preeminence, wherein ye are placed, shall be your deiection to torment and payn euerlasting. This proposition is sore, but alas it is so true, that if I shuld concele and hide it frome your grace, I committed no lesse treason against your grace, then if I did se you by imprudencie take a cuppe, which I knew to be poysonned or inuenomed, and yet wolde not admonish you to abstaine from drinking of the same.

The religion which this day men defend by fier and sword, is a cuppe inuenomed, of which whosoever drinketh, (except that by true repentence he after drinke of the water of life) drinketh therewith damnation and death.

How and by whom it hath bene inuenomed, if it were no more tedious to your grace to read or heare, then it is painfull to me to write or rebearse, I wold not spare the labour. But for this present, I haue thought it some discharge of one parte of my cutie. if I, of verie loue, admonish your grace of the darger. Which I do, as God one day shall declare, preferring your grace's saluation,

N n n n n

and

‘and the salutaion of the people (now committed to your charge) to any corporall benefit, that can redounde to my selfe.

A D D I T I O N.

AS Satan by craft hath corrupted the most holie ordinances of Godd's preceptes, I meane of the first table, in the place of the spirituall honoring of God, introducing mennes dreams, inuentions, and fantasies; So hath he, abusing the weakness of man, corrupted this precept of the second Table, touching the honour which is due to parentes, vnder whom are comprehended princes and teachers. For now the deuill hath so blinded the senses of many, that they cannot, or at least, will not learne what apperteineth to God and what to *Cesar*. But because the spirite of God hath said, *Honour the king*, therefore whatsoever they commande, be it right or wrong, must be obeyed. But heuie shall the iudgment be which shall apprehend such blasphemours of Goddes maiestie, who dare be so bold, as to affirme, that God hath commanded ony creature to be obeyed against himselfe. Against God it is, that for the commandement of any prince, be he neuer so potent, men shall commit idolatrie, embrace a religion which God hath not approued by his word, or confirme by their silence wicked and blasphemous lawes, made against the honour of his maiestie. Men, I say, that so do, geue no true obedience, but as they are apostates from God, so are they traitors to their princes, whom by flatterie they confirme in rebelling against God. Onlie they which to the death resist such wicked lawes and decrees, are acceptable to God, and faithfull to their princes. As were the three children in the presence of *Nabuchadnaxor*, and *Daniel* in the dayes of *Darius* (the *Persian* Emperor) whose constant and free confession, as it glorified God, so did it notifie aswell to those tyrannes, as to all ages following the greate blasphemie, which in their rage and furie they committed against God, from the which (by all appearance) neither of both so sodeinlie shuld haue bene called, if the three children had bowed amonge the rest, and *Daniel* had not declared the confession of his faith. Which was, with wyndoes open to praye towardes *Ierusalem*, manifestlie therbie declaring, that he did not consent to the blasphemouse lawe, and decree, which was established by the king and his counsell. Experience hath taught vs what surmises and blasphemies the aduersaries of Christ Iesus, of his eternall veritie, do inuent and deuise against such, as beginne to deteete their impietie. They are accused to be authors of sedition, raisers of tumults, violatours of common orders, &c. I answer with the prophet *Isaie*: That all is not reputed before God sedition and coniuration, which the foolish multitude so esteemeth, neither yet is euerie tumult and breach of publike order contrarie to Goddes commandement. For Christ Iesus himselfe, comming to ryue the spoile from the strong armed, who before did kepe his house in quietnes, is not commen to send peace but a sworde, and to make a man disassent from his father, &c. His Prophetes before him, and Apostles after him, feared not to breake publike orders, established against God, and in so doing, to moue, as it were, the one half of peoples, nations, and cities against the other. And yet I trust that none, except the biered seruant of Satan, will accuse Christ of sedition, nor his Apostles of the troubling of common-welthes. True it is, that the most holsome medicine, most troubleth for a time the bodie replenished with wicked and corrupted humours, but the cause herof is knowen to be, not in the medicine, but in the bodie subiect to maladie: euen so the true word of God, when it entreth to fight where Satan hath borne dominion, (as he still doth in the hole papistris) cannot but appeare to be occasion of greate trouble. But Madame, more profitable it is, that the pestilent humours be expelled withe paine, then that they be nourished to the destruction of the bodie. The papisticall religion is a mortal pestilence, which shall assuredlie bring to death eternall, the bodies and soules, from the which, it is not purged in this life. And therefore take hede betimes. God calleth vpon you, beware that ye shut no vp your eares. Iudge not the mater after the vilitie of my bodie, whom God hath appointed embassadour, and messenger vnto you, but with reuerence

reuerence and feare consider him, whose message I beare. I come to you in the name of the eternall God, and of Christ Iesus his sonne, to whom the father hath committed all power, whom he hath established souerein Iudge ouer all flesh, before whose throne ye must make accompres, with what reuerence ye heare such as he sendeth. It shall not excuse you to say or think: that ye doubt, whether I be sent of God or no. I crie vnto you that the religion, which the princes and blinded papistes mainteine with fier and sworde, is not the religion of Christ. That your proude prelates are none of Christes bishoppes. I admonish you that Christes flocke is oppressed by them, and therefore I requier, and that yet againe in the name of the Lord Iesus, that with indifferencie I may be hard to preache, to reason, and to dispute in that cause, whiche if ye denie, ye declare your selfe to heare no reuerence to Christ, nor loue to his true religion.

L E T T E R.

BUt ye thinke paraduenture, that the care of religion is not committed to Magistrates, but to the bishoppes and estat ecclesiasticall, as they terme it. But deceiue not your selfe. For the negligence of bishoppes shall no lesse be required of the handes of Magistretes, then shall the oppression of false iudges. For they iniustlie promote, foster and mainteine the one and the other. The false and corrupt iudge do spoile the goodes, and oppresse the bodies of the simple, but the proude prelates do kinges maintein to murder the soules, for the which the blood of Christ Iesus was shed. And that they do, either by withholding frome them the true word of life, or elles by causing teache vnto them a pestilent doctrine, such as now is taught in the papisticall churches. I know that ye wonder how that the religion, which is vniuersalie receiued, can be so damnable and corrupted. But if your grace shall consider that euer from the beginning, the multitude hath declined from God (yea, even in the people, to whom he spake by his Lawe and Prophetes) if ye shall consider the complaint of the Holie Ghost, complaining that nations, people, princes, and kinges of the earth haue raged, made conspiracies, and holden counsels against the Lord, and against his anointed Christ Iesus: Further, if ye shall consider the question, which Iesus himself doth moue in these wordes, *when the son of man shall come, shall he finde faith in the earth?* And last, if your grace shall consider the manifest contempt of God and of all his holie preceptes, which this day reigne without punishment vpon the face of the hole earth: For as *Hoseas* complaineth, there is no veritie, there is no mercie, there is no truthe this day among men, but lies, periturie, and oppression ouerflow all, and blood toucheth blood, that is, euerie iniquitie is ioyned to another. Yf depelie, I say, your grace shall contemplate the vniuersall corruption, that this day reigneth in all estates, then shall your grace cease to wonder, *that many are called and fewe chosen.* And ye shall beginne to tremble and feare, to followe the multitude to perdition. The vniuersall defection, whereof *St. Paule* did prophecie, is easie to be espied, aswell in religion as in maners. The corruption of life is euident, and religion is not iudged, nor measured by the plaine word of God, but by custome, consuetude, will, consent, and determinations of men. But shall he who hath pronounced all cogitations of manns hart to be vaine at all times, accept the counsels and consents of men for a religion pleasing and acceptable before him? Let not your grace be deceiued. God cannot lie, God cannot denie himselfe. He hath witnessed from the begynning, that no religion pleaseth him, except that, which he by his owne word hath commanded and established. The veritie it selfe pronounceth this sentence: In vaine do they worshippe me, teaching doctrines the preceptes of men. And also all plantation, whiche my heauenlie father hath not planted, shall be roted owt. Before the comming of his welbeloued sonne in fleshe, seuerelie he punished all such, as durst interprise to alter or chaunge his ceremonies and statutes, as in *Saule, Vassias, Nadab, Abiu*, is to be redden. And will he now, after that he hath opened his counsell to the worlde by his onlie sonne, whom he commandeth to be heard,

and after that by his Holie Spirit, speaking in his Apostles, he hath established the religion, in which he will his true worshippers abide to the end; will he now, I say, admitte mennes inuentions in the mater of religion which he reputed for damnable idolatrie? Yf man and angels wold affirme that he will, or may do it, his own veritie shall conuicte them of a lie. For this sentence he pronounceth: Not that which semeth good in thy eyes, shalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but that which the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that do thou: Adde nothinge vnto it, diminishe nothing from it. Which, sealing vp his newe Testament, he repeteth in these wordes: That which ye haue, holde till I come, &c. And therefore yet againe, it repenteth me not to say, that in this point, whiche is chiefe and principall, your grace must dissaſent from the multitude of Rulers, or elles ye can possesse no portion with Christ Iesus in his kingdom and glorie.

A D D I T I O N.

K Now by what craft Satan laboreth continuallie to kepe the world in blindnes, I added these two former pointes, to witt, that ye shuld not thinke your selſe free from the reformation of religion, because ye haue bishoppes within your Realme, neither yet that ye shuld iudge, that religion most perfect, which the multitude by wrong custome hath embraced. In these two pointes doth Satan busilie trauaile. First that no ciuil Magistrat presume to take cognition in the cause of religion: for that must be deferred to the determinations of the church. Secondarily, that impossible it is, that that religion shuld be false, which so long time, so many counsels, and so greate a multitude of men, so diuers nations and realmes haue allowed, authorised and confirmed. What is the dutie of Magistrates, and what power the people hath in such cases granted by God, my purpose is to write in a seuerall lettre to the nobilitie and estates of the Realme; and therefore to avoyde tediousness and repetition of one thing, I now supersede. And as touching the second, if ye rightlie consider the testimonies of Scriptures, which I haue before adduced, I trust ye shall find that obiection sufficientlie answered. For if the opinion of the multitude ought alwayes to be preferred, then did God iniurie to the originall world. For they were all of one minde, to witt, coniured against God (except *Noah* and his familie.) And if antiquitie of time shall be considered in such cases, then shall not onlie the idolatrie of *Gentiles*, but also the false religion of *Mahomet* be preferred to the papistrie. For both the one and the other, is more auncient then is the papisticall religion; yea, *Mahomet* had established his *Alcoran*, before any pope in *Rome* was crowned with a triple crowne. But as touching antiquitie, I am content with *Tertullian* to say, *Let that be the most pure and perfect religion, which shall be proued most auncient.* For this is a chiefe point, wherein I will ioyne with all the papistes in the earth: that their religion (such as it is this day) is not of such antiquitie, as is that, which we contend to be the true and onlie religion acceptable before God, neither yet that their church is the Catholike-church, but that it is of late dayes in respect of Christes institution, crept in and deuised by man, and therefore am bold to affirme it odious and abominable. For this is our chiefe proposition that in the religion of God, onlie ought his owne word to be considered. That no authoritie of man nor angell ought in that case to be respected. And as for their counsels, when the mater shall come to triall, it shall be easelie seen, for whom the most godlie, and most auncient counsels shall most plainlie speake. I will proue by a counsel that of more authoritie is the sentence of one man (founded vpon the simple truth of God) then is the determination of the hole counsel without the assurance of Goddes worde. But that all their determinations which we impugne, are not onlie maintained without any assurance of Scriptures, but also are established against the truth of the same: Yea, and for the most part against the decrees of the former counsels, I offer my selſe euidentlie to proue. But nowe shortlie to the rest of the former lettre.

LETTRE

I. E T T R E.

AN orator, and Goddes messenger also, iustlie might requier of you nowe (by Goddes hand promoted to high dignitie) a motheilie pitie vpon your subiectes : a iustice inflexible to be vsed against murtherers and common oppressors : a hart voide of auarite and partialitie : a minde studious and carefull for maintenance of that realme and common welth (aboue whom God hath placed you) and by it hath made you honourable, with the rest of vertues, which not onlie Goddes scriptures, but also writers illuminated onlie with the light of nature, requier in godlie Rulers. But vayne it is to craue reformation of manners, where religion is corrupted. For like as a man cannot do the office of a Man, till first he haue a being and life : so to worke workes pleasant in the sight of God the father, can no man do, without the spirit of the Lord Iesus, which doth not abide in the hartes of idolaters. And thertore the most godlie princes *Iosias*, *Ezechijs*, and *Iosaphat*, seeking Goddes fauor to rest vpon them, and vpon their people, before all thinges, began to reforme the religion. For it is, as the stomack within the bodie, which, if it be corrupted, of necessitie it infecteth the hole masse. And therefore (often I repete that, which to be done is most necessarie) if your grace pretend to reigne with Christ Iesus. then it behoueth you to take care of his true religion, which this day within your realme is so deformed, that no part of Christes ordinances remain in their first strength and originall puritie. Which, I praise God, to me is lesse difficult to prove, then dangerous to speake. And yet neither the one nor the other I feare, partlie because the loue of life eternall quencheeth the terrouer of temporal death, and partlie because I wuld with *St. Paule* with my selfe accursed from Christ (as touching earthlie pleasure) for the saluation of my brethren, and illumination of your grace, which thing, work, and verie dede, and not bare word or writing, shall witnesse and declare, yf I may purchase the libertie of tonge, but fortie dayes onlie.

A D D I T I O N.

THE wise and facund *Democritus* hade somtimes a familiare sentence ; that, *Honest it was to commend such workes, as were worthie of praise, but to praise things that were wicked, coulde not procede, but from a deceiuable minde.* And *Themistius* a philosopher of great fame, seing the hall of *Iouinian* the *Romain* Emperour replenished with flatterers, said, *Of their maners it may be espied, that more they worshippe the sceptre and the purple then God ;* signifying that they litle regarded, whether the Emperour was godlie or vngodlie, so that they might retein themselves in fauour with him. Albeit that those were *Ethnikes*, and nether hade knowledge of God, as we pretend, nether had geuen so playn a confession to declare themselves enimies to all iniquitie (as we haue done by baptisme, and by our hole profession of Christianitie) yet do their wordes damne no small number of vs, and cheslie of such as be conuersant with princes. For who in these miserables dayes iudgeth himselfe to haue offended, albeit he praise, alowe, and mainteine what soeuer the princes and vpper powers deuise ; yea althogh it be to oppresse, and to spoyle the poore, to pull from them their skinnies, and, as the Prophet sayeth, to break their bones, and to cut them in pieces, as flesh for the caldron or pot. Yet I say, That the princes shall not lacke iudges to crie, It is right, it is for the common-welth, for defense of the realme, and ease of the subiectes. So that the estat of times is euen now such, as when the prophet complained, saying, *The princes aske, and the iudge is redie to geue, not his owne but the life and blood of the poore.* Howe soon a greate man hath spoken the corruption of his minde, he hath his flatterers redy to applaude, and confirme what soeuer he speaketh. And let the princes be of what religion they please, that is all one to the most part of men, so that with abnegation of God, of his honour, and religion, they may retein the friendship of the court. But alas howe miserable be princes that so are abused, and how contagious a pestilence be such flatterers to common-welthes, empires, and realmes, God hath declared euen from the

beginninge, to paynt ow't the mischief, which from them procedeth to such as geue eare vnto them. The auncient writers compare them to harlottes, to rauens, and to more rauinous beastes, and not without cause. For as harlottes can neuer abide, that their louers shud returne to repentance and sobernes of minde, so cannot flatterers sustein, that such as they deceiue shall come to right iudgement. And as rauens pyke ow't the eyes of dead carions, and as rauinous beastes deuoure the same, so do flatterers (being more cruel) pyke at the eyes of liuing men, and blynding the eyes of their vnderstanding and iudgement, do expone them to be deuoured in bodie and soule to Satan. This we haue by profane writers onlie, but the Holy Spirit taught vs this infallible truth, That where iniquitie reigneth in a commonwelth, and none is found boldlie and openlie to reprehend the same, that there shall sodein vengeance and distruction followe. For thus is it written, and pronounced by the prophet *Ezechiel*, *Shalt thou not iudge the citie of blood, which hath made idols? whose rulers shed blood to the utter most of their power? they haue despised my holie things, they haue deuised iniquitie, and haue perfourmed the same. The coniuration of Prophetes hath gathered vp the riches, and what soeuer is precious within the same. The priestes violently haue torne and rent my lawe. The people of the land hath wrought deceitfullie. They haue oppressed the poore, and haue done violence to the strangier without iudgement, and I haue sought of them a man to repara the hedge, and to stande in the gappe before me, but I haue founde none. Therefore haue I poured furth my wrath vpon them, and in the fier of my hote displeasure I haue consumed them.* Aduert Madame, for these are not the wordes of mortall man, but of the eternall God, and were not spoken against *Ierusalem* onlie, but against euerie realme and nation, that so offendeth. The sinnes that here be named, are idolatrie in all, avarice and crueltie in the princes and rulers, coniuration of the prophetes to defend the wicked, deceit, fraude, and violence in the common people; and finallie, An uniuersall silence of all man, none being founde to reprehend these enormities. Wolde to God, that I might with safetie of conscience excuse you, your counsel, and the idolaters of that realme, from any of these crimes afore named. The idolatrie which is committed, is more euident then that it can be denyed; the avarice and crueltie, aswell of your selfe, as of such as be in authoritie, may be known by the factes. For same carieth the voices of the poore (oppressed by intolerable taxes) not only to vs here, in a strange countrie, but I am assured, to the eares of the God of hostes. The conspiracie and coniuration of your false prophetes is knowen to the world, and yet is none founde so faithfull to God, nor mercifull to your grace, that freely will and dare admonish you, to repent before that God rise hymself in iudgment. When I name repentance, I meane no outward shewe of holines, which commonlie is founde in hypocrites, but I meane a true conversion to the Lord God from your hole hart, with a damning all superstition and idolatrie. In which ye haue bene norished, which with your p'fence ye haue decored, and to your power mainteined and defended. Onles, I say, that this poyson be purged from your hart, (be your outward life neuer so glistering before the world) yet in the p'fence of God, it is but abominable. Yea further, I say, That where this venome of the serpent (idolatrie I mean) lurketh in the hart, it is impossible, but that at one time or other, it shall produce pestilent fruites, albeit paraduenture not openly before men, yet before God no lesse odious, then the factes of murtherers, publicanes and harlottes; and therefore in my former lettre, I said, That superfluous it was to requir reformation of maners, where the religion is corrupted. Which yet again I repete, to the end that your grace more depely may weye the mater. But now to the rest of the same my former lettre.

L E T T E R E.

I Am not ignorant how dangerous a thing it appeareth to the natural man, to inuocate any thing in maters of religion, and partly I consider, that your grace's power is not so free, as a publick reformation perchance wold requir. But if your grace shall consider the danger and damnation perpetual, which ineuitably hangeth vpon all maintainers of a false religion, then shall the greatest, danger easely deuour and swallow vp the smaller. Yf your grace shall consider, that
 ether

‘ ether ye must serue God to life euerlasting. or elles serue the world to death and
 ‘ damnation : then albeit that man and angell shuld dissuade you, ye will chose
 ‘ life and refuse death. And if further ye shall consider, That the verie life consist-
 ‘ eth in the knowledge of the only true God, and of his Son Christ Iesus; and that
 ‘ true knowledge hath annexed with it Goddes true worshippe and honour, which
 ‘ requireth a testimony of his own will expressed by his word, that such honour
 ‘ doth please him: If these things aforesaid your grace do earnestly meditate, then
 ‘ albeit ye may not do sodeinly what ye wolde, yet shall ye not cease to do what ye
 ‘ may. Your grace cannot hastily abolishe superstition, and remoue from offices
 ‘ vnprofitable palloures, of whom speaketh *Ezechiel* the prophete, which to a pu-
 ‘ blick reformation is requisite and necessary. But if the zeale of Goddes glorie be
 ‘ feruent in your grace’s hart, ye will not by wicked lawes maintein idolatry, nether
 ‘ will ye suffer the fury of bishops to murder and deuoure the poore membres of
 ‘ Christes body, as in times by past they haue bene accustomed, which thing yf ether
 ‘ by blynde ignorance ye do, or yet for pleasure of others within this realme permit
 ‘ to be done, then except you spedely repent, ye and your posterity shall sodeinly
 ‘ fele the deprelling hand of him, who hath exalted you. Ye shall be compelled,
 ‘ will ye or not, to know that he is eternall, against whom ye addresse the cattell,
 ‘ and that it is he, that moderateth the times and disposeth kingdoms, eiectinge from autho-
 ‘ ritie such as be inobedient, and placinge others according to his good pleasure; that it is
 ‘ he that glorifieth them, that do glorifie him, and poureth furth contempt vpon princes,
 ‘ that rebell against his graces offered.

A D D I T I O N.

IN writing of this parcell, as I remembred the impedimentes, which might call
 you backe from God and from his true obedince; so did I consider what oc-
 casion ye had to tremble and to feare befor his Majestie, and to interprise the losse
 of all worldly glorie, for the promoting of the glorie of God. I do consider that
 your power is but borrowed, extraordinary, and vnsable; for ye haue it but by per-
 mission of others; and seldom it is that women do long reign with felicity and joy.
 For as nature hath denyed to them a constant spirit of good gouernment; so hath
 God pronounced, That they are neuer given to reign over men, but in his wrath
 and indignation. Your most especial frendes moreouer, blinded by the vanity of
 this world; yea, being dronken with the cuppe of that *Romain* Harlot, are mortall
 ennemies to Christ Iesus, and to his true religion. These things may easily abathe
 the mind of a woman not confirmed by grace: But yet if ye shall a litle consider
 with me the causes, why that ye ought to hafard all for the glorie of God in this
 behalfe, the former terrours shall sodeinly vanish. I do not esteeme that thing great-
 est, which parauenture som other do; to wit, that if ye shall interprise to innouate
 any thing in maters of religion, that then ye shall lose your authority, and also the
 fauour of your carnal frendes. I look further, to wit, to the iudgmentes of God, who
 hath begonne alredy to declare himself angry with you, with your sede and poste-
 rity, yea with the hole realme, aboue which it shuld haue ruled. Impute not to
 fortune, that first your two sones were sodeinly taken from you, within the space
 of six hours, and after your husband raft, as it were, by violence from life and ho-
 nour, the memorial of his name, succession and royall dignity perishing with himself.
 For albeit the vsurped abuse, or rather tyranny of some realmes, haue permitted
 women to succede to the honour of their fathers, yet must their glory be trans-
 ferred to the house of a stranger. And so I say, That with himself was buried his
 name, succession and royall dignity; and in this, if ye espy not the anger and hote
 displeasure of God (threatning you and the rest of your posterity with the same
 plage) ye are more obstinate, then I wold wish you to be. I wold ye shuld pon-
 der and consider depely with your self, that God vseth not to punish realmes and
 nations, with such rare plagies without great cause; nether vseth he to restore to ho-
 nours and glory the house, which he beginneth once to deieft, till repentance of the
 former crimes be found. Ye may parchance doubt what crimes shuld haue bene in
 your husband, you, or the realme, for the which God shuld so greuously haue pu-
 nished

nished you. I answer, The maintenance and defence of most horrible idolatry, with the shedding of the blood of the saintes of God, who laboured to notifie and rebuke the same. This I say, (other iniquities omitted) is such a crime before the eyes of his maiesty, that for the same he hath poured furth his extreme vengeance vpon kings, and vpon their posterity, depriving them from honours and dignity for euer: As by the histories of the bookes of the kinges is most euident. To *Ieroboam* it is said, *Because I haue exalted the from the middest of the people, and haue made the prince ouer my people Israel, I haue rent the kindom from the house of David for idolatrie also, and haue giuen it vnto the; but thou hast not bene as Dauid my seruante, &c. But thou hast done wickedly aboue all that haue gone before the. For thou hast made to the other goddes, and molten images to prouoke me, and hast cast me behynd thy backe. Therefore shall I bring affliction vpon the house of Ieroboam, and I shall destroy to Ieroboam all that pisseth against the wall* (signifying therby the male children) *and shall cast furth the posteritie of Ieroboam, as dung is cast furth till it be consumed.* This sentence was not only executed against this idolater, but also against the rest of idolaters in that realme, as they succeded one after another: For to *Baasa*, whom God vsed as instrument to root owte the sede of *Ieroboam*, it is said, *Because thou hast walked in the way of Ieroboam, and hast caused my people Israel syn, that thou shuldest prouoke me in their synnes: Therefore shall I cut down the posteritie of Baasa, and the posteritie of his house and shall make thy house as the house of Ieroboam. He that shall die to Baasa in the citie, hym shall dogges eat, and he that shall die in the field, hym shall the fowles deuoure.* Of the same cup, and for the same cause, drank *Ela* and *Achab*, yea and the posterity of *Iehu*, following the footsteppes of their forefathers. By these examples you may euidently espie, that idolatry is the cause why God destroyeth the posterity of princes. Not only of those that first invent abominations, but also of such as follow and defend the same. Consider, Madam, That God hath begonne very sharply with you, taking from you, as it were together, two children and a husband. He hath begonne, I say, to declare hymself angrie, beware that ye prouoke not the eyes of his maiesty. It will not be the hawty lokes of the proud, the strength of your frendes, nor multitude of men, that can iustifie your cause in his presence. Yf ye presume to rebell against hym, (and against hym ye rebell, yf ye deny my most humble request, which I make in his name; and it is this: With the hasard of myne own life, I offer to proue, that religion which now ye maintain, to be false, deceiuable and abomination before God: And that I shall do by most euident testimonies of his blessed, holie and infallible word.) If this, I say, ye denie, (rebellling against God) the fauour of your frendes shall litle auail you, when he shall declare himself ennemy to you, and to your posteritie: Which, assure your self, he shall shortly do, if ye beginne to display the baner of your malice against him. Let not the prosperitie of others, be they princes, quenes, kinges, or emperours, bolden you to contemne God and his louing admonition. They shall drinke the cup of his wrath, euery one in their rank, as he hath appointed them. No realme in these quarters (except it that next lieth to you) hath he so manifestly stricken with his terrible rod, as he hath done you and your realme: And therefore it becometh you first to stowp, except that ye will haue the threatnings, pronounced by *Isaie* the prophet, ratified vpon you; to wit, *That your sodeine destruction be as the rotten wall, and your breaking as the breaking of a potsherd, which is broken without pitie; so that no portion of it can be found able ether to cary fyre or water.* Wherebie the prophete doth signifie, that the proud contemners of God, and of his admonitions, shall so perishe from all honours, that they shall haue nothing worthie of memoriall behinde them in the earth. Yea, if they do leaue any thing, as it shall be vnprofitable, so shall it be in execration and hatred to the elect of God. And therefore thus procedeth my former lettre.

L E T T E R E.

HOwe dangerous that ever it shall appeare to the fleshe, to obey God, and to make warre against the deuill, the prince of darknes, pride and superstition; yet if your grace looke to haue your self and sede to continue in honour worldlie

worldlie and euerlasting, subiect your self by times vnder the hand of him, that is omnipotent. Embrace his will, despise not his Testament, refuse not his graces offered. When he calleth vpon you, withdrawe not youre eare. Be not led away with the vain opinion that your church cannot erre. Be ye most assuredlie perswaded, that so farre as in life ye se them degenerate from Christes true Apostles, so in religion are they further corrupted. Lay the booke of God before your eyes, and let it be iudge to that which I say. Which if ye with feare and reuerence obey, as did *Iudas* the admonitions of the prophetesse, then shall he (by whom kings do reigne) crowne your battell with double benediction, and reward you with wisdom, riches, glorie, honour, and long life in this your regiment temporall, and with life euerlasting, when the King of all kings (whose membres now do crie for your helpe) the Lord Iesus shall appear to iudgement, accompanied with his Angells, before whom ye shall make accompte of your present regiment, when the proud and disobedient shall crie, *Mountaines fall vpon vs and hyde vs from the face of the Lord.* But then it shall be to late, because they contemned his voice, when he longingly called.

God the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, by the power of his Holie Spirit, moue your hart so to consider, and accept the thinges that be said, that they be not a testimonie of your iust condemnation, in that great day of the Lord Iesus, to whose omnipotent Spirit I vntaignedly commit your grace.

A D D I T I O N.

When *Jeremie* the prophet, at the commandement of God, had written the sermons, threatnings and plagues, which he had spoken against *Israel* and *Iuda*, and had commanded them to be redde by *Baruch* his scribe, because himself was excommunicated, and forbidden to entre into the temple; by the prouidence of God, it came to passe, that *Micheas* the sonne of *Gamalias*, hearing the said sermons, passed to the kings house, and did communicate the mater with the rest of the princes, who also after they had redde the same volume of *Jeremie's* preachings, did not conceale the truth from king *Iehoiakim*, who then did reigne in *Ierusalem*. But the proude and desperate prince, commanding the booke to be redde in his presence, before he hard three or four leaues of the same, did cut it and cast it into the fier, notwithstanding that some of the princes (I thinke not all) made request in the contrarie. But the prophet was charged by God to write again, and to say to *Iehoiakim* the king, *Thus saith the Lord, Thou hast burnt this booke, saynig, Why hast thou writen in it according to this sentence? Assuredlie the king of Babylon shall come, and shall destroye this land, and shall make it voide of men and bestes. Therefore thus saith the Lord of Iehoiakim the king, there shall not be one left aline to sit in the seat of David. Their carcases shall be cast to the heate of the day, and to the frost of the night (wherbie the prophet did signifie the most vile contempt, and most cruell torment) and I shall visit the iniquitie of himselfe, of his sede and servants, and I shall bring vpon them, and vpon the inhabitors of Ierusalem, and vpon all Iuda, all the calamities which I haue spoken against them. Albeit they wold not heare.* This is not writen, Madame, for that time onlie, but to assure vs, that the like punishment abideth the like contemners, of what estate, condition, or degree that euer they be. I did write vnto you before, hauing testimonie of a good conscience, that I did it in the feare of my God, and by the motion of his Holie Spirit (for the request of faithfull brethren, in thinges lawfull and pertaining to Goddes glorie, I cannot but iudge to be the voice of the Holie Ghost) but how ye did accepte the same my former writing, I do not otherwise then by coniectures understand; whether ye did reade it to the end or not, I am vncertaine: One thing I know, that ye did delyuer it to one of your prelates, saying, *My lord, will ye reade a Pasquill?* As charitie perswadeth me to interpret thinges (doubtfully spoken) in the best sence, so my dutie to God (who hath commanded me to flatter no prince in the earth) compelleth me to say, that if no more ye esteeme the admonition of God, nor the cardinales do the scoffing of pasquilles, that then he shall shortly send you messagers, with whome ye shall not be able on that maner to iest. If my person be considered, I grant my threatnings are no more

to be feared, then be the merie sportes, whiche fearfull men do father vpon *Pasquillus* in *Rome*. But Madame, if ye shall depelie consider, that God vseth men (yea and most commonlie those that be of lowest degree, and most abiect before the world) to be his messagers and ambassadours, not only to notifie his will to the simple people, but also to rebuke the most proude tyrannes and potent princes; then will ye not iudge the liquour, by the outward apparance and nature of the vessell. For ye are not ignorant, that the most noble wine is inclosed within the tunne made of fraill wood, and that the precious oyntement is often kept within the pot made of claye. Yf further ye shall consider, that God will do nothing touching the punishment of realmes and nations, which he will not revele to his seruantes the prophetes, whose tonges he will compell to speake, sometimes contrarie to the appetites and desires of their own hartes; and whose wordes he will performe, be they neuer so vnapparant to the iudgement of men. Yf these ye do depelie wey, then will ye feare the thing, whiche presentlie is not seen. *Elias* was but a man, as *St. James* doth witnesse, like to his brethren; and yet at his praier was *Acbab* the idolater, and all *Israell* with him, punished three yeares and six monethes, God shutting vp the heauen, that nether rayne nor dewe fell vpon the earth the space aforewritten. And in the end, God so wrought by hym, that *Baales* priestes were first confounded, and after iustlie punished. And albeit that *Iesabel* soght his blood, and by othe had determined his death; yet, as she was frustrat of her intent, so could she not kepe her owne bones from the dogges; which punishment, the prophete (God so ruling his tonge) had before appointed to that wicked woman. Albeit Madame, that the messagers of God are not send this day with visible miracles; because they teache none other doctrine, then that which is confirmed with miracles, from the beginning of the world; yet will not he (who hath promised to take charge ouer his poore and litle flocke, to the end) suffer the contempt of their embassade, escape punishment and vengeance. For the Truth it selfe hath said, *He that beareth you, beareth me, and he that contemneth you, contemneth me*. I did not speake vnto you, Madame, by my former lettre, nether yet do I now, as *Pasquillus* doth to the Pope, and his carnall cardinales, in the behalf of such as dare not vter their names; but I come in the name of Christ Iesus, affirming, that the religion, which ye maintein, is damnable idolatrie; the which I offere my selfe to proue, by the most euident testimonies of Goddes scriptures. And in this quarrell I present my selfe against all the papistes within the realme, desiring none other armore, but Goddes holie worde, and the libertie of my tonge. God moue your hart to vnderstand my petition, to knowe the truth, and unfeignedlie to follow the same. *AMEN*.

Revel. I O H. Chap. xxi. *I am the Beginning and the Ende. I will geue to him that is a thirst, of the well of the water of life frelie. He that ouercommeth shall inherit all thinges, and I will be his God, and he shall be my sonne. But the fearfull and vbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whooremongers, and sorcerers, and idolater, and all lyars shall haue their part in the lake, whiche burneth with fier and brimstone, which is the seconde death.*

THE





THE
APPELLATION
 OF
IOHN KNOXE,
 FROM

The cruell and most iniust sentence pronounced against him by the false bishoppes and clergie of *Scotland*, with his supplication and exhortation to the nobilitie, estates and commonaltie of the same realme.

To the NOBILITIE and ESTATES of *SCOTLAND*,
 IOHN KNOXE *wisbeth grace, mercie, and peace from God the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, with the spirit of righteous iudgement.*



It is not only the loue of life temporall (right honourable) neither yet the fear of corporall death, that moueth me at this present to expone vnto you the iniuries done against me, and to craue of you, as of lawful powers by God appointed, redresse of the same, but partly it proceedeth from that reuerence whiche everie man oweth to Godds eternal trueth, and partly from a loue which I beare to your saluation, and to the saluation of my brethien, abused in that realme, by such, as have no fear of God before their eyes. It hath pleased God of his infinite mercie, not onlie so to illuminate the eyes of my minde, and so to tuche my dull hart, that

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clearly

clearly I fe, and by his grace vnfeanedly beleue, *that there is no other name geuen to men vnder the heauen, in which saluation consisteth, saue the name of Iesus alone. Who by that sacrifice which he did once offer vpon the crosse, hath sanctified for ever those that shall enherite the kingdom promised.* But also it hath pleased him of his superabundant grace, to make and appointe me most wretched of many thousandes a witnes, minister and preacher of the same doctrine: the somme whereof I did not spare to communicate with my brethren being with them in the realme of *Scotland*, in the yeare 1556, because I know my selfe to be a steward, and that accompts of the talent committed to my charge, shall be required by him who will admit no vain excuse which tearfull men pretend. I did therefore (as God did minister) during the tyme I was conuerfant with them (God is record and witnesse) truely and syncerely, according to the gift granted vnto me, deuide the worde of saluation, teaching all men to hate Syn, whiche before God was and is so odious, that none other sacrifice coulde satisfie his iustice, except the death of his onlie sonne, and to magnifie the greate mercies of our heauenlie Father, who did not spare the substance of his own glorie, but did giue hym to the world to suffer the ignominious and cruell death of the crosse, by that meanes to reconcile his chosen children to hymselfe: teaching further what is the duetie of such as do beleue themselues purged by such a price from their former filthines. To wit, *that they are bound to walke in the newnes of life, fighting against the lustes of the fleshe, and studyinge at all tymes to glorifie God by such good woorkes as he hath prepared his children to walke in.*

In doctrine I did further affirme, so taught by my master Christ Iesus, *that whosoever denieth hym, yea, or is ashamed of hym, before this wicked generation, hym shall Christ Iesus denie, and of hym shall he be ashamed, when he shall appear in his maiestie.* And therefore I feared not to affirme, that of necessitie it is, that suche as hope for life euerlasting, auoide all superstition, vaine religion and idolatrie; Vaine religion and idolatrie I call whatsoeuer is done in Godes seruice or honour without the expresse commaundement of his own worde.

This doctrine did I beleue to be so conformable to Goddes holie scriptures, that I thought no creature could haue been so impudent as to haue denied any point or article of the same. Yet neuerthelesse, me, as an heretike, and this doctrine as hereticall, haue your fals bishoppes and vngodlie clergie damned, pronouncing against me a sentence of death, in testification whereof, they haue burned a picture. From which fals and cruell sentence, and from all iudgement of that wicked generation I make it knowen to your honours that I appeal to a lafull and general counsil, to suche I mean, as the most auncient lawes and canones do approue to be holden; by suche, as whose manifest impietie is not to be reformed in the same, most humbly requiring of your honours, that, as God hath appointed you princes in that people, and by reason therof, requireth of your handes, the defence of innocentes troubled in your dominion, in the meane tyme, and till the controuersies, that this day be in religion, be lafully decided, ye receaue me and suche others; as most vniustlie by those cruell beastes are persecuted, in your defence and protection.

Your honours are not ignorant, that it is not I alone, who doth sustain this cause against the pestilent generation of Papistes, but that the most part of *Germanie*, the countrie of *Heluetia*, the kinge of *Denmarke*, the nobilitie of *Polonia*, togither with many other Cities and Churches reformed, appeall from the tyrannie of that Antichrist, and most earnestly do call for a lafull and general council, wherein may all controuersies in religion be decided by the auctoritie of Goddes most sacred worde. And vnto this same, as said is, do I apeal yet once againe, requiring of your honours, to hold my simple and playn appellation of no lesse value nor effect, then if it had bene made with greater circumstance, solemnities, and ceremonie, and that ye receaue me calinge vnto you, as to the powers of God ordained, in your protection and defence against the rage of tyrantes, not to mentaine me in any iniquite, error, or fals opinion, but to let me haue such equitie, as God by his worde, auncient lawes, and determinations of most godlie councils, grant to men accused or infamed.

The word of God will that no man shall die, except he be found criminall and worthie of death for offence committed, of the whiche, he must be manifestly conuicted by two or three witnesse. Ancient lawes do permitt iust defences to such as be accused (be their crimes neuer so horrible) and godlie counsilles will that neither Bishopp nor Person ecclesiasticall whatsoener, accused of any crime shall sit in iudgement, consultation, or counsil, where the cause of such men, as do accuse them is to be tried.

These things require I of your honours to be granted vnto me : to wit, That the doctrine which our aduersaries condemne for heresie may be tried by the simple and playn word of God, that iust defenses be admitted to vs that sustain the battaile against this pestilent generation of Antichrist, and that they be remoued from iudgement in our cause, seeing that our accusation is not intended against any one particular person, but against that hole kingdome, which we doubt not to proue to be a power vsurped against God, against his commaundement, and against the ordenance of Christ Iesus established in his Church by his chiefe Apostles: Yea, we doubt not to proue the kingdome of the Pope to be the kingdome and power of Antichrist. And therefore my Lordes, I cannot cease in the name of Christ Iesus to require of you, that the matter may come in examination; and that ye the estates of the realme, by your authoritie, compell such as will be called bishoppes, not only to desist from their cruell murdering of such as do studie to promote Goddes glorie in detecting and disclosing the damnable impietie of that man of syn the *Romane* Antechrist, but also that ye compell them to answer to suche crimes as shall be laid to their charge for not righteously instructing the flock committed to their cares.

But here I know two things shal be doubted. The former : whether that my appellation is lawfull and to be admitted, seeing that I am damned as an heretike : and secondarilye, whether your honours be bound to defend such as call for your support in that case, seeing that your bishoppes (who in matters of religion, claime all auctoritie to appertaine to them) haue by their sentence already condemned me. The one and the other I nothing doubt most clerely to proue. Fyrst, that my appellation is most lawful and iust : and secondarilye that your honours cannot refuse to defend me thus, calling for your aid, but that in so doing, ye declare your selues rebellious to God, maintainers of murderers and shedders of innocent blood.

How iust cause I haue by the ciuile law (as for their canon it is accursed of God) to appeale from their vniust sentence my purpose is not to make long discourse. Onlie I will touche the poyntes which all men confesse to be iust causes of appellation. Fyrst, Lawfully could I not be summoned by them, being for that tyme absent from their iurisdiction, charged with the preaching of Christes Euangill, in a free citie not subiect to their tyrannie.

Secondarilye To me was no intimation made of their summondes, but so secrete was their surmised malice, that the copie of the summondes being required was denied.

Thirdlie, To the realme of Scotland could I haue had no free nor sure access, being before exiled from the same by their vniust tyrannie. And *lastlie*, To me they neither could, nor can be competent and indifferent iudges; for that, before any summondes were raised against me, I had accused them by my lettres published to the quene dowagier, and had intended against them all crimes, offering my self with hasard of life to proue the same; for the which they are not onlie vnworthie of ecclesiasticall authoritie, but also of any sufferance within a commune-welthe professing Christ. This my accusation preceding their summondes, neither by the law of God, neither yet by the law of man, can they be to me competent iudges, till place be granted vnto me openlie to proue my accusation intended against them, and they compelled to make answer as criminalls. For I will plainlie proue, that not only bishoppes, but also Popes haue bene remoued from all authoritie and pronouncing of iudgement, till they haue purged themselues of accusations layd against them. Yea further I will proue, that bishoppes and Popes most iustly haue bene deprived, from all honours and administration, for smaller crimes then I haue to charge the hole rable of your bishoppes.

But because this is not my chefe grounde, I will stand content for this present to shew, that lawfull it is to Goddes Prophetes, and to preachers of Christ Iesus to appeall from the sentence and iudgement of the visible church, to the knolledge of the temporall Magistrate, who by Goddes law is bound to hear their causes, and to defend them from tyrannie.

The Prophete *Ieremie* was commanded by God, to stand in the courte of the house of the Lord, and to preach this sermon in effect, That *Ierusalem* should be destroyed, and be exponed in opprobrie to all nations of the earth; and that also that famous temple of God should be made desolate like vnto *Sylo*, because the preestes, the Prophetes, and the people did not walk in the law, which God had proposed vnto them, neither wold they obey the voyces of the Prophetes, whome God sent to call them to repentance.

For this sermon was *Ieremie* apprehended, and a sentence of death was pronounced against hym, and that by the preestes, by the Prophetes, and by the people, which thinges being bruted in the eares of the Princes of *Juda*, they passed vp from the kinges house, to the temple of the Lord, and sat down in iudgement, for further knowledge of the cause. But the preestes and Prophetes continued in theyre cruell sentence, which before they had pronounced, saying, *This man is worthie of the death, for he hath prophesied against this citie, as your eares haue heard.* But *Ieremie* so moued by the Holie Ghost, began his defence against that their tyrannous sentence, in these words. *The Lord (saith he) hath sent me to prophesie against this house, and against this citie, all the wordes which you haue heard. Now therefore make good your wayes, and hear the voyce of the Lord your God, and then shall he repent of the euill, whiche he hath spoken against you. As for me behold I am in your handes (so doth he speak to the Princes) do to me as you think good and righteous. Neuertheles know you this most assuredly, that if ye murther or slay me, ye shall make your selues, this citie, and the inhabitants of the same criminall, and guiltie of innocent blood. For of a trueth the Lord hath sent me to speak in your eares all those wordes.*

Then the princes and the people (saith the texe) said, *this man is not worthie of death, for he hath spoken to vs in the name of the Lord our God.* And so after somme contention was the Prophete deliuered from that danger. This fact and historie manifestlie proueth whatsoeuer before I haue affirmed, to wit, that it is lafull for the seruantes of God to call for the help of the ciuile magistrate against the sentence of death if it be vniust, by whome soeuer it be pronounced, and also the ciuile sword hath power to repress the furie of the preefts, and to absolue whom thei haue condemned. For the Prophete of God was damned by those who then only in earthe were knowen to be the visible church, to wit, preestes and prophetes who then were in *Ierusalem*, the successours of *Aaron*, to whome was geuen a charge to speake to the people in the name of God, and a precept geuen to the people to heare the lawe from their mouthes, to the which if any should be rebellious or disobedient, he should die the death without mercie. These men I say thus auctorised by God, first did excommunicat *Ieremie*, for that he did preache otherwise then did the commune sort of prophetes in *Ierusalem*, and last apprehended him, as you haue hard, pronouncing against him this sentence afore written, from the which neuertheles the prophete appealed, that is, sought help and defence against the same, and that most earnestly did he craue of the princes. For albeit he saith, *I am in your handes, do with me as ye think righteous*, he doth not contemne nor neglect his life, as thoghe he regarded not what should become of hym, but in those his wordes most vehementlie did he admonishe the princes and rulers of the people, geuing them to vnderstand what God should require of them. As he should say, You princes of *Juda*, and rulers of the people, to whom appertaineth indifferentlie to iudge betwixt partie and partie, to iustifie the iust man, and to condemne the malefactor, you haue hard a sentence of death pronounced against me by those, whose lippes ought to speak no deceit, because they are sanctified and appointed by God hymselfe to speake his law and to pronounce iudgement with equitie, but as they haue left the liuing God, and haue taught the people to follow vanitie, so are they becmmmed mortall enemies to all God's true seruantes, of whom I am one, rebuking their iniquitie, apostacie, and defection from God, which is the onlie cause they

seke my life. But a thing most contrarie to all equitie, law and iustice it is, that I a man sent of God to call them, this people, and you againe to the true seruice of God, from the which you are all declined, shall suffer the death, because that my enemies do so pronounce sentence. I stand in your presence, whome God hath made princes, your power is aboue their tyrannie, before you do I expone my cause, I am in your handes, and cannot resist to suffer what ye think iust. But lest that my lenitie and patience should either make you negligent in the defence of me in my iust cause, appealing to your iudgement, either yet encourage my enemies in seakinge my blood, this one thinge I dar not confile, That if you murther me, (which thing ye do if ye defend me not) ye make not only my enemies gyltie of my blood, but also your selues, and this hole citie. By these wordes I say, it is euident, that the prophete of God being damned to death, by the preestes and by the prophetes of the visible church, did seke aid, support and defence at the princes and temporall magistrates, threatnyng his blood to be required of theyre handes, if they be theyre auctoritie did not defend hym from the furie of his enemies: alledging also iust causes of his appellation, and why he ought to haue bene defended: to wit, that he was sent of God to rebuke their vices and defection from God: That he taught no doctrine which God before had not pronounced in his Law. That he desired theyre conuersion to God, continuallie calling vpon them to walk in the wayes which God had approued, and therefore doth he boldlie craue of the princes, as of Goddes lieutenantes to be defended from the blynd rage and tyrannie of the preests, notwithstanding that they claimed to themselves auctoritie to iudge in all matters of religion. And the same did he what tyme he was cast in pryson, and thereafter was brought to the presence of king *Zedechias*; after I say that he had defended his innocencie, affirmyng that he neither had offended against the king, against his seruantes, nor against the people, at last he made intercession to the king for his life, saying

But now my lord the king take bede, I beseeche thee let my prayer fall into thy presence, commaund me not to be caried againe into the house of Ionathan the scribe, that I dye not there.

And the text witnesseth, that the king commaunded the place of his imprysonment to be chaunged. Whereof it is euident, that the prophet did offer then once seke help at the ciuile power; and that fyrst the princes, and thereafter the king did acknowledge, that it appertained to their office to deliuer him from the iniust sentence, which was pronounced against him. Yf any thinke, that *Iemie* did not appeall, becaus he onely declared the wronge done vnto him, and did but craue defence, according to his innocence; let the same man understand, that none otherwise do I appeale from that fals and cruell sentence, which your Bishoppes haue pronounced against me. Neither yet can there be any other iust cause of appellation but innocencie hurt, or suspected to be hurt, whether it be by ignorance of a iudge, or by malice and corruption of those, who under the title of iustice, do exercise tyrannie. If I were a thefe, murtherer, Blasphemer, open adulterer, or any offender, whom God's worde commaundeth to suffer for a crime committed, my appellation were vaine, and to be reiected: But I being innocent, yea the doctrine which your Bishoppes haue condemned in me, being God's eternall veritie, haue no lesse libertie to craue your defence against that cruelty, then had the Prophet *Ieremie* to seke the ayde of the Princes and King of *Iuda*. But this shall more plainly appear in the faete of *Sainct Paule*, who after that he was apprehended in *Ierusalem*, did fyrst claime to the libertie of *Romayne* citizeses, for auoiding torment, what tyme that the captayn would haue examined hym by questions: Thereafter in the councile where no righteous iudgement was to be hoped for, he affirmed that he was a Pharisee, and that he was accused of the resurrection of the dead; and last, in the presence of *Festus*, he appealed, from all knowledge and iudgement of the Preestes at *Ierusalem*, to the Emperour: Of which last point, becaus it doth cheselie appertaine to this my cause, I will somewhat speak.

After that *Paule* had diuerse tymes bene accused, as in the *Actes* of the apostles is manifest; at the last, the chiefe Preestes and th yre faction came to *Cesarea*, with *Festus* the president, who presented to them *Paule* in iudgement, whome they accus-

ed of horrible crimes ; which neuertheles they could not proue, the Apostle defending, *That he had not offended, neither against the law, neither against the temple, neither yet against the Emperour.*

But *Festus* willing to gratifie the *Iewes*, said to *Paule*, *Wilt thou go up to Ierusalem, and there be iudged of these things in my presence ? But Paule said, I stand at the iustice seat of the Emperour, where it behoueth me to be iudged. I haue done no iniurie to the Iewes, as thou better knowest. If I haue done any thing iniustly, or yet committed crime worthie of death, I refuse not to die. But if there be nothing of these thinges true, whereof they accuse me, no man may giue me to them : I appeall to Cesar.*

It may appear at the first sight, That *Paule* did great iniurie to *Festus* the iudge, and to the hole order of the preesthode, who did hope greater equitie in a cruell tyrant, then in ali that session and learned companie. Which thinge no doubt *Festus* did vnderstand, pronouncing these wordes, *Hast thou appealed to Cesar ? Thou shalt go to Cesar.* As he would say, I, as a man willing to vnderstand the truth, before I pronounce sentence, haue required of thee to go to *Ierusalem*, where the learned of thyne owne nation may hear thy cause, and decerne in the same. The controuerse standeth in matters of religion : Thou art accused, as an apostat from the law, as a violator of the temple, and transgressor of the traditions of theyre fathers, in which matters I am ignorant ; and therefore desire information by those that be learned in the same religion, wherof the question is. And yet doest thou refuse so many godly fathers to hear thy cause, and doest appeale to the Emperour, preferring hym to all our iudgements, of no purpose belike, but to delay time. Thus, I say, it mycht haue appeared, That *Paule* did not only iniurie to the iudge and to the preestes, but also that his cause was greatly to be suspected ; partly for that he did refuse the iudgement of those that had most knowledge (as all men supposed) of God's will and religion ; and partly because he appealed to the Emperour, who then was at *Rome* far absent from *Ierusalem*, a man also ignorant of God, and ennemie to all vertue. But the Apostle considering the nature of his ennemies, and what thinges they had intended against hym, euen from the fyrst day that he began freelie to speak in the name of Christ, did not fear to appeale from them, and from the iudge that would haue gratified them. They had professed themselves plain ennemies to Christ Iesus, and to his blessed euangill, and had sought the death of *Paule*, yea, euen by factions and treasonable conspiracie : And therefore by no meanes would he admit them either iudges in his cause, either auditours of the same, as *Festus* required : But grounding himselfe vpon strong reasons, to wit, that he had not offended the *Iewes*, neither yet the law, but that he was innocent ; and therefore that no iudge ought to giue hym in the handes of his ennemies : Grounding, I say, his appellation vpon these reasons, he neither regarded the displeasure of *Festus*, neither yet the brute of the ignorant multitude ; but boldly did appeal, from all cognition of them, to the iudgement of the Emperour, as said is. By these two exemples, I doubt not but your honours do vnderstand, that lawfull it is to the seruantes of God oppressed by tyrannie, to seke remedie against the same, be it by appellation from their sentence, or by imploring the helpe of ciuile Magistrates. For what God hath approued in *Ieremie* and *Paul*, he can condemne in none that likewise be entreated. I might alledge some histories of the primitiue Church, seruing to the same purpose ; as of *Ambrose* and *Athanasius*, of whom the one would not be iudged but at *Millan*, where that his doctrine was heard of all his Church, and receaued and approued by many : And the other would in no wise geue place to those counciles, where he knew that men conspired against the trueth of God, should sit in iudgement and consultatione. But because the Scriptures of God are my only foundation and assurance, in all matters of weight and importance, I haue thoght the two former testimonies sufficient, aswell to proue my appellation reasonable and iust, as to declare to your honours, that with safe conscience ye cannot refuse to admit the same. Yf any thinke it arrogancie, or foolishnes in me, to compare my selfe with *Ieremie* and *Paule*, let the same man vnderstand, that as God is immutable, so is the verity of his glorious Euangill of equall dignity, whensoever it is impugned, be the membres suffering neuer so weak. What I think touching mine owne person, God shall reueale when the secrets of all hartes shall be disclo-

ed; and such as with whom I haue bene conuersant, can partly witnesse, what arrogancie or pride they espie in me. But touching the doctrine and cause, which that adulterous and pestilent generation of Antichrist's seruants (who will be called Bishoppes amongst you) haue condemned in me, I neither feare nor thame to confesse and auow, before man and angell, to be the eternall trueth of the eternall God. And in that case, I dout not to compare my self with any membre, in whom the trueth hath bene impugned since the begynnyng. For as it was the trueth, which *Jeremie* did preach in these wordes,

The Preestes haue not kuowen me (saith the Lord) but the pastors haue traiterously declined and fallen back from me. The Prophetes haue prophesied in Baal, and haue gone after those things, which cannot helpe. My people haue left the fountaine of liuing waters, and haue digged to themselves pits, which can containe no water.

As it was a trueth that the pastors and watchmen, in the daies of *Isaie*, were becomed comme dogs, blynd, ignorant, proud and auaricious. And finally as it was a trueth, that the Princes and Preestes were murtherers of Christ Iesus, and cruell persecutors of his Apostles: So likewyse it is a trueth (and that most infallible) that those that haue condemned me (the hole rable of the papisticall clergie) haue declyned from the true faith, haue geuen eare to deceauable spirits, and to doctrine of deuills, are the sterres fallen from the heauen to the earth, are fountaines without water; and finally are enemies to Christ Iesus, deniers of his vertue, and horrible blasphemours of his death and passion. And further, as that visibill Church had no crime, whereof iustly they could accuse either the Prophetes, either the Apostles, except theyr doctrine only: So haue not such as seke my blood, other crime to lay to my charge, except that I affirm, as alwaies I offer to proue, that the religion, which now is maintained by fier and sword, is no lesse contrarious to the true religion taught and establihed by the Apostles, then is darknes to light, or the Deuill to God: And also that such as now do claime the title and name of the Church ar no more the elect spouse of Christ Iesus, then was the Synagoge of the *Iewes* the true Church of God, what tyme it crucified Christ Iesus, damned his doctrine and persecuted his Apostles. And therefore seing that my battail is against the proude and cruell hypocrites of this age, as that battaill of those most excellent instrumentes was against the fals prophetes, and malignant Church of theyr ages: Neither ought any man think it strange, that I compare my self with them, with whome I sustaine a common cause; neither ought you, my Lordes, iudge your selues lesse addetted and bound to me, calling for your support, then did the Princes of *Iuda* think themselves bounde to *Jeremie*, whome for that tyme they deliuered, notwithstanding the sentence of death pronounced against him by the visibill Church. And thus much for the right of my appellation, which in the bowelles of Christ Iesus, I requier you honours not to esteeme, as a thing superfluous and vaine; but that ye admit it, and also accept me in your protection and defence, that by you assured I may haue accessse to my natie cuntry, which I neuer offended; to the end, that freely and openly in the presence of the hole realme, I may geue my confession of all such pointes, as this day be in controuersie; and also that you, by your authoritie which ye haue of God, compell such, as of long tyme haue blynded and deceaued both your selues and the people, to answer to such thinges, as shall be laide to their charge. But lest that somme dout remayne, that I require more of you, then you of conscience ar bound to graunt, in few wordes, I hope to proue my petition to be such, as without God's heauy displeasure ye cannot deny. My petition is, That ye, whome God hath apointed heades in your commune welth, with single eye do studie to promote the glorie of God, to prouide that your subiectes be rightly instructed in his true religion; that they be defended from all oppression and tyrannie; that true teachers may be maintained, and such as blynde and deceaue the people, togyther also with all idle bellies, which do robbe and oppresse the flock, may be remoued and punished as God's Law prescribeth. And to the performance of euery one of these, do your offices and names, the honours and benefites, which ye receue, the Law of God vniuersally geuen to all men, and the examples of moste godlie Princes, bynde and obliish you.

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My purpose is not greatly to labour to proue, that your hole studie ought to be to promote the glorie of God; neither yet will I studie to alledge all reasons, that iustly may be broght to proue, that ye are not exalted to reigne aboue your brethren, as men without care and solitude. For these be principals so grafted in nature, that very Ethnicks haue confessed the same. For seeing that God only hath placed you in his chaire, hath appointed you to be his lieutenants, and by his owne seall hath marked you to be Magistrats, and to rule aboue your brethren, to whom nature neuertheles hath made you lyke in all points (for in conception, birth, life, and death ye differ nothing from the commune sort of men, but God only, as said is, hath promoted you, and of his especial fauour hath geuen vnto you this prerogative to be called gods:) How horrible ingratitude were it then, that you should be founde vnfaithful to hym, that thus hath honored you? And further what a monster were it, that you should be proued vnmerciful to them, aboue whom ye are appointed to reigne, as fathers aboue theyr children? Because, I say, that very Ethnicks haue graunted, that the cheefe and fyrst care of princes, and of such as be appointed to rule aboue others, ought to be to promote the glorie and honour of theyr goddes, and to maintaine that religion, which they supposed to haue bene true. And that theyr second care was to maintaine and defend the subiects committed to theyr charge, in all equitie and iustice. I will not labour to shew vnto you, what ought to be your studie in maintainyng God's true honour; lest that in so doing I should seme to make you lesse careful ouer God's true religion, then were the Ethnicks ouer their idolatrie. But because other petitions may appere more hard and difficle to be graunted, I purpose bresely, but yet freely, to speak what God by his worde doth assure me to be true. To wit, *First*, That in conscience you are bounde to punyssh malefactors, and to defende innocents, imploring your helpe. *Secondarely*, That God requireth of you to prouide, that your subiects be rightly instructed in his true religion; and that the same by you be reformed, whensoever abuses do crepe in, by malice of Satan, and negligence of men. And *laste*, That ye are bounde to remoue from honour, and to punyssh with death (if the crime so require) such as deceaue the people, or defraude them of that foode of theyr soules, I mean God's liuely worde. The fyrst and seconde are moste playne by the wordes of *S. Paule*, thus speaking of lawfull powers.

Let euery soule (saith he) submit hymselfe vnto the hygher powers: For there is no power but of God. The powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoener therefore resisteth power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receaue to themselves damnation. For rulers ar not to be feared of those that do well, but of those that do euill. Wilt thou then be without fear of the power? do that which is good, and so shalt thou be praised of the same. For he is the minister of God for thy welth. But if thou do that which is euill, fear. For he beareth not the sworde for noght: For he is the minister of God to take vengeance on them that do euill.

As the Apostle in these wordes most straitly commaundeth obedience to be geuen to lawfull powers, pronouncing God's wrathe and vengeance against such, as shall resist the ordonaunce of God; so dothe he assigne to the powers theyr offices, which be to take vengeance vpon euil doers, to mentaine the well doers, and so to ministrate and rule in theyr office, that the subiectes by them may haue a benefite, and be praised in well doing. Now if you be powers ordeined by God (and that I hope all men will graunte) then by the plaine wordes of the Apostle is the sworde geuen vnto you by God, for the maintenance of innocent, and for the punysshment of malefactors. But I and my brethren with me accused, do offre not only to proue our selues innocents in all thinges laid to our charge, but also we offre most euidently to proue your Bishoppes to be the verie pestilence, who haue infected all christiannyty. And therefore by the plaine doctrine of the Apostle, you are bounde to maintaine vs, and to punyssh the other, being euidently conuict and proued criminal. Moreouer, the former wordes of the Apostle do teach, how far hie powers be bounde to theyr subiectes: to wit, that because they are Gods ministers by hym ordeined for the profitt and vtility o' others, moste diligently ought they to intend vpon the same. For that cause assigneth the Holy Ghost commaunding subiectes to obey, and to pay tribute: saing, *For this do you pay tribute and tole.*

That

That is because they are Gods ministers, bearing the sworde for your vtilitie. Whereof it is plaine, that there is no honour without a charge annexed. And this one point I with your wisdomes dipely to consider, that God hath not placed you aboue your brethren to reigne as tyrantes without respect of theyr profit and commoditie. Ye heare the Holy Ghost witnesse the contrary, affirming, that all lawfull powers be Gods ministers ordered for the welth, profit and saluation of the subiectes, and not for theyr destruction. Could it be said (I beseech you) that Magistrates, inclosing theyr subiects in a citie without all victuals, or geuing vnto them no other victuals, but such as were poisoned, did rule for the profit of theyr subiectes? I trust that none would be so foolish, as to affirme, but that rather euerie discrete person would boldly affirme, that such as so did, were tyrantes vnworthie of all regiment. Yf we will not deny that whiche Christ Iesus affirmeth to be a trueth infallible; to wit, That the soule is greater and more pretious, then is the bodie: Then shall we easely espye, how vnworthie of authoritie be those, that this day debarre theyr subiectes from the hearing of God's worde, and by fier and sworde compell them, to feed vpon the very poison of their soules, the damnable doctrine of Antichrist. And therefore in this point, I say, I cannot cease to admonish your honours, diligently to take heede ouer your charge, which is greater then the most parte of men suppose. It is not ynough that you abstaine from violence wrong and oppression, which vngodlie men exercise against their subiectes; but ye are further bounde, to wit, that ye rule aboue them for theyr welth; which ye cannot do, if that ye either by negligence, not prouiding true pastors, or yet by your maintainance of such as be rauening wolues, suffer their soules to sterue and perishe, for lack of the true foode; which is Christes Euangill syncretely preached. It will not excuse you in his presence, who will require accompte of euerie talent committed to your charge, to say, that ye supposed that the charge of the soules had bene committed to your Bythoppes. No, no, my Lordes, so ye cannot escape God's iudgement. For if your Bythoppes be proued to be no Bythoppes, but deceauable theues and rauenyng wolues (which I offer my selfe to proue by God's word, by law, and councils, yea by the iudgement of all the godly learned from the primitive Church to this day) then shall your permission and defence of them be reputed before God, a participation with theyr thefte and murther. For thus accused the Prophete *Isaie* the Princes of *Ierusalem*. *Thy princes, saith he, are apostatats; that is obstinat refusers of God, and they are companions of theues.*

This greuous accusation was laid against them, albeit that they ruled in that citie which sometyme was called holy, where then were the temple, rites and ordinances of God: because that not onlie they were wicked themselves, but chesely because they maintained wiked men theyr Preestes and fals prophetes in honours and auctoritie. If they did not escape this acusation of the Holy Ghost in that age, looke ye neither to escape the accusation nor the iudgement which is pronounced against the maintainers of wicked men: to wit, that the one and the other shall drink the cuppe of Gods wrathe and vengeance together. And lest ye should deceaue your selues, esteeming your Bythoppes to be vertuous and godlie, this do I affirme and offer my selfe to proue the same, that more wicked men, then be the hole rabble of your clergie, were neuer from the begynning vniuersally knowen in any age, yea *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* may be iustified in theyre respect. For they permitted iust *Lot*, to dwell amongst them without any violence done to his body, which that pestilent generation of your shauensort doth not, but moste cruelly persecute by fier and sworde the true membres of Christes bodie for no other cause, but for the true seruice and honoring of God. And therefore I fear not to affirme that, which God shall one day iustifie, that by your offices ye be bound, not only to repress the tyranny, but also to punish them, as theues and murderers, as idolators and blasphemers of God, and in their rounes ye are bounde to place true preachers of Christ's Euangile, for the Instruction, comfort and saluation of your subiectes, aboue whome els shall neuer the Holy Ghost acknowledge, that you rule in iustice for their profit. Yf yee pretend to possesse the kingdome with Christ Iesus, ye may not take example neither by the iguorant multitude of Princes, neither by the vngodly and cruell rulers of the earth, of whome somme passe theyre

tyme in slouth, insolencie and ryote without respect had to Goddes honour, or to the saluation of theyre brethren: and other moſte cruelly oppresse with proude *Nimrode*, such as be subiect to them. But your pattern and example must be the practise of those, whom God hath approued by the testimony of his word, as after shall be declared.

Of the premisses it is euident, that to lawfull powers is geuen the sword for punyſhment of malefactors, for maintenance of innocents, and for the profit and vtility of thyr subiects. Now let us consider, whether the reformation of religion, fallen in decay, and punyſhment of false teachers, do appertain to the ciuil magistrate and nobility of any realm. I am not ignorant that *Satan* of old tyme for mentainance of his darknes, hath obtained of the blynd world two cheſe points. Former, he hath perswaded to princes, rulers, and magistrates, that the feeding of Christes flock appertaineth nothing to theyr charge, but that it is reiecteſt vpon the *Byshoppes*, and estate ecclesiasticall: And secondarely, that the reformation of religion, be it neuer so corrupt, and the punyſhment of such, as be sworn souldiers in theyr kingdom, are exempted from all ciuil power, and are reſerued to themſelues and to theyr own cognition. But that no offender can iuſtly be exempted from punyſhment, and that the ordering and reformation of religion, with the instruction of subiects, doth eſpecially appertain to the ciuil Magistrate, shall Goddes perfect ordenance, his plain worde, and the factes and examples of those that of God are highly praised, moſt euidently declare.

When God did eſtabliſh his law, ſtatutes and ceremonies in the middeſt of *Iſrael*, he did not exempt the matters of religion from the power of *Moses*, but as he gaue him charge over the ciuil polity, so he put in his mouth and in his hand: That is, he fyrſt reuealed to him, and thereafter commaunded to put in practise whatſoeuer was to be taught or done in matters of religion. Nothing did God reueale particularly to *Aaron*, but altogether was he commaunded to depend from the mouth of *Moses*: Yea, nothing was he permitted to do to hymſelf or to his children either in his or theyr inauguration and ſanctification to the preſthode, but all was committed to the care of *Moses*, and therefore were theſe wordes so frequently repeted to *Moses*,

Thou shalt separate Aaron and his ſonnes from the middeſt of the people of Iſrael, that they may execute the office of the preſthode, thou shalt make vnso them garments, thou shalt annoynte them, thou shalt waſh them, thou shalt fill theyr handes with the ſacrifice.

And so furth of every rite and ceremony, that was to be done vnto them, eſpeciall commaundement was geuen vnto *Moses*, that he ſhould do it. Now if *Aaron* and his ſonnes were so subiect to *Moses*, that they did nothing but at his commaundement, who dar be so bold as to affirme, that the ciuil Magistrate hath nothing to do in matters of religion. For ſeing that then God did so ſtraytly require, that euen those, who did beare the figure of Christ, ſhould receaue from the ciuil power as it were theyre ſanctification and entrance to theyr office, and ſeing alſo that *Moses* was so far preferred to *Aaron*, that the one commaunded and the other did obey, who dar eſteeme that the ciuil power is now becomed so prophane in Gods eyes, that it is ſequeſtrated from all intermiſſion with the matters of religion. The Holy Ghoſt in diuers places declareth the contrary. For one of the cheſe precepts commaunded to the king, when that he ſhould be placed in his throne, was to write the example of the boke of the Lordes law, that it ſhould be with hym, that he might read in it all the days of his life, that he might learn to fear the Lord his God, and to kepe all the wordes of his law, and his ſtatutes to do them. This precept requireth not only, that the king ſhould hymſelfe fear God, kepe his law and ſtatutes, but that alſo he as the cheſe ruler, ſhould prouide that Goddes true religion ſhould be kept inuiolated of the people and flock, which by God was committed to his charge. And this did not only *Dauid* and *Solomon* perfectly vnderſtand, but alſo ſomme godly kinges in *Iuda*, after the apoſtacy and idolatry, that infeſted *Iſrael* by the meanes of *Ierobam*, did practise theyr vnderſtanding, and execute theyr power in ſomme notable reformations. For *Aſa* and *Ioaſaphat* kinges in *Iuda*, fynding the religion altogether corrupt, did apply theyr hearts (ſaieth the Holy Ghoſt) to ſerue the Lord, and to walk in his waies; and thereafter doth witnes, that *Aſa* re-
moued

remoued from honours his mother, some say grandmother, because she had committed and laboured to maintaine horrible idolatrie. And *Ishabab* did not only refuse strange Goddess hymselfe, but also destroying the chiefe monuments of idolatrie, did send furth the *Leuites* to instruct the people, whereof it is playne that the one and the other did vnderstand such reformatiōs, to appertaine to theyr duties. But the factes of *Ezechias*, and of *Ioshas*, do more clerely proue the power and duty of the ciuill Magistrate in the reformation of religion. Before the reign of *Ezechias*, so corrupt was the religion that the dores of the house of the Lord were shut vpp, the lampes were extinguished, no sacrifice was orderly made, but in the first yeare of his reigne, the first moneth of the same, did the king open the dores of the temple, bring in the Preeftes and *Leuites*, and assembling them together did speak vnto them as folloeth. *Hear me o ye Leuites and be sanctified now, and sanctifie also the House of the Lord God of your fathers, and carie furth from the sanctuary all filthines* (he meaneth all monuments and vessels of idolatrie) *for our fathers haue transgressed and haue committed wickednes in the eyes of the eternall our God, they haue left hym and haue turned theyr faces from the tabernacle of the Lord, and therefore is the wrath of the Lord commed vpon Iuda and Ierusalem. Behold our fathers haue fallen by the sworde, our sonnes daughters and wives are led in captiuitie, but now haue I purposed in my heart to make a couenante with the Lord God of Israel, that he may turne the wrath of his furie from us. And therefore my sonnes* (he sweetely exhorteth) *be not faint, for the Lord hath chosen you to stand in his presence and to serue hym.* Such as be not more then blynd clerely may perceauē that the king doth acknowledge that it appertained to his charge to reforme the religion, to appointe the *Leuites* to theyr charges, and to admonish them of theyr deutie and office, which thing he more evidently declareth writing his lettres to all *Israel*, to *Ephraim* and *Manasses*, and sent the same by the handes of messengers hauing this tenour.

Ye sonnes of Israel return to the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac and Israel, and he shall return to the residue that resteth from the handes of Allur. Be not as your fathers and as your brethren were, who haue transgressed against the Lord God of theyr fathers, who hath made them desolate as you see. Holde not your heart therefore but giue yuor hande vnto the Lord, return into his sanctuary, serue hym, and he shall shew mercie vnto you, to your sonnes, and daughters that be in bondage, for he is pitifull and easie to be entreated.

Thus far did *Ezechias* by lettres and messengers prouoke the people, declined from God, to repentance, not only in *Iuda*, where he reigned lausfull king, but also in *Israel*, subiect then to another king. And albeit that by some wicked men his messengers were mocked, yet as they lacked not theyr iust punishment (for within sixe yeares after *Samaria* was destroyed and *Israel* led captiue by *Salmanazar*) so did not the zealous king *Ezechias*, desist to prosecute his duetie in restoring the religion to God's perfecte ordinance remouing all abominations.

The same is to be red of *Ioshas*, who did not only restore the religion, but did further destroy all monumentes of idolatry, which of long tyme had remained. For it is written of him, that after that the booke of the law was found, and that he had asked counsil at the prophetesse *Hulda*, he sente and gathered all the elders of *Iuda* and *Ierusalem*, and standing in the temple of the Lord, he made a couenant, that all the people from the great to the small should walk after the Lord, should obserue his law, statutes and testimonies with all theyr heart, and all theyr soule, and that they should ratifie and confirme whatsoeuer was written in the booke of God. He further commaunded *Helkias* the hie preeft, and the preeftes of the inferiour order, that they should carry furth of the temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made to *Baal*, which he burnt, and did carie theire powder to *Babel*. He did further destroy all monuments of idolatry, yea, euen those that had remained from the dayes of *Solomon*. He did burn them, stampe them to powder, whereof one part he scattered in the brooke *Kidron*, and the other vpon the sepulchres and graues of the idolaters, whose bones he did turn vpon the altars. where before they made sacrifice not only in *Iuda*, but also in *Bethel*, where *Ieroboam* had erected his idolatry: yea he further proceded, and did kyll the preeftes of the hie places, who were idolaters, and had deceaued the people: he did kyll them, I say, and did burn theyr bones vpon

theyr own altars, and so returned to *Ierusalem*. This reformation made *Iofias*, and for the same obtained this testimony of the Holy Ghost, *that neither before hym, neither after hym was there any suche king, who returned to God with his hole soule, and with all his strengthe, according to all the law of Moses.*

Of which histories it is euident that the reformation of religion in all points, together with the punishment of false teachers, doth appertaine to the power of the ciuile Magistrate. For what God required of them, his iustice must require of others hauing the like charge and auctority: what he did approue in them, he cannot but approue in all others, who with like zeale and syncerity do interprise to purge the Lordes temple and sanctuary. What God required of them, it is before declared, to wit, That most diligently they should obserue his law, statutes and ceremonies. And how acceptable were theyr factes to God, doth he himselfe witnesse. For to somme he gaue most notable victories without the hande of man, and in theyr most desperate daungers did declare his especiall fauours towerdes them by signes supernaturall: to other he so established the kingdome, that theyr ennemies were compelled to stoupe vnder their feete. And the names of all he hath registred not only in the booke of life, but also in the blessed remembrance of all posterities sence theyr daies, which also shall continue till the commyng of the Lord Iesus, who shall rewarde with the crowne of immortality, not only them, but also such, as vntainedly study to do the will, and to promote the glory of his heavenly father, in the the middest of this corrupted generation. In consideration whereof ought you, my Lordes, all delay set apart, to prouide for the reformation of religion in your dominions and boundes, which now is so corrupt, that no part of Christs institution remaineth in the original purity, and therefore of necessity it is, that spedely ye prouide for reformatione, or els ye declare your selues, not only voyde of loue towerdes your subiectes, but also to liue without care of your owne saluation, yea, without all feare and true reuerence of God. Two thinges perchance may moue you to esteeme these histories before briuely tuched to appertaine nothing to you. Fyrst because ye are no *Iewes* but *Gentiles*: and secondarely, because you are no kinges, but nobles in your realm. But be not deceaued, for neither of both can excuse you in Goddes presence from doing your duetie, for it is a thing more then certein, that whatsoeuer God required of the ciuile Magistrate in *Israel* and *Iuda* concerning the obseruation of true religion during the tyme of the law, the same doth he require of lawfull Magistrates, professing Christ Iesus in the tyme of the Gospell, as the Holy Ghost hath taught vs by the mouth of *Dauid*, saying,

Psal. 2. Be learned you that iudge the earth, kysse the sonne, lest that the Lord waxe angrie, and that yee perish from the way.

This admonition did not extend to the iudges vnder the law only, but doth also include all such as be prompted to honours in the tyme of the Gospell, when Christ Iesus doth reign and feight in his spirituall kyngdome, whose ennemies in that *psalm* be fyrst most sharply taxed, theyr fury expressed, and vanity mocked: and then are kings and iudges, who think themselues free from all law and obedience, commaunded to repent theyr former blynd rage, and iudges are charged to be learned; and last are all commaunded to serue the eternall in feare, to reioyce before hym in tremblyng, to kysse the sonne, that is, to geue vnto hym most humble obedience, whereof it is euident that the rulers, magistrates and iudges now in Christes kingdome are no lesse bound to obedience vnto God, then were those vnder the law. And how is it possible that any shall be obedient, who dispise his religion, in which standeth the chiefe glorie, that man can geue to God, and is a seruice, which God especially requireth of kings and rulers? Which thing *St. Augustine* plainly did note, writing to one *Ponifacius* a man of war, according to the same argument and purpose, which I labour to persuaade your honours. For after that he hath in that his epistle declared the difference betwixt the heresie of the *Donatists* and *Arians*, and hath somewhat spoken of theyr cruelty, he sheweth the way how theyr furie should and ought to be repressed, and that it is lawfull for the iniustly afflicted to support and defence at godly Magistrates. For thus he writeth, *either must the veritie be kept close, or els must theyr crueltie be susteined.*

But if the verity should be concealed, not only should none be saved nor deliuered by such silence, but also shoulde many be lost through theyr decept. But if by preaching of the verity theyr fury should be prouoked more to rage, and by that meanes yet somme were deliuered, and made stronge, yet should feare hinder many weaklings to folowe the verity, if theyr rage be not stayed. In these fyrst wordes *Augustine* sheweth three reasons, why the afflicted Church in those daies called for the help of the Emperour and of the godly Magistrates, against the fury of the persecuters. The first, *The veritie must be spoken or els mankind shall perish in errour.* The second, the verity being plainly spoken, prouoketh the aduersaries to rage. And because that some did alledge that rather we ought to suffer all injury, then to seke support by man, he addeth the third reason, to wit, that many weak ones be not able to suffer persecution and death for the truthe sake, to whome not the lesse respect ought to be had, that they may be won from errour, and so be brought to greater strength.

O that the rulers of this age should ponder and wey the reasons of this godly writer, and prouid the remedy, which he requyareth in these wordes following. *Now when the Church was thus afflicted, yf any think, that rather they should haue sustayned all calamitie, then that the helpe of God should haue bene asked by christian Emperours, be doth not well aduert, that of such negligence no good comptes or reason could be geuen. For where such, as would that no iust lawes should be made against theyr impietie, alledge that the Apostles seght no such thinges of the kinges of the earth, they do not consider that then the tyme was other then it is now, and that all thinges are done in theyr owne tyme. What Emperour then beliened in Christ, that should serue hym in making lawes for godlines against impietie? Whill yet that saying of the prophet was complete, why hath nations raged, and people haue imagined vanity? the kinges of the earth haue stand vp, and princes haue conuented together against the Lord, and against his annoynted, That which is after said in the same psalme, was not yet comme to passe. And now vnderstand, O you kinges, be learned you that iudge the earth, serue the Lord in fear, and reioyce to hym with tremlinge. How do kinges serue the Lord in fear? but in punishing and by a godlie seueritie forbidding those thinges which are done against the commaundement of the Lord. For otherwise doth he serue in so far as he is man, otherwise in so far as he is king. In so far as he is man, he serueth hym by liuing faithfully, but because he is also king, he serueth establishing lawes, that commaund the thinges that be iust, and that with a conuenient rigour forbyd thinges contrarie. As Ezechias serued, distroying the groues, the temples of idols, and the places, which were buylded against Goddes commaundement. So serued also Iosias doing the same: so serued the king of Niniuites compelling the hole citie to mitigate the Lord: so serued Darius giuing in the power of Daniel the idol to be broken, and his enemies to be cast to the lions: so serued Nabuchadnezer, by a terrible law, forbidding all that were in his realme, to blaspheme God. Herein therefore do kinges serue the Lord, in so far as they are kinges, when they do those thinges to serue him, which none except kinges be able to do. He further procedeth and concludeth, that as, when wicked kinges do reign, impietie cannot be bridled by lawes, but rather is tyrannie exercised vnder the title of the same, so is it a thing without all reason, that kinges professing the knowledge and honour of God, should not regard nor care, who did defend, nor who did oppugne the Church of God in theyr dominions.*

By these wordes of this auncient and godly writer, your Honours may perceiue, what I require of you, to wit, to repress the tyranny of your byshoppes, and to defend the innocents professing the trueth. He did require of the emperour and kinges of his daies professing Christ, and manifestly concludeth, that they cannot serue Christ, except that so they do. Let not your byshoppes think that *Augustine* speaketh for them, because he nameth the Church. Let them read and vnderstand, that *Augustin* writeth for that Church, which professeth the trueth, and doth suffer persecution for the defence of the same, which your byshoppes do not, but rather with the *Donatistes* and *Arrians*, do cruelly persecute all such, as boldly speak Christes eternall veritie to manifest theyr impiety and abomination. But thus much we haue of *Augustine*, that it appertaineth to the obedience and seruice, which kinges owe to God, as well now in the tyme of the Gospell, as before vnder the law, to defende the afflicted for matters of religion, and to repress the furie of the

persecuters, by the rigour and feuerity of godly lawes. For which cause, no doubt, doth *Esaie* the prophete say, that *kinges should be nourishers to the Church of God, that they should abbase their heades, and louingly embrace the children of God.* And thus I say your Honours may euidently see, that the same obedience doth God require of rulers and princes in the tyme of the Gospell, that he required in the tyme of the law.

Yf you do think, that the reformation of religion, and defence of the afflicted, doth not appertaine to you, because you are no kings, but nobils and estates of a realme; in two things you are deceaued. *Former*, In that you do not aduert, that *Dauid* requireth aswell, that the princes and iudges of the earth be learned, and that they serue and fear God, as that he requireth, that the kings repent. Yf you therefore be iudges and princes, as no man can deny you to be, then by the playn words of *Dauid*, you are charged to be learned, to serue and fear God, which ye cannot do, if you despise the reformation of his religion. And thys is your fyrst error. The *second* is, That ye neither know your durie, which ye owe to God, neither yet your authoritie, which of hym ye haue receaued; yf ye for pleasure or fear of any earthly man, despise God's true religion, and contemne your brethren, that in his name call for your support. Your durie is to hear the voyce of the eternall your God, and vnfainedly to studie to follow his preceptes; who, as is before said, of especiall mercie hath promoted you to honours and dignitie. His chiefe and principall precept is, That with reuerence ye receaue and embrace his only beloued sonne Iesus; that ye promote, to the vttermost of your powers, his true religion; and that ye defend your brethren and subiectes, whome he hath put vnder your charge and care. Now if your king be a man ignorant of God, ennemie to his true religion, blinded by superstition, and a persecuter of Christes membres; shall ye be excused, if with silence ye passe ouer his iniquitie? Be not deceaued, my Lordes, ye are placed in authoritie for an other purpose, then to flatter your king in his folie and blind rage; to wit, that as with your bodies, strength, riches, and wisdom, ye are bound to assist and defend him in all things, which by your aduice he shall take in hand, for God's glorie, and for the preseruacion of his commune-welth and subiectes; so by your grauties, counsil and admonition, ye are bound to correct and repress whatsoeuer ye know him to attempt, expresly repugning to God's word, honour and glorie, or what ye shall espie him to do, be it by ignorance, or be it by malice, against his subiectes great or finall. Of which last part of your obedience, yf ye defraud your king, ye commit against him no lesse treason, then yf ye did extract from him your due and promised support, what time by his enemies iniustly he wer pursued. But this part of their durie, I fear, do a small number of the nobilitie of this age rightly consider; neither yet will they vnderstand, that for that purpose hath God promoted them. For now the commune song of all men is, We must obey our kinges be they good, or be they bad; for God hath so commaunded. But horrible shall the vengeance be, that shall be powred furth vpon such blasphemers of God his holie name and ordinaunce. For it is no lesse blasphemie to say, That God hath commaunded kinges to be obeyed, when they commaund impietie, then to say, that God by his precept is auctour and maintainer of all iniquitie. True it is, God hath commaunded kinges to be obeyed, but like true it is, that in things, which they commit against his glorie, or when cruelly without cause they rage against their brethren, the members of Christes body, he hath commaunded no obedience, but rather he hath approued, yea and greatly rewarded such, as haue opposed themselues to their vngodlie commaundementes and blind rage, as in the examples of the three children, of *Daniel* and *Abdemelech*, it is euident. The three children wold nether bowe nor stoupe before the golden image at the commaundement of the great king *Nebuchadenazar*. *Daniel* did openly pray, his windoes being open, against the established law of *Darius* and of his counsil: And *Abdemelech* feared not to enter in before the presence of *Zedechias*, and boldlie to defend the cause and innocentie of *Ieremie* the prophet, whome the king and his counsil had condemned to dethe. Euery one of these factes should this day be iudged foolishe by such, as will not vnderstand what confession God doth require of his children, when his veritie is oppugned, or his glorie called in doubt. Suche
men,

men, I say, as prefer man to God, and thinges present to the heauenlie inheritance, should haue iudged euerie one of these factes stubborn inobedience, foolish presumption and singularity, or elles bold controuling of the king and his wise counsil. But how acceptable in God's presence was this resistanceto the vngodlie commandmentes and determinations of theyr king, the end did witnes. For the three children were deliuered from the fornace of syer, and *Daniel* from the den of lions, to the confusion of their ennemies, to the better instruction of the ignorant kinges, and to the perpetuall comfort of Goddes afflicted children. And *Abdemelech*, in the day of the Lordes visitation, when the king and his counsil did drink the bitter cup of Godes vengeance, did fynde his life for a praye, and did not fall in the edge of the sword, when manie thousandes did perishe. And this was signified vnto him by the prophet himself, at the commaundement of God, before that *Ierusalem* was destroyed. The promesse and cause were recited vnto him in these wordes, *I will bring my wordes vpon this citie vnto euill, and not vnto good: but most assuredly I shall deliuer thee, because thou hast trusted in me, saith the Lord.* The trust and hope, which *Abdemelech* had in God, made him bold to oppone himself, being but one, to the king and his hole counsil, who had condemned to death the Prophet, whom his conscience did acknolledge to be innocent. For this did he speak in the presence of the king, sitting in the port of *Beniamin*. *My Lord the kinge, saith Abdemelech, these men do wickedly in all thinges, that they haue done to Ieremie the prophet.* Aduert and take hede my Lordes, that the men, who had condemned the Prophet, were the king, his princes and counsil, and yet did one man accuse them all of iniquitie, and did boldly speak in the defence of him, of whose innocentie he was perswaded. And the same, I say, is the deutie of euerie man in his vocation, but chesely of the nobilitie, which is ioyned with their kinges, to bridel and repress their folie and blind rage. Which thing if the nobilitie do not, neither yet labour to do, as they are traitours to their kinges; so do they prouoke the wrath of God against themselves, and against the realme, in which they abuse the auctority which they haue receaued of God, to mentaine vertue and to repress vice. For heretofore I would your Honours were most certainly perswaded, that God will neither excuse nobilitie nor people, but the nobilitie least of all, that obey and follow their kinges in manifest iniquitie; but with the same vengeance will God punish the Prince, people and nobilitie conspiring together against him and his holie ordinances; as in the punishment taken vpon *Pharao*, *Israel*, *Iuda* and *Babylon* is evidently to be sene. For *Pharao* was not drowned alone, but his caprayns, charetes and great armie drank the same cup with him. The kinges of *Israel* and *Iuda* were not punished without company; but with them were murdered the counsellors, their Princes imprisoned, and their people led captiue. And why? because none was found so faithfull to God, that he durst interprise to resist nor againststand the manifest impietie of their Princes. And therefore was God's wrath powered furth vpon the one and the other. But the more ample discourse of this argument, I defer to better opportunitie: Only at this time, I thought expedient to admonish you, that before God it shall not excuse you to alledge, We are no kinges, and therefore neither can we reforme religion, nor yet defend such as be persecuted. Consider, my Lordes, that ye are powers ordained by God (as before is declared) and therefore doth the reformation of religion, and the defence of such, as iniustly are oppressed, appertaine to your charge and care, which thing shall the law of God, vniuersally geuen to be kept of all men, most evidently declare; which is my last and most assured reason, why, I say, ye ought to remoue from honours, and to punish with death such, as God hath condemned by his own mouth. After that *Moses* had declared what was true religion, to wit, to honour God as he commaunded, adding nothing to his worde, neither yet diminishinge any thing from it; and after also that vehementlie he had exhorted the same law to be obserued, he denounceth the punishment against the transgressours, in these words. *If thy brother, sonne, daughter, wife or neighbour, whom thou louest as thyne own life, sollicite thee secretly, saying, Let us go serue other goddes, whome neither thou, nor thy fathers haue knowen, consent not to hym, heere hym not, let not thyne eye spare hym, shew hym no indulgentie or fauour, bid him not, but utterly kill hym. let thy hand be first vpon hym, that he may be slaine, and after the hande of the hole people.* Of these wordes of *Moses* are two things, appertaining to our purpose, to be noted. Former, That

such, as sollicitate only to idolatrie, ought to be punished to death, without fauour or respect of persons. For he that will not suffer man to spare his sonne, his daughter, nor his wife, but straitly commaundeth punishment to be taken vpon the idolatours (haue they neuer so nie coniunction with us) will not wink at the idolatrie of others, of what estate or condition soeuer they be.

It is not vnknownen, That the prophetes had reuelations of God, which were not commune to the people; as *Samuel* had the reuelation, that *Eli* and his posteritie should be destroyed; that *Saul* should first be king, and thereafter that he should be reiected, that *Dauid* should reign for him. *Micheas* vnderstode by vision, that *Achab* should be killed in battaile against the *Sirians*. *Elias* saw that dogges should eat *Iesabel* in the fortres of *Iesrael*. *Eliseus* did see hunger come vpon *Iisrael* by the space of seuen yeares. *Ieremie* did foresee the destruction of *Ierusalem*, and the time of their captiuitie; and so diuerse other prophetes had diuerse reuelations of God, which the people did not otherwise vnderstand, but by their affirmation; and therefore in those dayes the Prophetes named Seers, because that God did open vnto them that, which was hid from the multitude. Now if anie man might haue claimed anie priuiledge from the rigour of the law, or might haue iustified his fact, it should haue bene the Prophetes. For he might haue alledged for himself his singular prerogative, that he had aboue other men, to haue Godes will reueled vnto him by vision or by dream, or that God had declared particularelie vnto him, that his pleasure was to be honoured in that mener, in such a place, and by such meanes. But all such excuses doth God remoue, commaunding that the Prophetes, that shall sollicit the people to serue strange godes, shall die the death, notwithstanding that he alledge for himself dream, vision or reuelation. Yea although he promise miracles, and also that such thinges as he promiseth come to passe; yet I say, commaundeth God, that no credit be geuen to him, but that he die the death; because he teacheth apostasie, and defection from God. Hereof your Honours may easily espie, that none prouoking the people to idolatrie ought to be exempted from the punishment of death. For if neither that inseparable coniunction, which God himself hath sanctified betwixt man and wife, neither that vnspeakeable loue grafted in nature, which is betwixt the father and the sonne, neither yet that reuerence, which Godes people ought to bear to the Prophetes, can excuse anie man to spare the offendour, or to conceal his offence; what excuse can man pretend, which God will accept? Euident it is, that no estate, condition nor honour can exempt the idolatour from the handes of God, when he shall call him to accomptes, or shall inflict punishment vpon him for his offence: How shall it then excuse the people, that they according to Godes commaundement punish not to death such, as shall sollicitate, or violently draw the people to idolatrie? And this is the fyrst, which I would your Honours should note, of the former wordes; to wit, That no person is exempted from punishment, if he can be manifestly conuicted to haue prouoked, or led the people to idolatrie. And this is most euidentlie declared in that solemn othe and couenante, which *Asa* made with the people to serue God, and to maintaine his religion, adding this penaltie to the transgressours of it, to wit, *That whosoever should not seke the Lord God of Iisrael, should be killed*; were he great, or were he small, were it man, or were it woman. And of this othe was the Lorde compleased, he was found of them, and gaue them rest on euerie parte, because they fought him with their hole heart, and did swear to punish the offenders according to the precept of his Law, without respect of persons. And this is it, which, I say, I would your Honours should note for the fyrst, that no idolatour can be exempted from punishment by Godes Law. The seconde is, That the punishment of such crimes, as are idolatrie, blasphemie, and others, that tuche the maiestie of God, dothe not appertaine to kinges and chiefe rulers only, but also to the hole bodie of that people, and to euerie membre of the same, according to the vocation of euerie man, and according to that possibility and occasion, which God doth minister to reuenge the iniurie done against his glorie, what time that impietie is manifestly knowen. And that doth *Moses* more plainely speak in these wordes, *If in any of thy ceties, saith he. which the Lord thy God geueth vnto thee to dwell in them, thou shalt hear this brute, There are some men the sonnes of Belial passed furthe from thee, and haue solicited the citizens of their cities by these wordes, Let vs go*
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and serue strange goddes, which ye haue not knownen; search and enquire diligently, and if it be true, that such abomination is done in the midst of thee, thou shalt utterly styke the inhabitants of that citie with the swerde, thou shalt destroy it and whatsoeuer is within it, thou shalt gather the spoile of it in the midst of the market place, thou shalt burne that citie with fier, and the spoile of it to the Lord thy God, that it may be a heap of stones for euer, neither shall it be any more buylded. Let nothing of that ex cration cleaue to thy band, that the Lord may turne from the furie of his wrath, and be moued towardes thee with inward affection.

Plaine it is that *Moses* speaketh, nor geueth not charge to kinges, rulers and iudges only, but he commaundeth the hole bodie of the people, yea and euerie membre of the same, according to their possibilitie: And who dar be so impudent, as to denie this to be most reasonable and iust? For seeing that God had deliuered the hole bodie from bondage, and to the hole multitude had geuen his law, and to the twelue tribes had he also distributed the inheritance of the land of *Canaan*, that no familie could complaine, that it was neglected. Was not the hole and euerie membre addetted to confesse and acknowledge the benefites of God? yea had it not bene the part of euery man to haue studied to kepe the possession, which he had receaued? which thing God did plainely pronounce they should not do, except that in their heartes they did sanctifie the Lord God, that they embraced, and inuio lably kept his religion establisshed. And finally, Except that they did cut out iniquitie from amongst them, declaring themselues earnest enemies to those abominations, which God declared himself so vehemenly to hate, that fyrst he commaunded the hole inhabitants of that countree to be destroyed, and all monuments of their idolatrie to be broken down; and thereafter he also streatly commaundeth, that a citie declining to idolatrie should fall in the edge of the sworde, and that the hole spoile of the same should be burned, no portion of it reserued. To the carnall man this may appear a rigorous and seuerie iudgement, yea it may rather seme to be pronounced in a rage, then in wisdom. For what citie was euer yet, in which, to mannes iudgement, were not to be found manie innocent persons, as infants, children, and somme simple and ignorant soules, who neither did nor could consent to such impietie? And yet we fynd no exception, but all are appointed to the cruell death. And as concerning the citie, and the spoile of the same, mannes reason cannot think, but that it might haue bene better bestowed, then to be consumed with fier, and so to profit no man. But in such cases, will God that all creatures stoupe, couer their faces, and desist from reasoning, when commaundement is geuen to execute his iudgement. Albeit I could adduce diuerse causes of such seueritie, yet will I search none other then the Holie Ghost hath assigned. *Fyrst*, That all *Israel* hearing the iudgement, should fear to commit the like abomination. And *secondarely*, That the Lord might turne from the furie of his anger, might be moued towardes the people with inward affection, be mercifull vnto them, and multiplie them, according to his othe made vnto their fathers. Which reasons, as they are sufficient in Godes children, to correct the murmuring of the grudging fleshe; so ought they to prouoke euery man, as before I haue said, to declare himsele ennemie to that, which so highly prouoketh the wrath of God against the hole people. For where *Moses* saith, *Let the citie be burned, and let no part of the spoile cleaue to thy band, that the Lord may return from the furie of his wrath, &c.*

He plainely doth signifie, that by the defection and idolatrie of a few, Godes wrath is kyndled against the hole, which is neuer quenched till such punishment be taken vpon the offenders; that whatsoeuer serued them in their idolatrie, be brought to destruction; because that it is execrable and accursed before God: And therefore he will not, that it be reserued for any vse of his people. I am not ignorant, that this law was not put in execution, as God commaunded. But what did thereof insue and follow, histories declare; to wit, plage after plage, till *Israel* and *Juda* were led in captiuitie, as the bokes of kings do witnesse. The consideration whereof maketh me more bold to affirm, That it is the duetie of euery man, that list to escape the plage and punishment of God, to declare himsele ennemie to idolatrie, not only in heart, hating the same, but also in external gesture, declaring that he lamenteth, yf he can do no more, for such abominations. Which thing was shewed

to the prophete *Ezechiel*, what tyme he haue him to vnderstand, why he would destroy *Juda* with *Israel*; and that he would remoue his glorie from the temple and place that he had chosen, and so powr furth his wrath and indignation vpon the citie, that was full of blood and apostasie, which became so inpudent, that it durst be bold to say, *The Lord hath left the earth, and seeth not*. At this tyme, I say, the Lord reuealed in vision to his prophete, who they were, that should fynd fauour in that miserable destruction; to wit, those that did mourn and lament for all the abominations done in the citie, in whose foreheades God did commaund to print and seal *Tau*, to the end that the destroyer, who was commaunded to stryke the rest without mercie, should not hurt them, in whom that signe was found. Of these premisses, I suppose it be euident, that the punishment of idolatrie doth not appertaine to kinges only, but also to the hole people, yea to euery membre of the same, according to his possibilitie. For that is a thing most assured, that no man can mourn, lament and bewaile for those thinges, which he will not remoue to the vttermoost of his power. Yf this be required of the hole people, and of euery man in his vocation, what shall be required of you, my Lordes, whom God hath raised vp to be Princes and rulers aboute your brethren, whose handes he hath armed, with the sword of his iustice? yea whom he hath appointed to be as bridels, to repressse the rage and insolencie of your kinges, when soeuer they pretend manifestly to transgresse Godes blessed ordinance? Yf any think that this my affirmation, tuching the punishment of idolatrie, be contrarie to the practise of the Apostles, who fynding the Gentiles in idolatrie, did call them to repentance, requiring no such punishment; let the same man vnderstand, that the Gentiles, before the preaching of Christ, liued, as the Apostle speaketh, *without God in the world*, drowned in idolatrie, according to the blindness and ignorance, in which then they were holden, as a prophane nation, whom God had neuer openly auowed to be his people, had neuer receaued in his household, neither geuen vnto them lawes to be kept in religion nor politie: And therefore did not his Holie Ghost, calling them to repentance, require of them anie corporall punishment, according to the rigour of the law, vnto the which they were neuer subiects, as they that were strangers from the commune-welth of *Israel*. But if any think, that after that the Gentiles were called from their vaine conuersation, and by embracing Christ Iesus were receaued in the nombre of *Abraham's* children, and so made one people with the *Iewes* beleuing; yf any think, I say, that then they were not bound to the same obediencie, which God required of his people *Israel*, what tyme he confirmed his leage and couenante with them; the same man appeareth to make Christ inferiour to *Moses*, and contrarious to the law of his heauenly father. For if the contempt or transgression of *Moses* law was worthie of death, what should we iudge the contempt of Christes ordinance to be? (I mean after they be once receaued.) And if Christ be not commed to dissolue, but to fulfill the law of his heauenly Father; shall the libertie of his gospel be an occasion, that the especiall glorie of his Father be troden vnder foote, and regarded of no man? God forbid. The especiall glorie of God is, that such as professe them to be his people, should harken to his voice; and amongst all the voices of God reuealed to the worlde, tuching punishment of vices, is none more euident, neither more seuer, then is that which is pronounced against idolatrie, the teachers and maintainers of the same. And therefore I fear not to affirm, That the Gentiles (I mean euery citie, realme, prouince, or nation amongst the Gentiles, embracing Christ Iesus and his true religion) be bound to the same leage and couenant, that God made with his people *Israel*, what tyme he promised to root out the nations before them, in these wordes. *Beware that thou make anie couenante with the inhabitantes of the land, to the which thou comest, leste perchance that this come in ruin, that is, be destruction to the: But thou shalt destroy their altars, break their idols, and cut doune their groues. Fear no strange goddes, worship them not, neither yet make you sacrifices to them. But the Lord, who in his great power, and outstretched arme hath brought you out of the land of Egypt, shall you fear, hym shall you honour, hym shall you worship, to hym shall you make sacrifice, his statutes, iudgements, lawes and commandments you shall kepe and obserue. This is the couenante, which I haue made with you, saietb the Eternall; forget it not, neither yet fear ye other goddes:*

goddess: But fear you the Lord your God, and he shall deliuer you from the bands of all your enemies.

To this saue law, I say, and couerante are the Gentiles no lesse bounde, then somtyme were the *Iewes*, whensoever God doth illuminate the eyes of any multitude, prouince, people or citie, and putteth the sworde in their own hand to renoue such enormities from amongst them, as before God they know to be abominable. Then, I say, are they no lesse bound to purge theyr dominions, cities and countries from idolatrie, then wer the *Israelites*, what tyme they receaued the possession of the land of *Canaan*. And moreouer I say, if any go about to erect and set up idolatrie or to teach defection from God, after that the veritie hath bene receaued and approued, that then not only the Magistrates, to whom the sword is committed, but also the people are bound by that oth, which they haue made to God, to reuenge to the vttermost of their power the injurie done against his Maiestie. In vniuersal defections, and in a general reuolt, such as was in *Israel* after *Ieroboam*, there is a diuerse consideration. For then because the hole people were together conspired against God, there could none be found, that would execute the punishment, which God had commanded, till God raised vp *Iehu*, whom he had apointed for that purpose. And the same is to be considered in all other general defections, such as this day be in the papistray, where all are blinded, and all are declined from God and that of long continuance, so that no ordinary iustice can be executed, but the punishment must be referred to God and vnto such means, as he shall apoint. But I do speake of such a nombre, as after they haue receaued Goddes perfect religion, do boldly profess the same, notwithstanding that some or the most part fal back: (as of late daies was in *England*) vnto such a nombre, I say, it is lawfull to punish the idolatours with death, if by anie means God giue them the power. For so did *Iosua* and *Israel* determin to haue done against the children of *Ruben*, God and *Manasses* for their suspected apostasie and defection from God. And the hole tribes did in uery deid execute that sharpe judgment against the tribe of *Beniamin* for a lesse offence then for idolatrie. And the same ought to be done whersoeuer Christ Iesus and his Euangill is so receaued in any realm, prouince or citie, that the Magistrates and people haue solemnly auowed and promised to defend the same, as vnder king *Edward* of late days was done in *England*. In such places, I say, it is not only lawfull to punish to the death such as labour to subuert the true religion, but the magistrates and people are bound so to do, onles they wil prouoke the wrath of God against themselves. And therefore I fear not to affirm, that it had bene the duty of the nobilitie, iudges, rulers, and people of *England* not only to haue resisted and againstanded *Marie* that *Isabel*, whom they call their quene, but also to haue punished her to the death with all the sort of her idolatrous prestes, together with all such, as should haue assisted her, what tyme that she and they openly began to supresse Christis Euangil, to shedd the blood of the saincts of God, and to erect that most diuellish idolatrie, the papistical abominations, and his vsurped tyrannie, which ones most iustly by commune oth was banished from that realme. But becaus I cannot at this present discusse this argument, as it apperteineth, I am compelled to omitt it to better opportunitie, and so returning to your honours, I say, that if ye confesse your selues baptised in the Lord Iesus, of necessitie ye must confesse, that the care of his religion doth apertain to your charge. And if ye know that in your handis God hath put the sword for the causes aboue exprest, then can ye not denie, but that the punishment of obstinate and malepert idolatours (such as all your bishopes be) doth apertain to your office, yf after admonition they continew obstinat. I am not ignorant, what be the vain defenses of your proud prelates. They claim first a prerogative and priuledge, that they are exempted, and that by consent of Councils and Emperours from all iurisdiction of the temporalitie. And *secondarely*, when they are conuicted of manifest impieties, abuses, and enormities aswell in their maners as in religion, neithes fear nor shame they to affirm, that thinges so long established cannot suddanly be reformed, although they be corrupted, but with proccesse of tyme they promise to take order. But in few wordes I answer, that no priuilege graunted against the ordenance and statutes of God is to be obserued, although all councils and men in the earth haue

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apointed the same. But against Goddes ordenance it is, that idolatours, murtherours, fals teachers, and blasphemers shall be exempted from punishment, as before is declared, and therefore in vain it is, that they claym for priuilege, when that God sayeth, The murtherer shalt thou riue from my altar, that he may die the death. And as to the order and reformation, which they promisse, that is to be looked or hoped for, when Satan, whose children and slaues they are, can change his nature. This answer I doubt not shall suffice the sober and godlie reader. But yet to the end that they may further see their own confusion, and that your honours may better vnderstand, what ye ought to do in so manifest a corruption and defection from God, I aske of themselues, what assurance they haue for this their immunitie, exemption or priuilege? who is the auctour of it? and what frute it hath produced? And *first*, I say that of God they haue no assurance, neither yet can he be proued to be auctour of anie such priuilege. But the contrarie is easie to be seen. For God in establishing his orders in *Israel* did so subiect *Aaron* (in his priesthode being the figure of Christ) to *Moses*, that he feared not to call him in iudgment, and to constrain him to giue accomptes of his wicked dede in consenting to idolatrie, as the historie doth plainly witnesse. For thus it is written, *Then Moses toke the calf which they had made, and burned it with fier, and did grind it to powder, and scattering it in the water, gaue it to drink to the children of Israel*, declaring hereby the vanitie of their idol and the abomination of the same: And thereafter *Moses* said to *Aaron*, *What hath this people done to thee, that thou shouldest bring vpon it so great a syn?*

Thus, I say, doth *Moses* call and accuse *Aaron* of the destruction of the hole people, and yet he perfectly vnderstode, that God had appointed him to be the high preist, that he should bear vpon his shoulders and vpon his breast the names of the 12. tribes of *Israel*, for whome he was appointed to make sacrifice, praiers, and supplications. He knew his dignitie was so great, that only he might entre within the most holie place: but neither could his office nor dignitie exempt him from iudgment, when he had offended. Yf any obiect, *Aaron* at that tyme was not appointed, and therefore was he subiect to *Moses*; I haue answered, that *Moses* being taught by the mouth of God, did perfectly vnderstand to what dignitie *Aaron* was appointed, and yet he feared not to call him in iudgment, and to compell him to make answer for his wicked fact. But if this answer doth not suffice, yet shall the Holie Ghost witnesse further in the mater. *Salomon* remoued from honour *Abiathar* being the high preist, and commaunded him to cease from all function, and to liue as a priuate man. Now if the unction did exempt the preist from iurisdiction of the ciuile Magistrate, *Salomon* did offend and iniured *Abiathar*; for he was anoyned, and had caried the ark before *Dauid*; but God doth not reprove the fact of *Salomon*, neither yet doth *Abiathar* claime anie prerogatiue by the reason of his office, but rather doth the Holie Ghost approue the fact of *Salomon*, sayinge, *Salomon eiect-ed furth Abiathar, that he should not be the preest of the Lord, that the word of the Lord might be perfurmed, which he spake vpon the house of Eli.*

And *Abiathar* did think that he obtained great fauour, in that he did escape the present death, which by his conspiracie he had deserued. Yf anie yet reason, that *Abiathar* was no otherwise subiect to the iudgment of the king, but as he was appointed to be the executor of that sentence, which God before had pronounced; as I will not greatly deny that reason, so require I that euerie man consider, that the same God, who pronounced sentence against *Eli* and his house, hath pronounced also, that idolaters, hooremongers, murtherers, and blasphemers, shall neither haue portion in the kingdome of God, neither ought to be permitted to bear anie rule in his church and congregation. Now if the vnction and office saued not *Abiathar*, because that Goddes sentence must nedes be perfurmed, can anie priuilege graunted by man be a buckler to malefactours, that they shall not be subiect to the punishments pronounced by God? I think no man will be so foolish as so to affirm; for a thing more then euident it is, that the hole preisthode in the tyme of the law was bound to giue obedience to the ciuile powers; and if anie membre of the same was founde criminal, the same was subiect to the punishment of the sworde, which God had put in the hand of the Magistrate. And this ordenance of his father did
not

not Christ disdainful, but rather did confirme the same, commaunding tribute to be payed for himselfe and for Peter; who perfectly knowing the mynd of his master, thus writeth in his epistle, *Submit your selues to all manner of ordenance of man, (he excepteth such as be expressely repugnyng to Goddes commaundment) for the Lordes sake; whether it be to king, as to the chiefe head, or vnto rulers, as vnto them that are sent by hym for punishment of euill doers, and for the praise of them that do well.*

The same doth the apostle saint Paule most plainly commaund in these wordes, *Let euerie soule be subiect to the superiour powers.*

Which places make euident, That neither Christ, neither his apostles, hath geuen any assurance of this immunitie and priuiledge which men of church (as they will be termed) do this day claime. Yea it was a thing vnknownen to the primitive church many yeares after the daies of the apostles: For Chrysostome, who serued in the church at Constantinople foure hundreth yeares after Christes ascension, and after that corruption was greatlie increased, doth yet thus write vpon the forsayd wordes of the apostle, *This precept, saith he, doth not appertaine to such as be called seculars onlie, but euen to those that be preestees and religious men: And after he addeth, Whether thou be apostle, euangelist, prophete, or whosoener thou be, thou canst not be exempted from this subiection.*

Hereof it is playn that Chrysostome did not vnderstand that God had exempted any person from obedience and subiection of the ciuile power, neither yet that he was auctour of such exemption and priuiledge, as papistes do this day claime. And the same was the iudgment and vniforme doctrine of the primatiue church many yeares after Christe. Your honours do wonder, I doubt not, from what fontaine then did this theyr immunitie, as they terme it, and singular priuilege spring; I shall shortly tuch that, which is euident in their own law and histories. When the byshopes of Rome, the verie antichrists had partly by fraud, and partly by violence vsurped the superioritie of some places in Italie, and most iniustly had spoiled the Emperours of their rentes and possessions, and had also murdered some of their officers, as histories do witnesse, then began Pope after Pope to practise and deuise, how they should be exempted from iudgment of Princes and from the equitie of lawes, and in this poynt they were most vigilant, till at length iniquitie did so preuaile in theyr handes, according as Daniel had before prophesied of them, that this sentence was pronounced, *Neither by the emperour, neither by the clergie, neither yet by the people shall the iudge be iudged. God will, saith Symmachus, that the causes of others be determined by men, but without all question he hath reserued the Byschop of this seat, vnderstanding Rome. to his own iudgment.*

And hereof diuerse popes, and expositours of their lawes would seme to geue reasons. For saith Agatho, *All the preceptes of the apostolik seat are assured, as by the voice of God himself.*

The actour of the glose vpon their canon affirmeth, that if all the world should pronounce sentence against the pope, yet should his sentence preuaile. For, saith he, *the Pope hath a heauenlie will, and therefore he may change the nature of thinges, he may apply the substance of one thing to another, and of nothing he may make somewhat, and that sentence, which was nothing (that is) by his mynd fals and iniuste, he may make somewhat that is true and iust. For, saith he, in all thinges that please hym his will is for reason; neither is there any man that may aske of hym, Why dost thou so? For he may dispens above the law, and of iniustice he may make iustice; for he hath the fulnes of all power.*

And manie other most blasphemous sentences did they pronounce euery one after other, which for shortnes sake I omit, till at the end they obtained this most horrible decree; that, albeit in life and conuersation they were so wicked, and detestable, that not only they condemned themselues, but that also they drew to hell and perdition manie thousandes with them, yet that none should presume to reprehend or rebuke them. This being established for the head (albeit not without somme contradiction, for somme emperours did require due obedience of them, as Goddes word commaunded, and auncient Byshopes had geuen before to Emperours, and to their lawes, but Satan so preuailed in his suete before the blind

world, that the former sentences were confirmed, which power being graunted to the head) then began prouision to be made for the rest of the membres in all realmes and contries, where they made residence. The frute whereof we see to be this, that none of that pestilent generation (I mean the vermine of the Papistical order) will be subiect to anie ciuile Magistrate, how enormous that euer his crime be, but will be referued to their own ordenarie, as they terme it. And what frutes haue hereof ensued, be the world neuer so blynd, it cannot but witnesse. For how their head that *Romane* Antichrist hath bene occupied euer since the granting of such priuiledges, histories do witnesse, and of late the most part of *Europa* subiect to the plague of God, to fier and sworde, by his procurement hath felt, and this day doth fele: The pride, ambition, enuie, excesse, fraude, spoile, oppression, murther, filthie life and incest, that is vsed and mentained amongst that rabble of preestes, freers, monkes, channons, byshopes and cardinales, cannot be expressed. I fear not to affirme, neither doubt I to proue, that the papistcalle church is further degenerate from the puretie of Christes doctrine, from the fooresteppes of the Apostles, and from the maners of the primatiue Church, then was the Church of the *Iewes* from Goddes holy statutes, what time it did crucifie Christ Iesus the only Meffias, and most cruelly persecute his Apostles: And yet will our papistes claime theyr priuiledges and auncient liberties, which if you graunt vnto them, my Lords, ye shall assuredly drink the cup of Goddes vengeance with them, and shall be reputed before his presence, compagnions of theues, and mentainers of murtherers, as is before declared; for theyr immunitie and priuledge, wherof so greatly they boist, is nothing els, but as if theues, murtherers or briggandes should conspire amongst themselues, that they would neuer answer in iudgement before anie lausfull Magistrate, to the end that their theft and murther should not be punished; euen such, I say, is their wicked priuledge, which neither they haue of God the father, neither of Christ Iesus, who hath reuealed his father's will to the world, neither yet of the Apostles nor primatiue Church, as before is declared: But it is a thinge conspired amongst themselues, to the end that their iniquitie, detestable life and tyrannie shall neither be repressed nor reformed. And if they object, that godlie Emperours did graunt and confirme the same. I answer, that the godlines of no man is or can be of sufficient auctoritie to iustifie a foolishhe and vngodlie fact, such I mean, as God hath not allowed by his worde; for *Abraham* was a godlie man, but the denial of his wife was such a fact, as no godlie man oght to imitate: The same might I shew of *Dauid*, *Ezechias*, and *Iosias*, vnto whom I think no man of iudgment will prefer anie emperour sence Christ, in holines and wisdom, and yet are not all theyr factes, no euen such as they appeared to haue done for good causes, to be approued nor followed. And therefore, I say, as errour and ignorance remayn allwaies with the most perfect man in this life, so must their workes be examined by another rule, then by their own holines, if they shall be approued. But if this answer doth not suffice, then will I answer more shortly, that no godlie emperour sence Christes ascension hath graunted anie such priuledge to anie such Church or Person, as they (the hole generation of Papistes) be at this day. I am not ignorant, that some emperours of a certaine zeal, and for some considerations graunted liberties to the true Church, afflicted for theyr mentainance against tyrants; but what serueth this for the defence of their tyrannie? Yf the law must be vnderstanded according to the mynd of the lawgeuer, then must they fyrst proue themselues Christes true and afflicted Church, before they can claime anie priuledge to appertain to them, for only to that Church were the priuiledges granted; it will not be their glorious titles, neither yet the long possession of the name, that can preuaile in this so weighty a cause; for all those had the Church of *Ierusalem*, which did crucifie Christ, and did condemn his doctrine. We offer to proue by theyr frutes and tyrannie, by the prophets, and playn scriptures of God, what tries and generation they be, to witt, vnfrutefull and rotten, apt for nothing, but to be cutt and cast in hell fier; yea, that they are the very kingdom of Antichrist, of whom we are commaunded to beware. And therefore, my Lordes, to return to you, seing that God hath armed your handes with the sworde of iustice, seing that his law most streatly commaundeth idolaters and fals Prophets to be punished with death,

death; and that you be placed aboue your subiects to reign as fathers ouer theyr children; and further, seing that not only I, but with me manie thousand famous, godlie and learned persons, accuse your Byshopes and the hole rabble of the Papiſticall clergie, of idolatrie, of murder and of blasphemie against God committed: It appertaineth to your honours to be vigilant and carefull in so weighty a matter? The question is not of earthly substance, but of the glorie of God, and of the saluation of your selues, and of your brethren subiect to your charge, in which if you, after this plain admonition, be negligent, there resteth no excuse by reason of ignorance; for in the name of God I require of you, that the cause of religion may be tried in your presence by the playne and simple word of God; that your Byshopes be compelled to desist from theyr tyrannie, that they be compelled to make answer for the neglecting of their office, for the substance of the poor, which vnjustly they vsurpe, and prodigally they do spend; but principally for the fals and deceauable doctrine which is taught and defended by theyr fals prophets, flattering freers, and other such venomous locustes: Which thing if with single eyes ye do (preferring Goddes glorie and the saluation of your brethren to all worldli commoditie) then shall the same God, who solemnly doth pronounce to honour those that do honour hym, powr his benedictions plentifully vpon you, he shall be your buckler, protection and capayne, and shall repress by his strength and wisdome, whatsoeuer Satan by his suppostes shall imagine against you. I am not ignorant that great troubles shall ensue your enterpryse; for Satan will not be expelled from the possession of his vsuried kingdome without resistance: But if you, as is said, preferring Goddes glorie to your own liues, vnfeignedly seke and studie to obey his blessed will, then shall your deliuerance be such, as euidently it shall be known, that the angels of the eternall do watche, make warr and feght for those that vnfeignedly fear the Lord. But if you refuse this my most reasonable and iust petition, what defence that euer you appear to haue before men, then shall God (whom in me you contemne) refuse you; he shall poure furthe contempt vpon you, and vpon your posteritie after you; the spirit of boldnes and wisdome shall be taken from you, your enemies shall reign, and you shall die in bondage; yea, God shall cutt doune the vnfrutefull trees, when they do appeare most beautifully to flourish, and shall so burn the roote, that after of you shall neither twigge nor branch againe spring to glorie. Hereof I nede not to adduce vnto you examples from the former ages, and auncient histories: For your brethren the nobilitie of *England* are a mirrour and glasse, in the which ye may beholde Goddes iust punishment: for as they haue refused him and his Euangil, which onse in mouth they did professe, so hath he refused them, and hath taken from them the spirit of wisdome, boldenes, and of counsil; they see and fele theyr owne miserie, and yet they haue no grace to auoid it. They hate the bondage of strangers, the pride of preestes, and the monstrierous empire of a wicked woman, and yet are they compelled to bowe their neckes to the yock of the deuill, to obey whatsoeuer the proud *Spaniards* and wicked *Iesabel* list to commaund, and finallie, to stand like slaues with capp in hand till the seruants of Satan the shauen sort call them to counsil: This frute do they reape and gather of their former rebellion and vnfaithfulnes towards God; they are left confused in their owne counsils; he, whom in his membres for the pleasure of a wicked woman they haue exiled, persecuted and blasphemed, doth now laugh them to skorn, suffereth them to be pynd in bondage of most wicked men, and finally, shall adiudge them to the fier euerlasting, except that speedely and openly they repent theyr horrible treason, which against God, against his sonne Christ Iesus, and against the libertie of their owne natieue realme they haue committed. The same plagues shall fall vpon you, be you assured, if ye refuse the defence of his seruantes that call for your support. My words are sharp, but consider, my Lords, that they are not mine, but that they are the threatnynges of the omnipotent, who assuredly will persume the voices of his Prophetes, how that euer carnall men despise his admonitions. The sworde of Goddes wrath is alredie draun, which of necessitie must nedes stryke, when grace offered is obstinately refused. You haue bene long in bondage of the Deuil, blyndnes, error and idolatrie preuailing against the simple trueth of God in that your realme, in which God hath made you

princes and rulers: But now doth God of his great mercie call you to repentance, before he power furth the vttermoſt of his vengeance: He crieth to your eares, that your religion is nothing but idolatrie; he accuſeth you of the blood of his ſaincts which hath bene ſhed by your permiſſion, aſſiſtance and powers: For the tyrannie of thoſe raging beaſtes ſhould haue no force, if by your ſtrength they were not mentained. Of thoſe horrible crimes doth now God accuſe you, not of purpoſe to condemne you, but mercifully to abſolue and pardon you, as ſometyme he did thoſe, whom *Peter* accuſed to haue killed the ſonne of God; ſo that ye be not of mind, nor purpoſe to iuſtifie your former iniquitie.

Iniquitie I call not only the crimes and offenses, which haue bene and yet remaine in your maners and liues, but that alſo which appeareth before men moſt holie, with haſſard of my life I offre to proue abomination before God; that is, your hole religion to be ſo corrupt and vaine, that no true ſeruante of God can communicate with it, becauſe that in ſo doing he ſhould manifeſtly denie Chriſt Ieſus and his eternal veritie. I know that your Biſhopes, accompanied with the ſwarme of the Papiſtical vermine, ſhal crie, *A damned heretik ought not to be hard.* But remembre my Lords, what in the beginning I haue proteſted, vpon which ground I continually ſtand, to witt, that I am no heretike nor deceauable teacher, but the ſeruante of Chriſt Ieſus, a preacher of his infallible veritie, innocent in all that they can lay to my charge concerning my doctrine, and that therefore by them, being enemies to Chriſt, I am iniuſtly damned: From which cruell ſentence I haue appealed and do appeal, as before mention is made; in the mean tyme moſt humbly requiring your honours to take me in your proteſtion, to be auditours of my iuſt defenses, graunting vnto me the ſame libertie which *Achab*, a wicked king, and *Iſrael* at that tyme a blynded people, granted to *Helias* in the like caſe; that is, that your Biſhopes, and the hole rabble of your clergie may be called before you and before that people whome they haue deceiued, that I be not condemned by multitude, by cuſtome, by auctoritie or law deuifed by man, but that God hymſelfe may be iudge, betwixt me and my aduerſaries. Let God, I ſay, ſpeak by his law, by his prophetes, by Chriſt Ieſus, or by his Apoſtles, and ſo let hym pronounce, what religion he approueth, and then be my enemies neuer ſo many, and appeare they neuer ſo ſtronger and ſo learned, no more do I feare victorie, then did *Helias*, being but one man againſt the multitude of *Baales* preeſtes. And if they think to haue aduantage by thejr councils and doctours, this I further offer to admit the one and the other, as witneſſes in all matters debatable, three thinges (which iuſtly cannot be denied) being granted vnto me. *Fiſt*, That the moſt auncient councils nigheſt to the primitiue Church, in which the learned and godly fathers did examine all matters by Goddes worde, may be holden of moſt auctority. *Secondarely*, That no determination of councils nor man, be admitted againſt the plain verity of Goddes word, nor againſt the determination of thoſe four cheſe councils, whoſe auctoritie hath bene and is holden by them equal with the auctority of the foure Euangeliftes. And *laſt*, That to no doctour be geuen greater auctoritie, then *Auguſtine* requireth to be geuen to his writings: to wit, if he plainly proue not his affirmation by Goddes infallible worde, that then his ſentence be reiected and imputed to the error of a man. Theſe thinges graunted and admitted, I ſhall no more reſuſe the teſtimonies of councils and doctours then ſhall my aduerſaries. But and if they will iuſtifie thoſe councils, which mentaine thejr pride and vſurped auctoritie, and will reiect thoſe, which plainly haue condemned all ſuch tyranny, negligence and wicked life, as biſhoppes now do vſe: and if further they will ſnatch a doubtfull ſentence of a doctour, and reſuſe his mynde, when he ſpeaketh plainly, then will I ſay, that all man is a lyer, that credit ought not to be giuen to an vnconſtant witneſs, and that no councils ought to preuaile, nor be admitted againſt the ſentence, which God hath pronounced. And thus, my Lordes, in few wordes to conclude, I haue offred vnto you a triall of mine innocencie: I haue declared vnto you, what God requireth of you, being placed aboue his people, as rulers and princes: I haue offred vnto you, and to the inhabitants of the realme, the veritie of Chriſt Ieſus, and with the haſard of my life, I preſently offer to proue the religion, which amongeſt you is mentained by ſier and ſworde, to be

be fals, damnable and diabolicall. Which thinges if ye refuse, defending tyrantes in their tyrannie then dare not I flatter, but as it was commaunded to *Ezechie*l boldly to proclaim, so must I crie to you, that you shall perishe in your iniquitie, that the Lord Iesus shall refuse so manie of you, as maliciously withstand his eternall veritie, and in the day of his apparition, when all flesh shall appear before hym, that he shall repell you from his compaignie, and shall commaund you to the fier, whiche neuer shall be quenched, and then neither shall the multitude be able to resist. neither yet the counsils of man be able to preuaile against that sentence, which he shall pronounce.

God the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, by the power of his Holie Spirit so rule and dispose your hearts, that with simplicitie ye may consider the thinges that be offered, and that ye may take such order in the same, as God in you may be glorified, and Chribtes flock by you may be edified and comforted, to the praise and glorie of our Lord Iesus Christ, whose omnipotent spirit rule your hearts in his true fear to the end. Amen.



To his beloued Brethren the Commonality of S C O T L A N D,

JOHN KNOXE *wisbeth grace, mercie, and peace, with the spirit of
• righteous iudgement.*



What I haue required of the Quene Regent, estates and nobilitie, as of the chiefe heades (for this present) of the realme, I cannot cease to require of you dearlie beloued brethren, which be the communality and body of the same; To wit, that it, (notwithstanding that fals and cruel sentence, which your disgised bythoppes haue pronounced against me) would please you to be so fauourable vnto me, as to be indifferent auditours of my iust purgation. Which to do, if God earnestly moue your heartes, as I nothing doubt, but that your enterprise shall redounde to the praise of his holy name, so am I assured, that ye and your posterity shall by that meanes receaue most singular comfort, edification and profit. For when ye shall heare the matter debated, ye shall easily perceiue and vnderstand, vpon what grounde and foundation is builded that religion, which amongst you is this day defended by fier and sword. As for my own conscience, I am most assuredly perswaded, that whatsoever is vsed in the papistical Church, is altogether repugning to Christes blessed ordinance, and is nothing but mortal venom, of which whosoever drinketh, I am assuredly perswaded, that therewith he drinketh death and damnation, except by true conuersion vnto God, he be purged from the same. But because that long silence of Goddes worde hath begotten ignorance almost in all sortes of men, and ignorance, ioyned with long custome, hath confirmed superstition in the heartes of many; I therefore in the name of the Lord Iesus desire audience, as well of you the communality, my brethren, as of the estates and nobility of the realme, that in publike preaching I may haue place amongst you at large to vtter my mind in all matters of controuersie this day in religion. And further I desire, that ye concurring with your nobility would compell your bishoppes and clergy to cease their tyranny, and also that, for the better assurance and instruction of your conscience, ye would compell your said bishoppes and fals teachers to answer by the scriptures of God to such obiections and crimes, as shall be laid against their vaine religion, fals doctrine, wicked life, and sclanderous conuersation. Here I know, that it shall be objected, that I require of you a thing most vnreasonable; To wit, that ye should call your religion in doubt, which hath bene approued and establisht

ed by so long continuance, and by the consent of so many men before you. But I shortly answer, that neither is the long proceffe of tyme, neither yet the multitude of men a sufficient approbation, which God will allow for our religion. For as somme of the most auncient writers do witness, neither can long proceffe of tyme iustifie an errour, neither can the multitude of such, as folow it, chaunge the nature of the same. But if it was an errour in the begynning, so is it in the end, and the longer that it be folowed, and the mo that doe receaue it, it is the more pestilent, and more to be avoided. For if antiquity or multitude of men could iustifie any religion, then was the idolatry of the *Gentiles*, and now is the abomination of the *Turkes* good religion. For antiquity approued the one, and a multitude hath receaned and doth defende the other. But otherwise to answer, godly men may wonder, from what fontaine such a sentence doth flow, that no man ought to try his faith and religion by Goddes worde, but that he safely may beleue and folow euery thing, which antiquity and a multitude haue approued. The spirit of God doth otherwise teach us. For the wisdom of God, Christ Iesus himselfe remitted his aduersaries to *Moses*, and the scriptures, to trie by them, whether his doctrine was of God or not. The Apostles *Paule* and *Peter* commaunde men to trie the religion, which they professe, by Goddes plaine scriptures, and do praise men for so doing. *St. Iohn* straitly commaundeth, *That we beleue not euery spirit, but willet us to trie the spirits, whether they be of God or not.* Now seying that these euident testimonies of the Holy Ghost will us to try our faith and religion by the plaine worde of God, wonder it is, that the papistes will not be content, that theyr religion and doctrine comme vnder the triall of the same. If this sentence of Christ be true (as it is most true, seing it springeth from the veritie it self) *who so euil doeth, hateth the light, neither will he come to the light, lest that his euill workes be manifested and rebuked*; then do our papistes by their own sentence condemn themselves and theyr religion. For in so far as they refuse examination and trial, they declare, that they know somme fault, which the light will viter: which is a cause of theyr feare, and why they claime to that priuiledge, that no man dispute of theyr religion. The veritie and trueth, being of the nature of fyne purified gold, doth not fear the trial of the fornace, but the stuble and chaf of mannes inuentions (such as theyr religion) may not abide the flame of the fier. True it is, that *Mahomet* pronounced this sentence, that no man should in paine of death dispute or reason of the ground of his religion. Which law to this day by the art of Satan is yet obserued amongst the *Turkes*, to theyr mortal blindnes and horrible blaspheming of Christ Iesus, and of his true religion. And from *Mahomet* (or rather from Satan father of all lies) hath the Pope and his rabble learned this former lesson, to wit, that theyr religion should not be disputed vpon, but what the fathers haue believed, that ought and must the children approue. And in so diuising Satan lacked not his foresight. For no one thing hath more established the kingdome of that *Romane* Antichrist, then this most wicked decree, To wit, that no man was permitted to reason of his power, or to call his lawes in doubt. This thing is most assured, that whensoever the papisticall religion shall come to examination, it shal be founde to haue no other ground, then hath the religion of *Mahomet*, To wit, mannes inuention, deuise and dreame ouershadowed with somme colour of Goddes worde. And therefore brethren, seing that the religion is, as the stomake to the bodie, which, if it be corrupted, doth infect the hole membres, it is necessary that the same be examined; and if it be founde replenished with pestilent humours, (I mean with the fantasies of men) then of necessity it is, that those be purged, els shall your bodies and soules perishe for euer. For of this I would ye were most certainly perswaded, that a corrupt religion defileth the hole life of man, appear it neuer so holy. Neither would I that ye should esteeme the reformation and care of religion lese to appertaine to you, because ye are no kinges, rulers, iudges, nobils, nor in auctority. Beloued brethren, ye are Goddes creatures, created and formed to his own image and similitude, for whose redemption was shed the most precious blood of the only beloued sonne of God, to whome he hath commaunded his Ghospell and glad tidings to be preached, and for whome he hath prepared the heauenlie inheritance, so that ye will not obstinately refuse, and disdainfully

daineſully contemne the meanes, which he hath appointed to obtaine the ſame; to wit, his bleſſed Euangile, which now he offereth vnto you, to the end that ye may be ſaued. For the Goſpell and glad tidings of the kingdome truly preached, is the power of God to the ſaluation of euery believer, which to credit and receaue you the commonality are no leſſe addebtted, then be your rulers and princes. For albeit God hath put and ordered diſtinction and difference betwixt the king and the ſubiectes, betwixt the rulers and the commune people in the regiment and adminiſtration of ciuill policies, yet in the hope of the life to come, he hath made all equall. For as in Chriſt Ieſus the *Jew* hath no greater prerogatiue, then hath the *Gentile*, the man, then hath the woman, the learned then the vnlearned, the lord, then the ſeruant, but all are one in him, ſo is there but one way and meanes to attaine to the participation of his benefites and ſpiritual graces, which is a liuely faith working by charity. And therefore I ſay, that it doth no leſſe appertaine to you, beloued brethren, to be aſſured that your faith and religion be grounded and eſtabliſhed vpon the true and vndoubted worde of God, then to your princes, or rulers. For as your bodies cannot eſcape corporal death, it with your princes ye eat or drink deadlie poiſon (althoughe it be by ignorance or negligence) ſo ſhall ye not eſcape the death euerlaſting, if with them ye profeſſe a corrupt religion. Yea, except in heart ye beleue, and with mouth ye confeſſe the Lord Ieſus, to be the onlie ſaviour of the world (which ye cannot do, except ye embrace his Euangile offered) ye cannot eſcape death and damnation. For as the iuſt liueth by his own faith, ſo doth the vnfaihtfull perithe by his infidelitie. And as true faith is engendred, noriſhed, and mentained in the heartes of Goddes elect by Chriſtes Euangile trulie preached, ſo is infidelity and vnbelefe foſtered by concealing and repreſſing the ſame. And thus if ye loke for the life euerlaſting, ye muſt trie if ye ſtand in faith, and if ye would be aſſured of a true and liuely faith, ye muſt nedes haue Chriſt Ieſus truely preached vnto you. And this is the cauſe (dear brethren) that ſo oft I repeat, and ſo conſtantly I affirm, that to you it doth no leſſe appertaine, then to your kinge or princes, to prouide that Chriſt Ieſus be truely preached amongeſt you, ſeing that without his true knolledge can neither of you both attaine to ſaluation. And this is the poynt, wherein, I ſay, all men is equal.

That as all be deſcended from Adam, by whoſe ſyn and inobedience did death enter into the world, ſo it behoued all, that ſhall obtaine life, to be ingrafted in one. that is, in the Lord Ieſus, who being the iuſt ſeruant, doth by his knolledge iuſtifie many: to wit, all that vnfeignedly beleue in hym.

Of this equalitie, and that God requireth no leſſe of the ſubiect, be he neuer ſo poore, then of the prince and riche men in matters of religion, he hath given an euident declaration in the law of *Mofes*. For when the tabernacle was buylded, erected, and ſet in order, God did prouide, how it, and the things appertaining to the ſame, ſhould be ſuſtained, ſo that they ſhould not fall in decay. And this prouiſion (albeit heauen and earth obey his empire) would he not take from the ſecrete and hid treaſures, which ly diſperſed in the vaines of the earthe, neither yet would he take it from the riche and potent of his people, but he did commaund, that every man of the ſonnes of *Iſrael* (were he rich, or were he poore) that came in compt from twenty yeares and vpward, ſhould yearely pay half a ſicle for an oblation to the Lord in the remembrance of their redemption, and for an expiation or clenſing of their ſoules, which money God commaunded ſhould be beſtowed vpon the ornamentes and neceſſaries of the tabernacle of teſtimony. He furthermore added a precept, that the riche ſhould giue no more for that uſe, and in that behalf, then ſhould the poor, neither yet that the poor ſhould giue any leſſe then ſhould the rich in that conſideration. This law to mannes reſon and indgerment may appear verie vnreaſonable. For ſomme rich men might haue given a thouſand ſickles with leſſe hurt of his ſubſtance, then ſomme poor man might haue payed the half ſickle. And yet God maketh all equal, and will that the one ſhall pay no more then the other, neither yet the poor any leſſe then the rich. This law I ſay may appear very unequal. But if the cauſe, which God addeth, be obſerved, we ſhall ſynde in the ſame the great mercy and ineſtimable wiſdom of God to appear, which cauſe is expreſſed in theſe wordes,

This money receaued from the children of Israel thou shalt geue in the seruice of the tabernacle, that it may be to the children of Israel for a remembrance before the Lord, that he may be merciful to your soules.

This cause, I say, doth evidently declare, that as the hole multitude was deliuered from the bondage of *Egypt* by the mightie power of God alone, so was euery membre of the same without respect of persons, sanctified by his grace, the riche in that behalfe nothing preferred to the poorest. For by no merit, nor worthynes of man was he moued to chose, and to establishe his habitation and dwelling amongst them. But their felicity, prerogatiue and honour, which they had aboue all other nations, proceded only from the fountaine of his eternal goodnes, who loued them freely, as that he freely had chosen them to be his preeftly kingdom and holie people from all nations of the earth. Thus to honour them, that he would dwell in the middelt of them, he neither was moued (I say) by the wisdome of the wise, by the riches of the potent, neither yet by the vertue and holyness of any estate amongst them, but of mere goodnes did he loue them, and with his presence did he honour that hole people, and therefore to paynt owt the same his commune loue to the hole multitude, and to cut of occasions of contention, and doubtles of conscience, he would receaue no more from the rich, then from the poore for the maintenance of that his tabernacle, by the which was represented his presence, and habitati n amongst them. Yf the riche had bene preferred to the poore, then as the one should haue been puffed vp with pride, as that he had bene more acceptable to God by reason of his greater gift, so should the conscience of the other haue bene troubled and wounded, thinking that his pouertie was an impediment, that he could not stand in so perfect fauour with God, as did the other, because he was not able to giue so much, as did the rich, to the mentenance of his tabernacle. But he, who of mercy (as said is) did chose his habitation amongst them, and also that best knoweth, what lieth within man, did provide the remedie for the one, and for the other, making them equal in that behalfe, who in other things were most vnequal. Yf the poore should haue founde hymself greued, by reason of that taxe, and that asmuch was imposed vpon hym, as vpon the riche, yet had he no small cause of ioy, that God himselfe would please to compare hym, and to make hym equal in the mentenance of his tabernacle to the most riche and potent in *Israel*. Yf this equalitie was commaunded by God for mentenance of that transitorie tabernacle, which was but a shadoe of a better to come, is not the same required of vs, who now hath the ueritie, which is Christ Iesus? who being clad with our nature is made *Immanuel*, that is, God with vs. *Whose natural boadie, albeit it be receaued in the heauens, where he must abyde till all be complete, that is forespoken by the prophetes; yet hath he promised to be present with us to the end of the world.*

And for that purpose, and for the more assurance of his promisse, he hath erected amongst vs here in earthe the signes of his own presence with vs, his spiritual tabernacle, the true preaching of his worde, and right adminiftration of his sacramentes. To the mentenance whereof is no lesse bounde the subiect, then the prince, the poore, then the riche. For as the price, which was geuen for mannes redemption, is one; so requireth God of all, that shall be partakers of the benefites of the same, a like duetie, which is a plaine confession, that by Christ Iesus alone we haue receaued, what soeuer was lost in *Adam*. Of the prince doth God require, that he refuse hymself, and that he folow Christ Iesus; of the subiect he requireth the same. Of the kinges and iudges it is required, that they kisse the sonne, that is, giue honour, subiection and obedience to hym. And from such reuerence doth not God exempt the subiect, that shall be saued. And this is that equalitie, which is betwixt the kinges and the subiectes, the most riche or noble, and betwixt the poorest, and men of lowest estate; to wit, that as the one is oblished to beleue in heart, and with mouth to confesse the Lord Iesus, to be the only sauiour of the world, so also is the other. Neither is there any of Goddes children (who hath attained to the yeares of discretion) so poore, but that he hath thus much to bestow vpon the ornamentes, and maintenance of their spiritual tabernacle, when necessitie requireth; neither yet is there anie so riche, of whose hande God requireth anie more. For al-
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beit that *Dauid* gathered great substance, for the buylding of the temple; that *Salomon* with earnest diligence, and incredible expenses erected and finished the same; that *Ezechias* and *Iosias* purged the religion, which before was corrupted; yet to them was God no further dettour in that respect, then he was to the most simple of the faithfull posteritie of faithfull *Abraham*. For theyr diligence, zeal and workes, gaue rather testimony and confession before men, what honour they did bear to God, what loue to his worde, and reuerence to his religion, then that any worke proceeding from them did either establishe, or yet encrease Goddes fauoure towards them, who freely did loue them, in Christ his sonne, before the foundation of the world was laied. So that these forenamed by theyr notable workes gaue testimonie of theyr vnfaigned faith, and the same doth the poorest, that unfeanedly and openly professeth Christ Iesus, that doth embrace his glad tydings offred, that doth abhorre superstition and flie from idolatry. The poorest, I say, and most simple, that this day in earth in the daies of this cruel persecution, firmly beleueth in Christ, and boldly doth confesse hym before this wicked generation, is no lesse acceptable before God, neither is iudged in his presence to haue done any lesse in promoting Christ his cause, then is the king, that by the sworde and power, which he hath receaued of God, wrooteth out idolatry, and so aduanceth Christes glorie. But to return to our former purpose, it is no lesse required, I say, of the subiecte to beleue in Christ, and to profess his true religion, then of the prince and king. And therefore I affirme, that in Goddes presence it shall not excuse you to alledge, that ye were no chiefe rulers, and therefore that the care and reformation of religion did not appertaine vnto you.

Ye dear brethren (as before is said) are the creatures of God, created to his own image and similitude, to whome it is commaunded to heare the voyce of your heavenly father, to embrace his sonne Christ Iesus, to flie from all doctrine and religion, which he hath not approued by his own will reuealed to vs in his most blessed worde. To which preceptes and charges, if ye be founde inobedient, ye shall perish in your iniquitie, as rebelles and stubborn seruantes, that haue no pleasure to obey the good will of their soueraigne lord, who most louingly doth call for your obedience. And therefore, brethren, in this behalf it is your part to be careful and diligent. For the question is not of thinges temporall, which althoghe they be endaugered, yet by diligence and proesse of tyme, may after be redressed, but it is of the damnation of your bodies and soules, and of the losse of the life euerlasting, which once lost can neuer be recouered. And therefore, I say, that it behoueth you to be careful and diligent in this so weghtie a matter, lest that ye, contemnyng this occasion, which God now offereth, fynd not the like, althoghe that after with gronyng and sobbes, ye languyshe for the same. And that ye be not ignorant of what occasion I mean, in few words I shall expresse it.

Not only I, but with me also diuers other godly and learned men do offer vnto you our labours, faithfully to instruct you in the waies of the eternal our God, and in the syncerity of Christes Euangil, which this day by the pestilent generation of Antichrist (I mean by the pope, and by his most vngodly clergy) are almost hyd from the eies of men. We offer to ieopard our liues for the saluation of your soules, and by manifest scriptures to proue that religion, which amongst you is mentained by fier and sworde, to be vaine, fals and diabolical. We require nothing of you, but that patiently ye will heare our doctrine, which is not oures, but is the doctrine of saluation reuealed to the world by the onlie son of God; and that ye will examine our reasons, by the which we offer to proue the papistical religion to be abominable before God. And last we require, that by your power the tyrannie of these cruel beastes, (I mean of preests and freers) may be brideled till we haue vntered our mindes in all matters this day debateable in religion. Yf these thinges in the fear of God ye graunt to me, and vnto others, that vnfeanedly for your saluation, and for Goddes glorie require the same, I am assured, that of God ye shall be blessed, whatsoeuer Satan shall deuise against you. But and if ye contemne or refuse God, who thus louingly offereth vnto you saluation and life, ye shall neither escape plagues temporall, whiche shortly shal apprehend you, neither yet the torment prepared for the deuill, and for his angels, except by speedie repentance ye

returne to the Lord, whome now ye refuse, if that ye refuse the messengers of his worde.

But yet I think ye doubt, what ye ought, and may do in this so weghtie a matter. In few wordes I will declare my Conscience in the one and in the other. Ye ought to prefer the glorie of God, the promoting of Christ his Euangil, and the saluation of your soules to all thinges, that be in earth: and ye, although ye be but subiectes, may lawfully require of your superiors, be it of your king, be it of your lordes, rulers and powers, that they provide for you true preachers, and that they expel such, as under the names of pastours deuoure and destroy the flock, not feeding the same as Christ Iesus hath commaunded. And if in this point your superiour be negligent, or yet pretend to maintaine tyrantes in their tyrannie, most iustly ye may provide true teachers for yourselves, be it in your cities, townes or villages: them ye may maintaine and defend against all, that shall persecute them, and by that means shall labour to defraud you of that most comfortable food of your soules, Christes Euangil truly preached. Ye may moreouer withhold the frutes, and profetts, which your fals Byshoppes and clergy most unjustly receive of you, vnto such tyme as they be compelled faithfully to do theyr charge and duties, which is to preach unto you Christ Iesus truly, ryghtly to minister his sacraments according to his own institution, and so to wathe for the saluation of your soules, as is commaunded by Christ Iesus hymself, and by his apostles *Paul* and *Peter*. Yf God shall move your heartes in his true fear to begynne to practise these things, and to demand and craue the same of your superiors, which most lawfully ye may do, then I doubt not, but of his great mercy, and free Grace he shall illuminate the eyes of your myndes that his undoubted veritie shal be a lantern to your feete to guyde and lead you in all the wayes, which his godlie wisdome doth approue. He shall make your enemies tremble before your faces, he shall establiish his blessed Euangil amongstest you to the saluation and perpetual comfort of your selues, and of your Posterity after you. But and if (as God forbyd) the loue of frendes, the fear of your Princes, and the wisdome of the world draw you back from God, and his sonne Christ Iesus, be ye certainly perswaded, that ye shall drink the cupp of his vengeance, so many I mean as shall contemne and dispise this louing calling of your heauenlie father. It wil not excuse you (dear Brethren) in the presence of God, neither yet will it auaille you in the day of his visitation, to say, We were but simple subiects, we could not redress the faults and crimes of our rulers, Byshoppes, and clergie: we called for reformatioun, and wished for the same, but Lords brethren were Byshoppes, theyr sonnes were abbottes, and the frendes of great men had the possession of the Church, and so were we compelled to giue obedience to all, that they demaunded. These vain excuses, I say, will nothing auaille you in the presence of God, who requireth no less of the subiectes, than of the rulers, that they decline from euil, and that they do good, that they abstaine from idolatrie, superstition, blasphemie, murther and other such horrible crimes, which his law forbiddeth, and yet nottheles are openly committed and maliciously defended in that miserable realme. And if ye think that ye are innocent because ye are not the chiefe auctors of such iniquitie, ye are utterly deceaued. For God doth not only punish the chiefe offenders, but with them doth he damne the consenters to iniquitie: and all are iudged to consent, that knowing impietie committed give no testimonie, that the same displeaseth them. To speak this matter more playne, as your princes and rulers are criminal with your Byshoppes of all idolatrie committed, and of all the innocent blood, that is shed for the the testimonie of Christes trueth, and that because they maintaine them in their tyranne, so are you (I mean so many of you, as giue no playn confession to the contrarie) criminal and giltie with your princes and rulers of the same crimes, becaus ye assill and maintaine your princes in their blinde rage, and giue no declaration, that their tyrannie displeaseth you. This doctrine I know is strange to the blind world, but the veritie of it hath been declared in all notable punishments from the beginning. When the original world perished by water, when *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* were consumed by fier, and finally when *Ierusalem* was horribly destroyed, doth any man think, that all were alike wicked before the world? Evident it is, that they were not, if they shall be iudged according to theyr external factes. For somme were
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yonge, and could not be oppressours, neither yet could defile themselves with vnatural and beastlie lustes: somme were pitiful and gentle of nature, and did not thirst for the blood of Christ, nor of his Apostles. But did any escape the plagues and vengeance, which did apprehend the multitude? Let the scriptures witnesse and the histories be considered, which plainlie do testifie, that by the waters all flesh in earth at that time did perith, (*Noah* and his familie referued) that none escaped in *Sodom* and in the other cities adiacent, except *Lot* and his two daughters. And euident it is, that in that famous cite *Ierusalem* in that last and horrible destruction of the same none escaped goddes vengeance, except so many as before were dispersed. And what is the cause of this seueritie, seeing that all were not a like offenders? Let flesh cease to dispute with God, and let all man by these examples learne betimes to flie and auoid the societie and compaignie of the of the proude contempters of God, if that they list not to be partakers of their plagues. The cause is euident: if we can be subiect without grudging to goddes iudgements, which in themselves are most holie and iust. For in the original world none was founde, that either did resist tyrannie and oppression, that vniuersallie was vsed, either yet that earnestly reprehended the same. In *Sodom* was none found that did against stand that furious and beastlie multitude, that did compass about and besiege thehouse of *Lot*. Non would beleue *Lot*, that the cite should be destroyed. And finally in *Ierusalem* was none found, that studied to repress the tyrannie of the Preestes, who were coniuured against Christ and his Euangil, but all fainted, (I except euer such, as gaue witness with their blood, or their flying, that such impietie displeased them) all kept silence, by the which all approoued iniquitie, and ioyned hands with the tyrantes, and so were all arrayed and set, as it had bene, in one battayle against the omnipotent, and against his sonne Christ Iesus. For whosoener gathereth not with Christ in the day of his haruest, is iudged to scatter. And therefore of one vengeance temporal were they all partakers. Which Thing as before I have touched, ought to moue you to the depe consideration of your duties in these last and most perilous times. The iniquitie of your Bishoppes is more than manifest: their filthy lines infect the aier, the innocent blood, which they shed, crieth vengeance in the ears of our God: the idolatrie and abomination, which openly they commit, and without punishment maintaine, doth corrupt and defile the hole land; and none amongst you doth vntainedly studie for any redresse of such enormities. Wil God in this behalf hold you as innocentes? Be not deceaved dear Brethren. God hath punished not only the proud tyrantes, filthy persons, and cruel murderers, but also such, as with them did draw the yoke of iniquitie, was it by flattering their offences, obeying their iniust commandmentes, or in winking at their manifest iniquitie. All such, I say, hath God once punished with the chiefe offenders. Be ye assured, Brethren, that as he is immutable of nature, so will he not pardon in you that, which so seuerely he hath punished in others, and now the lesse, because he hath plainly admonished you of the dangers to come, and hath offered you his mercie before he poure furth his wrath and displeasure upon the inobedient. God the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, who is father of glorie, and God of all consolation, geue you the spirit of wisdom, and open vnto you the knollidge of him self by the meanes of his dear sonne, by the which ye may attain to the eserance and hope, that after the troubles of this transitorious life ye may be partakers of the riches of that glorious Inheritance, which is prepared for such, as refuse them selves, and fight under the banner of Christ Iesus in the day of this his battaile; that in depe consideration of the same ye may learn to prefer the inuisible and eternal ioyes to the vaine pleasures, that are present. God further graunt you his holie spirit, righteously to consider, what I in his name haue required of your nobilitie, and of you the subiects, and moue you all together so to answer, that my petition be not a testimonie of your iust condemnation, when the Lord Iesus shall appear to revenge the blood of his saincts, and the contempt of his most holie worde, Amen.

Sleep not in sin, for vengeance is prepared against all inobedient. Flie from Babylon, if ye will not be partakers of her plagues.

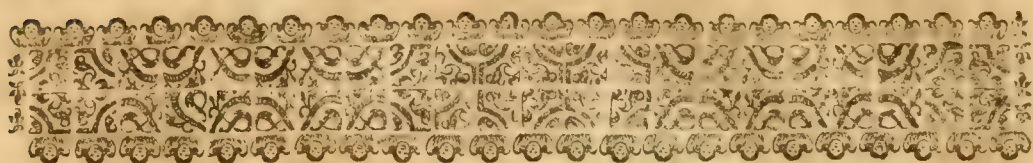
Be witness to my Appellation. Grace be with you. From Geneva the 14. of Iuly 1558.

Your Brother to command in G. diuines,

I O H N K N O X E.

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A N

ADMONITION

T O

England and Scotland to call them to repentance, written by Antoni Gi.by.



Hereas many haue written many profitable admonitions to you waine, (O *England* and *Scotland*, both makinge one Iland most happye, if you could know your own happines) somme against the regiment of women, wherewith ye are bothe plagued, somme aginst vnlaful obedience, and the admitting of strangers to be your kinges, somme declaring the vile nature of the *Spaniards*, whome thou O *England*, to thy destruction mainteineest, somme the pryde of the *Frenchmen*, whome thou, O *Scotland*, to thy ruine receauest: and many hundrethes with penne, with tonge, with worde, with writing, with ieopardie and losse of landes, goods, and lyues, haue admonished you bothe twaine of that cankered poyson of papistrise, that ye foster and pamper to your own perdition, and vtter destruction of soules and bodies, of your selues and yoers for now and euer. I thoght it my duetie (seeing your destruction to mans iudgement to draw so neare) how much or little so euer they haue preailed, yet once againe to admonithe you both, to giue testimonie to that trueth, which my brethren haue written, and especially to stirre your hearts to repentance, or at the least to offre my selfe a witnesse against you: for the iustice of God and his righteous iudgements, which doubtles (if your hearts be hardened) against you both are at hand to be vttered. Thus by our writings, whome it pleaseth God to styrrer vp of your nations, all men, that now liue, and that shall come after vs, shall haue cause also to praise the mercie of God, that so oft admonisheth before he do stryke, and to consider his iust punishment, when he shall poure forth his vengeance. Giue eare therefore betimes, O *Britanie* (for of that name both reioysfeth) whiles the Lord calleth, exhorteth, and admonisheth, that is the acceptable tyme, when he will be founde. Yf ye refuse the tyme offred ye cannot haue it afterward thogh with teares (as did *Esau*) ye do seme to seke it. Yet once again in Goddes behalfe, I do offre you the uery meanes, which if God of his mercies graunte you grace to folow, I doubte nothing but that of al your enemies spedely ye shall be deliuered. Ye reioyce at this word, I am sure, if ye haue any hope of the performance. Then harken to the matter, which I do write vnto you, not furth of mennes dreames nor fables, nor furth of prophane histories, painted with mannes wisdom, vaine eloquence, or subtile reasons, but furth of the intallible trueth of Goddes worde, and by such plaine demonstracions, as shall be able to conuince euery one of your owne consciences, be he neuer so obstinate. I will aske no further

further iudges. Is not this Goddes curse and threatninge, amongst many othe pronounced against the fittull land and disobedient people?

That strangers should deuoure the frute of thy land, that the stranger should clyme about the, and thou should come downe and be his inferiour; he shall be the head and thou the tyle. The Lord shall bring upon the a people farr off, whose tongue thou canst not understand, thy strong wales wherein thou trusted, shall be destroyed. &c. And doth not *Esaie* reckon this also as the extremity of all plagues for the wickednes of the people to haue women raised up to rule ouer you? But what saith the same prophete in the begynnyng of his prophesie for a remedy against these and all other euilles?

Your handes are full of blood, (saith he) O you princes of Sodom, and you people of Gomorrah, but washe you, make you cleane, take away your wicked thoughts furth of my sight. Cease to do euil, learn to do well, seek iudgement, help the oppressed, &c. then will I turn my hand to the, and trie out all thy dross, and take away thy tynne, and I will restore thy iudges as afore tyme, and counsellours, as of old. And *Moses* said before in the place alledged, *That if thou wilt heare the voice of the Lorde thy God, and do his commandments, thou shalt be blessed in the towne, and blessed in the feelde. The Lord shall cause thyne enemies, that rise up against the, to fall before the, &c.*

So the way in few wordes, O *Britanie*, to winne Goddes fauour, and therefore to overcome thyne enemies. But to prynt this more deeply into your heartes, O ye princes and people of that land, whome God hath begonne to punishe, seke I warne you no shutting holes to excuse your faultes, no political practises to resist Goddes vengeance. And first I speak to you (O rulers and princes of both the realmes) repent your treason, and bewaile your vnthankfulness. For by no other meanes can you escape Goddes iudgements. You stomach I know to be called traitours but what shall it auail to spare the name, where the facts are more then eident. You hath God erected amongst your brethren, to the end that by your wildome and goodlie regiment your subiectes should be kept as well from domesticall oppression, as from bondage and slavery of strangers. But ye alas declininge from God, are made the instrumentes to betray and sell the liberty of those, for whome ye ought to haue spent your liues. For your consent and assistance is the cause, that strangers now oppresse and deuoure the poore within your realmes: who shortly, if God call you not to repentance, shall recompence you, as ye haue deserued. For the cupp, which your brethren do now drink, shall be put in your handes, and you shall drink the dreggs of yt to your destruction. And wonder it is if ye be become so foolish and so blynd, that ye think your selues able long to continue, and to be safe, when your brethren rounde about you shall perishe: that you can pack your matters well enough with the princes, that ye can make you stronge with mariages, with flateries, and other fonde practises, or that with your multitude or strengthe ye can escape the daies of vengeance, or that ye can hide your selues in holes or corners. Nay thoghe you should hyde you in the hills, God can drawe you thence, if you had the egles wynges to flie beyonde the east seas, you cannot auoid Goddes presence. Submit your selues therefore vnto hym, which holdeth your breath in your nostriles, who with one blast of his mouth can destroy all his enemies. Embrace his sonne Christ, lest ye perishe, and for your oblatione against hym and his worde, repent betymes, as we all do admonishe. Repent for your crueltie against his seruants and the contempt of his worde so plainlie offered, as it was neuer sence the begynnyng of the world. Repent we cry repent. For repentance is the onlie way of your redresse and deliuerance. Did God ever longe spare any people, whome he hath taught by his prophetes, without somme eident repentance? or vseth any father to pardon his childe, whome he hath begonne to chastise, without somme token of repentance? Consider how the Lord hath intreated *Israel* and *Juda* his owne people: how oft they trespassed, and how he gaue them ouer into the hand of their enemies. But whensoever they repented and turned againe to God vnfeignedlie, he sent them iudges and deliuerers, kinges and saviours. This way then of repentance and vnfeigned turning to God by obedience, is the onlie way bringe God accepted and allowed. Therefore was *Noah* sent to the old world to bring this doctrine of repentance, and all the old prophetes, as *Elias*, *Eliseus*, *Esaie*, *Ieremias* and *Maluchias*, and he, who excelled all

all the prophetes, *Iohn Baptist*. Anie of whose files, and sharpe rebukes of synners if I should now vse, it would be thoght full strange and hardely would be suffered: yet were anie of their lessions, wherebie they called to repentance, most mete for our tyme and age, and nothings disagreeinge from this my present purpose. For the same spirit still striueth against the malice of our tymes, thoghe in diuerse instruments and fundrie fortes and fashions. *Noah* pronounceth, that within an hundredth and twentie yeares all fleshe should be destroyed. We haue many *Noahes*, that so crieth in our tymes, yet no man repenteth. All the tyme, that *Noah* was preparing for the ark to auoide Goddes vengeance, the multitude derided this holie prophete, as the multitude of you two realmes doth at this day deride all them, that by obedience to Goddes worde, seke the meanes appointed to auoid Goddes iudgements. Then the people would not repent, but as they should liue for euer, they married, they banketed, they builded, they planted, deriding Gods messenger. Do not you the like? I appeale to your own consciences. You marie, but not in God, but to betray your countries, you banket and builde with the blood of the poore.

The Lorde calleth to fasting (saith the prophete *Esaie*) to mortifie themselues, and to kill their lusties, but they kill shepe and bullockes, *Jeremie* crieth for teares and lamentation, they laughe and mock. *Malachie* crieth to the people of his tyme, *Turn vnto me and I will turne to you, saith the Lorde of hostes*, and they proudly answer, *wherein shall we returne?* Are ye not sliche? Do not ye aske wherein shall we returne, when ye will not know your sinnes? when ye can not confesse, nor acknowledge your faultes, thoghe ye go a hooringe in euerie streer, towne and village with your idols? thoghe th blood of the oppressed crie euerie where against you for vengeance? So that seying no token of repentance I can not crie vnto you with *Iohn Baptist*, O ye generation of vipers who hath taught you to flie from the wrath to come?

O that I might see so good tokens, that ye would fear goddes wrath and vengeance. But this mult I say to you both to your confusion, and shame, that ye are such vipers and serpentes, vntil I see better tokens. You do what ye can to destroy your parentes, you cast of God your heavenlie father, ye will not fear hym calling you to repentance, you destroy and banithe your spiritual fathers, which once had begotten you as spiritual children by the worde of trueth, you consume you countree, which hath geuen you corporal life, you stinge with tongues and rayles all, that would draw you from your wickednes. Finally, Man, woman, and childe, are either venimed with your poysons or stinginged with your rayles. In you are fulfilled the wordes of *Dauid*, *Their throte is an open sepulchre, with their tounge they haue deceiued, the poyson of aspis is vnder their lippes, their mouthes are full of curse and bitternes, their fete are swift to shedd blood, destruction and wretchednes are in their wayes, and the way of peace they haue not knowen, the feare of God is not before there eyes, &c.*

I do know your tendre eares, you can not be grated with such sharpe sentences of condemnation, that thus prick you to the hearts: howbeit thus it behoveth, that ye be taught to iudge your selues, that in the end ye be not damned with the wicked world. But I will wound you no more with the words of the prophetes, with the sayinges of *Dauid*, or of this holy saint of God *Iohn the Baptist*, but with our sauour Christ's two most swete parables of the two sonnes, and of the tilmen, to whom he set his vineyard, I will labour to set before your eyes your rebellion, hypocrisie, and crueltie, if so I can bring any of you to repentance. Our sauour Christ putteth furth this parable, *A certain man had two sonnes, and he came to the first, and said sonne go and work to day in my vineyard. Who answered, I will not, but afterward repented and went. Then came he to the second, and said likewise, and he answered, I will sir, but went not.*

Wherein a wonderful comfort first is to be considered, how the Lord our God maker of heaven and earth doth humble him selfe not only to be called a man, a husbandman, a housholder, and such like, but he abaseth himself of mercie to vs vile earth and ashes, that his sonne becometh man to make mankind glorious in his sight, to make all those that do not refuse his grace offred, of the slaves of Satan, his sonnes by adoption. You are his sonnes, you are his vineyard, you are as dear unto him, as the apple of his eye, as *Moses* speaketh, if you can beleue it; he sweareth that you shall be

be his inheritance, and he will be yours, if ye will onlie receive his grace and believe him, when he sweareth, will ye call his trueth into doubt? his glorie into shame by your misbelefe? Better it were, that all creatures should perish, heaven, man and angels, then that God should not have credit, or that his glorie in the least sort should be diminished. He hath called you by his worde now many a time to worke in his vineyard, I aske what you have answered, your conscience can witness and all the world seeth it. Somme of you have said plaine like rebellious children, that ye would not do it, that ye would not work in your fathers vineyard. Shall I apply this part to *Scotland*? I may right well do it, and also to a great parte in *England*. But *Scotland* indede called most plainlie and evidentlie through the mercies of God both by their own faithfull countrie men, and also by earnest travail of our *English* nation to come to the Lords vineyard in the tyme of king *Edward*, hath to the damage of both continually refused, as the conscience of many this day beareth witness. That time, as ye know, the vineyard in *England* by the children of God was not altogether neglected, and then most earnestly were ye (O Brethren of *Scotland*) required to ioine hands with vs in the Lords worke, but *Satan* alas would not suffer it. His old fostred malice, and Antichrist his sonne could not abyde, that Christ should grow so strong by ioininge that ile together in perfect religion, whome God hath so many waies coupled and strengthened by his worke in nature: the papistes practised al their fyne craftes in *England*, *Scotland*, and in *France*, that the Ghospellers should not with so strong walles be defended, lest this one iland should become a safe sanctuary, as it began to be, to all the persecuted in all places. They moue sturdie stomackes, they dispense with periuries, they work by their craftie confessions, they raise vp warre in the end, whereby ye (dear Brethren of *Scotland*) were sore plagued. Of all these traiterouse sleights ye can not be ignorant. For yet it is not passed the memorie of man, that your king made promise to haue mett king *Henrie* the eight at *Torke*: whose purpose (albeit in other things I do not allow him) in that case was most godlie and praise worthie. For it was to make an end of that vngodlie warre, and cruell murther, which longe had continued betwixt the two realmes. Your king, I say, made promise to mete him; the breche whereof, as it was the occasion of much trouble, so is it evidently knowen, that your cardinal, and his clergie laboured and procured the same. For it is not vnknown to somme amongst you, how manie thousand crownes the churchmen did promise for maintenance of the warre, which king *Henrie* did denounce by the reason of that breche. Superfluous it were to me, to recite all the causes moving your pestilent preestes to sollicitat your king to that infidelitie. But this is most euident, that they feared nothing, but the fall of their glorie, and the trouble of their kingdome, which then in *England* beganne to be shaken by suppressing of the abbaies. This moued your preestes earnestly to labour, that your kinge should falsly breake his promise. But what affliction ye sustained by that and other their practises, your selues can witness. For your borders were destroyed, your nobilitie for the most parte were taken prisoners, and your king for sorowe sodenly died. But these your miseries did nothing moue your preestes to repentance, but rather did inflame them against God, and against the profit of their native realme. For when again after the death of your kinge, your frendship and favours were sought, first by king *Henrie*, and after his Death by king *Edward* his sonne, and by him, who then was chosen Protectour, how craftely, I say, did then your preestes undermine all, ye are not ignorant. When your Governoure with the consent of the most part of the nobilitie had solemnelie sworn in the abbaie of *Halibroode* house, sir *Raphe Sadler* then being embassadour for *England* to perform the marriage contracted betwixt king *Edward* and your yonge quene, and faithfully to stand to euerie point concluded and agreed for perfurmance of that vnion, when scales were interchanged, and the embassadour dismissed, what sturr, tumult, and sedition raised your cardinal in that your realme, it is not vnknown; to witt, how that by his craft and malice the realme was deuided, the gouernor compelled to seke his favour, to violate his oth, and so to become infamous for ever. And finallie, by the pride of the papistes was that leage broken. But what did thereof ensue? *Edinburgb*, *Leith*, *Dundie*, yea the most part of the realme did fele. Your shippes were stayed, your gooddes were lost, your chiefe townes were burned, and at the end the beautie of your realme did fall in the

edge of the sworde, the hand of God manifestly feighting against you, because against your solemne oth ye did feight against them, who fought your fauours by that godlie coniunction, which before was promised. But still proceeded your enemies the clergie, and their adherentes in their purposed malice. Wonder not that I terme them your enemies. For albeit they be your countrie men, yet because they seke nothing more, then the maintainance of their owne kingdome, which is the power of darcknes, and the kingdome of Antichrist, they are become coniuured enemies to euerie citie, nation or man, that labour to comme to the knolledge of the trueth. That pestilent generation, I say, did not cease, till they obtained their purpose, by deliuering your yonge quene to the handes of the *French* king, assuredly mindinge by that means to cut foreuer the knot of the frendship, that might have ensued betwixt *England* and *Scotland* by that godly coniunction. What the papistes feared is manifest. For then Christ Iesus being more purely preached in *England*, then at anie time before, would shortlie haue suppressed their pride and vain glorie : and therefore they raged, that he should not reign above them also. But what is like to apprehend you, for because ye did not betimes withstand their most wicked counsils, wise men do consider. How heauie and vnpleasant shall the burthen and yock of a *Frenchman* be to your shoulders and necks, God graunt that experience do not teach you. But to returne to my former purpose, by all those means reherfed, by his messengers, by the blood of his saints shed amongstest you, by favours and frendship, by warre and the sword, yea by famin and pestilence, and all other means, hath God your merciful father called you to labour in his vineyard, but to this day, alas, we hear not of your humble obedience, but stil ye saie with stubburn faces, we will not labour, we will not be bounde to such thraldome, to abide the burthens of the vineyard. Ye think perchance I am to sharpe, and that I accuse you more than you deserue. For amongstest you manie do know the will of your father, and many make profession of his ghospel, but consider, brethren, that it is not enoughe to know the commandement, and to professe the same in mouth, but it is necessarie, that ye refuse your selues, your owne pleasures, appetites, and your owne wisdome, if ye shall be iudged faithfull labourers in the Lordes vineyard, and that ye bear the burthens together with your Brethren, and suffre heate, and sweate, before ye taste the frutes with them. God will not stand content, that ye loke ouer the hedge, and beholde the labours of your brethren, but he requireth, that ye put your handes also to your labours, that ye trauail continually to pluck vpp all vnprofitable wedes, albeit in so doing the thornes prick you to the hard bones: that ye assist your brethren in their labours, thoghe it be with the ieopardie of your lifes, the losse of your substance, and displeasure of the hole earthe. Except that thus ye be minded to labour, the Lord of the vineyarde wil not acknowledge you for his faithful seruantes. And because this matter is of weight and great importance, I will speake somewhat more plainlie for your instruction. It is bruted (to the greate comfort of all godlie that heare it) that somme of you (deare brethren of *Scotland*) do desire Christ Iesus to be faithfullie preached amongstest you, which thing if from the heart you desire and with godlie wisdome and stowt courage folow your purpose and enterprise, ye shall be blessed of the Lord for euer. But in the beginning ye must beware that ye folow not the example of your brethren of *England*, in whose handes albeit the work of the Lord appeared to prosper for a time, yet because the eye was not single, we see to our grief the ouerthrow of the same. They began to plante Christ Iesus in the heartes of the people, and to banish that *Romish* Antichrist, they did driue owt the filthie swine from their dennes and holes (I mean the monkes and other such papisticall vermin from their cloisters and abbaies). This was a good beginning, but alas in the one and the other there was great faulte. For the banishing of that *Romish* Antichrist was rather by the feare of the lawes pronounced against him by actes of parliament, then by the liuelie preaching of Christ Iesus, and by the discovering of his abominations. And the suppression of the abbaies did rather smell of auarice, then of true religion. Those venemous locustes, which before were holden within their cloisters, were then sent abroad to destroie all good and grene herbes. For superstitious freers, ignorant monks, and idle abots, were made archbishops, bishops, persons, vicars, and such as ought to fede the soules of men : who thus set at libertie did continu-

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ally wroot up the Lord's vineyard. And one crafty Gardener, whose name was *Stephen*, hauing wolt lik conditions, did maintain many a wolfe, did sow wicked seed in the garden, and cherished manie weedes to deface the vineyard. And his maid *Marie*, who after was his mastres, now married to *Philip*, wanting no wil to wickednes when she was at the weakest nor stomake to do euill, when she gat the mastrie, did cherishe manie weedes. Those two I say haue so broken the hedges of the same vineyarde, (God so punishing the sinnes of those, that ought to haue made better prouision for the same) that the husbandmen are hanged vp, the diggars, dressours, and planters are banished, prisoned and burned. Such hauocke is made, that al wilde beastes haue power to pollute the sanctuarie of the Lorde. O heauens beholde her crueltie, o earthe cry for vengeance, o seas, and deserte mountains, witnessers of her wickednes, breake furthe against this monster of *England*. But whether do I runne, by the bitternes of mie grefe? I must needs leaue the o *Scotland*, after that I haue aduertised the of this, that thou folow not the example, as I haue said, of *England*: but in the bowels of Christ Iesus I exhorte the, that if thou pretendest any reformation in religion, which is the chiefe labour of the vineyard, that thou do it at the first with a single eye, and all simplicitie, that from yeare to yeare thou be not compelled to change, as was *England*, but let thy reformation be full and plaine, according to goddes holie will and worde without addition. Let all the plantes, which thy heauenlie father hath not planted, be rooted owte at once, let not avarice blind the, neither yet worldlie wisdom discourage thy heart, let none beare the name of a teacher, that is knowen to be a fulterer of superstition, or anie kind of wickednes. And thou so doing shalt moue God of his greate mercie to send unto the faithfull worke men in abundance, to blesse the worke, that thou pretendest in the vineyard, and to preferue the to the glorie of his own name, and to thy everlasting comferte. Thus most thou *Scotland* repent thy former inobedience, if that thou wilt be approued of the Lord. And now do I return to the (O *England*) I do liken the to the seconde sonne in the parable which answered his father with flattering wordes, saying, *I go father, but yet he went not at all*. For sence the time, that I had any remembrance, our heauenlie father of his great mercies hath not ceased to call the in to his vineyard, and to these late daies thou hast said alwayes, that thou woldest enter and be obedient. In the time of king *Henrie* the eght, when by *Tyndale*, *Frith*, *Bylany*, and other his faithfull seruantes God called *England* to dresse his vineyard, many promised full faire, whome I could name. But what frute folowed? Nothing but bitter grapes, yea breeres and brambles, the wormewood of auarice, the gall of crueltie, the poison of filthie fornication, flowing from head to foote, the contempt of God and open defense of the Cake Idol by open proclamation to be red in the Churches in the stead of Goddes scriptures. Thus was there no reformation, but a deformation in the tyme of that tyrant and lecherous monster. The bore I grante was busie wrooting and digging in the earth, and all his pigges that folowed him. But they soght only for the pleasant frutes, that they winded with their longe snoutes. And for their own bellies sake they wrooted vp many weeds, but they turned the ground so, mingling good and badd together, swete and sowre, medicine and poyson, they made, I say, such confusion of religion and lawes, that no good thing could grow, but by great miracle, vnder such Gardners. And no meruail, if it be rightie considered: For this bore raged against God, against Deuill, against Christ and against Antichrist, as the some that he cast owte against *Luther*, the racing furth of the name of the Pope, and yet allowing his laws, and his murder of manie christian fouldiours, and of many papistes, do clearlie and euidentlie testifie vnto vs. Especiallie the burning of *Barnes*, *Ieremie*, and *Garrat*, three faithful preachers of the trueth, and hanging the same day for maintenance of the Pope, *Powel*, *Abel*, and *Peterson*, doth clearlie paint his beastlines, that he cared for no maner of religion. This monstrous bore for al this must nedes be called the head of the Church in paine of treason, displacing Christ our onlie head, who ought alone to haue this title. Wherefore in this pointe (O *England*) ye were no better then the *Romishe* Antichrist, who by the same title maketh himselfe a God, sitteth in mennes consciences, bannisheth the worde of God, as did your king *Henrie*, whome ye so magnifie. For in his best time nothing was hard, but the

kings booke, and the kings proceedings, the kinges homelies in the Churches, where Goddes word should onely haue bene preached. So made you your king a God, beleuing nothing but that he alowed. But how he died, I will not write for shame. I will not name how he turned to his vomer. I will not write your other wickednes of those times, your murthers without measure, adulteries and incestes of your kinge, his lordes, and communes. It greueth me to write those euils of my countrie, saue onlie that I must nedes declare, what frutes were founde in the vineyard after you promised to worke therein, to moue you to repentance, and to iustifie Godds iudgements, how greuouly so euer he shall plague you hereafter. Wherefor I desire you to call to remembrance your best state vnder king *Edward*, when all men with generall consent promised to worke in the vineyard, and ye shall haue cause I doubt not to lament your wickednes, that so contemned the voice of God for your owne lustes, for your crueltie, for your couetousnes, that the name of God was by your vanities euill spoken of in other nations. I will name no particulare thinges, becaus I reuerence those times, saue onlie the killing of both the kinges vnclies, and the prisonnement of *Hoper* for popishe garments. God graunt you all repentant heartes, for no order nor state did any part of his duetie in those dayes. But to speak of the best, whereof ye vse to boast, your religion was but an *English* matyns, patched furthe of the popes portesse, many things were in your great booke superstitious and foolish, all were driuen to a prescripte seruice lyke the papistes, that they should think theyr dueties discharged, if the nombre were said of psalmes and chapters. Finally, There could no discipline be broght into the Church, nor correction of maners. I will touche no further abuses, yet willing and desiering you to consider them in your heartes, that knowing your negligence ye may bring furth frutes of repentance. For this I admonishe you (O ye people of *England*) wheresoeuer you be scattered or placed, that onles ye do right spedely repent of your former negligence, it is not the *Spanyarden* only, that ye haue to feare, as roddes of Goddes wrath, but all other nations, *France*, *Turkie*, and *Denmarke*, yea all creatures shall be armed against you for the contempt of those tymes, when your heauenlie father so mercitullie called you. To what contempt was Goddes worde and the admonition of his prophetes comme in all estates, before God did stryke, somme men are not ignorant. The preachers themselues for the most part could fynd no fault in religion, but that the Church was poore and lacked liuing. Trueth it is, that the abbay landes and other such reuenues, as afore appertained to the papisticall Church, were most wickedly and vngodly spent, but yet many things would haue bene reformed, before that the kitching had bene better provided for to our prelates in *England*. It was moste eident, that many of you vnder the cloke of religion serued your own bellies: Somme were so busie to heape benefice vpon benefice, some to labour in parlament for purchesing of lands, that the tyme was small, which could be found for the reformation of abuses, and very litle, which was spent vpon the feeding of your flockes. I nede not now to examine particular crimes of preachers. Only I say, that the Ghospell was so lightly esteemed, that the most part of men thought rather that God should bow and obey to their appetites, then that they should be subiect to his holie commaundements. For the communes did continew in malice and rebellion, in craft and subtiltie, notwithstanding all lawes that could be deuised for reformation of abuses. The merchants had their own soules to sell for gaines, the gentlemen were become *Nemrods* and Gyants; and the nobilitie and counsile would suffer no rebukes of Gods messengers, thogh their offenses were neuer so manifest. Let those, that preached in the court, the lent before king *Edward* deceased, speak their conscience, and accuse me, if I lie, yea let a writing written by that miserable man, then duk of *Northumberland* to master *Harlow* for that time Byshope of *Harford*, be broght to lighte, and it shall testifie, that he ashamed not to say, that the libertie of the preachers tonges would cause the counsile and nobilitie to ryse vppe against them: For they could not suffer so to be intreated. These were the frutes even in the tyme of haruest a litle before the winter came. And of the tyme of *Marie* what should I write? *England* is now so miserable, that no penne can paynt it. It ceaseth to be in the number of children, becaus it openly despiseth God the father. It

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hath cast of the trueth knowen and confessed, and foloweth lies and errours, which once it detested. It buyldeth the buylding, which it once destroyed: It raiseth vp the idols, which once were there confounded: It murdereth the sainctes, it mainteineth *faals* prophetes by the commaundement of *Iesabel*. Such are the euill husbundes, that now haunte the vineyard, so that this is true, that our Sauour Christ saith, *The Lord hymselfe hath planted a faire vineyard, he badged it round about, and buylded a toure, &c. and when the tyme of the frute drew nere, he sent his seruantes to the tilmen to receyue the frutes thereof, but they caught his seruantes, they batt one, they killed another, and stoned others. Againe he sent other seruants mo, and they serued them likewise.*

What nede any exposition to applie this vnto *England*? All is fulfilled, that is spoken in that parable, onles they do waite for the sonne hymselfe, for to comme, that they may handle hym lykewise, as they haue done his seruantes. But all is one, saith our Sauour Christ, *That, which ye do to one of these litle ons, the same ye do to me*, be it good or bad. *Why dost thou persecute me*, saith Christ to *Saul*, when he was, as he now is, at the right hand of God his father in the heauens. Therfor they persecute, they banishe, they burne Christ the sonne of God in his membres. The iudgement therefore now remaineth, which the wicked then gaue against themselves, *That the Lord of the vineyard will cruelly destroy those euill persons, and will let furth his vineyard vnto other husbundes.*

And the confirmation of the same by the sentence of the chiefe iudge, that *the kingdome of God shall be taken from such, and geuen to a people, that shall bringe furth the frutes thereof.*

The which iudgement is begonne in *Englande*, and shortly alas will be fully executed and finished without right spedie repentance. Somme hope is in *Scotland*, which hath not shewed furth any such crueltie, and hath nor contemned the knowen treasures: But lyke wanton children haue contemned the commaundement of theyr father, partely of frailtie, partly of ignorance. But *England* the seruante, that knew the will of his Lord and maister, which was once lightened with most clere beames, which hath tasted of the sweteness of the worde of God, and of the ioyes of the worlde to come, which hath abiured Antichrist, and all idolatrie, which hath boasted to professe Christ with greate boldnes before all the worlde, must be beaten with many stripes, it cannot be auoided.

But to be thorte this only remaineth for bothe these nations, that they repent and returne into the vineyard with the fyrst sonne. For neither shall ignorance excuse any land or nation, as is playn in the fyrst to the *Rommes*, neither can any people be receyued without the frutes of repentance, as *Iohn Baptist* proclaimeth.

The frutes of repentance I call not only to know your synnes, and to lament them, but to amend your liues, and to make strenght the Lordes pathes by resisting Satan and synne, and obeying God in doing the workes of righteousnes, and executing Goddes precepts and iudgements, so longe amongst you contemned. *For euen now is the axe put to the roote of the tree, so that euerie tree, that bringeth not furth goode frute, shall be hewen downe, and cast into the fier. The Lord hath now his fanne in his hande, and will purge his flore, and gather the wheate into his garner, but will burne the chaffe with vnquenchable fier.*

Repent therefore, whiles ye haue tyme, before ye be fanned, hewen downe and fiered. When I do behold both your two realmes, I see the fanne, I see the axe. But this I am slier is the begynning of your ruine, that ye do mary with strangers, and giue your power to forraine nations, such as feare not God, but are open idolaters, blasphemers, persecuters of the sainctes of God, that careth neither for heauen nor hell, God nor Deuill, so that they may wyne landes, townes and countries. God shall hew you downe by them therefore, as he hath done other nations by like meanes and causes, and they shall fanne you furthe of your own huskes and homes, to make you vagaboundes and beggars, and after possesse your landes and goods, as God threatned by *Moses*, as was before alledged. Trust not to thy strenghte afterward, when thy ennemie is setled, if thou haue no strenghte to resist his beginniges, no more then thou canst ouercome a canker that hath ouerrunne many membres. That God would not haue you to truste to your force of men, townes,

or castels, there is enough examples, that you bothe haue felt to your grefe. And I cannot write without murning. For how litle auailed the multitude, and stowt courage of you (dear brethren of Scotland) att *Mussilburgh*, or *Pinkfield*, the carcases alas of many thousands, who that day fell in the edge of the sword, may teach you. And how vaine be all strengthes, (be they iudged neuer so stronge, or inexpugnable?) lett *Calice* lately taken admonish you.

But I do leaue such examples to your considerations to teache you to call to the liuinge Lord, who offereth himselfe, as a mercifull father vnto you, still calling you to repentance by wordes, by writings, and most gentle corrections, if ye will not be harde harted.

Yet here haue we to lament the miserable state of mankinde, which is so seduced by the subtile serpent; that he cannot know his miserie, when he is admonished, nor perceauie his perdition, when it draweth so nere. When the seruantes of God set furth his trueth, they are charged to trouble realmes, and countries, as was *Elias*: When they warne men not to ioyne handes with wicked kinges and princes, they are counted traitours, as was *Esaies* and *Jeremias*. Such is mannes malice. But if there be a God, that is first of all to be sought, and without whome nothing can be profitable vnto vs, but without him all thinges are unhappie and accursed: If the kingdome of God and the rightousnes thereof must first be sought, and then all thinges shall be ministred: If our heauenlie kinge must before man be obeyed, then all such doctrine, as calleth us from man to God, is easie to be perceaued, and ought not to be resisted. Wherefore I do admonish and exhorte you bothe in the name of the liuinge God, that howsoeuer you haue hitherto shewed your selues the seruants of men to beare and to flatter with the worlde, that now ye learne in Goddes cause to despise the faces of men, to bend your selues against this wicked world, neither regarding the visars of honours, vaine titles nor dignities any further, then they seke God his onlie glorie. For his glorie will he not suffer to be contemned for any cause. No, he will powre contempt on those princes, that strue against his trueth: But those, that glorifie him, will he glorifie. And what kingdome, realme or nation so euer it be, that will not seke to sanctifie his name, they shall in the day of Goddes greuous visitation, which is now at hand, be vtterly confounded, their strength shal be straw, their honours shal be shame, and all their idolatrous preestes, in whose lies they delyte, together with their idols, with whome they are bewitched, shall be stubble and brimstone to burne together, when the wrathe of the Lorde of hostes shall set them on fier. The preestes shall not saue their Goddes, nor the Goddes their worshippers, but both alike accursed shall they perish for euer. And thoghe our mercifull father hathe longe suffered heretofore in the time of ignorance, yet now in the ende of the world he calleth all people so plainly by his worde to repentance, that he must nedes take speedie vengeance, if his calling be contemned, especiallie because the day cannot long be delayed, wherein he hath determined to iudge all people and nations of the whole world, and to put an end to wickednes.

Wherefore to conclude, behold, your onlie remedie remaineth to repent your time of ignorance, of stubburnnes, of crueltrie, of idolatrie, wherein ye haue so long continued. And now with all diligence to seke for knolledge of the worde of God, and openlie to professe the Ghospell, which is the power of God, wherof ye ought not to be ashamed. Cease at the last from your olde stubburnnes, wherbie ye haue deserued vengeance, and labour in the vineyard with all mekenes, that ye may receaue mercie and grace: Cease from your crueltie against Christes members, and learne to suffer for Christes sake, if ye will be true christians: Banish all idolatrie and popishe superstition from amongst you, els can ye haue no parte in Christes kingdome, no more then Christ can be partaker with Antichrist. Pray to the Lord of hostes and armies to giue you the courage strengthe, and meanes. The Lordes arme is not thortened now, no more then of olde. Be stronge therefore in the Lord for the defence of the trueth, thogh all the worlde rise against itt. Now when the battaile is fierce against the liuinge God for dead idols, (even for the vile wasercake, the most vaine idol that euer was) against the Ghospel of Christ for the inuentions of Antichrist, against Christes membres for Popishe ceremonies,

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can any of you, that wil be compted Gods children, styll halt of bothe handes? It that cake baked in yron tonges, not able to abide a blast of winde, be the eternal God, folow it: But if he only be God, that hath created the heauens, abhorre suche vile idols, that haue no force to saue themselues: If Christes Ghospel and doctrine be sufficient to saluation, and by receauing of it ye are called Chriitians, away with all Antichristes inuentions broght into your *Romish* Churches: If you hope to haue any parte with Christ, cherithe his membres and maintaine them agauist their ennemies the Papistes, and the bishoppe of *Rome* the verie Antichriste: What strengthe, what force, what power, what counsil so euer ye haue of God, bende all to this ende and purpose, as ye will make answeere to your heauenly king for the talent receaued. If you haue no regarde of those principal pointes, which onlie or chieflie should be before your eyes, go to with your forraigne mariages, ioyne *France* to *Scotland*, and *Spayne* to *England*, if it be possible, yet shall ye all be confounded. The Lord shall plague you one with another, vntill you be consumed, your strength, wherein ye trust, shall be shaken to naught, your courage shal be cowardise, your wisdom shall be folie, and the Lord of hostes by your ruine and destruction will be renowned and praised, and his iust iudgements throughowt the earth shal be honoured and feared. Whereof the contrarie if you will maintaine Gods trueth in the earthe, he will receaue you as his children into the heauens, if you confesse his Christe before this wicked generation, Christ shall confesse you before his father in the heauens, in the presence of his angels. But if you persiste stubburnlie to banishe Goddes worde, and his sonne Christ in his membres furth of your earthlie kingdoms, how can ye loke for anie parte in his heauenlie kingdom? Muche more if ye continue to murder his messingers, what can ye loke for amongst your selues, but that ye shoulde digge one in anothers bellie to be your own murderers? So that if ye wil stil remaine after all these admonitions in your murders and idolatries, be suer, that in this worlde ye shall haue enoghe of your idolatries, and you shal be filled with blooddie murders, and in the end ye shall be iudged without the gates of the heuenlie *Ierusalem* amongst the dogges, enchauners, booremongers and murtherers, and idolaters, with all those that loueth lies. But he, that ouercommeth all these, shall inherit all thinges, and I will be his God, saith the Lord, and he shall be my sonne. Whereas the fearefull in Gods cause, the unbeleuing, the abominable, the murtherers, booremongers, forcerers and idolaters, shall haue their parte in the lake, that burneth with fier and brymstone.

Lo here is the choise of life and deathe, of miserie and welthe offred vnto you by Gods mercies, and the meanes how yow may winne Goddes fauour opened, wherbie onelie ye may preuaile against your ennemies. God graunte you heartes to answer as the people did to *Iesua* offering the like choyse. God forbyd (say they) that we shoulde forsake God, we will serue the Lorde our God and obey his voice, for he is our God.

And we your banished brethren by the power of God to prouoke you forward, will thus pronounce with *Iesua*, That we and our families will serue the Lorde God, thogbe all nations runne to idols, thoghe all people do persecute vs. We knowe that Satan hathe but a shorte time to rage, and that Christe our captaine right spedely will crowne his souldiours, to whome, as he is the eternal God with his father, be all honour and glorie for euer and euer. So be it.





T H E
F I R S T B L A S T
O F T H E
T R U M P E T
A G A I N S T T H E
M o n s t r o u s R e g i m e n t o f W o m e n .

T h e P R E F A C E .

The Kingdom appertaineth to our GOD.



W O N D E R it is, that amongst so many pregnant wites, as the isle of Great Britainny hath produced, so many godly and zealous Preachers as England did sometime nourish, and amongst so many learned, and men of grave judgment as at this day by Isabel are exiled, none is found so stout of courage, so faithfull to God, nor loving to their native country, that they darre admonish the inhabitants of that isle, how abominable before God is the empire or rule of a wicked woman, yea of a traitrouse, and bastard, and what a people or nation left destitute of a lawfull head may do, by the authority of God's word, in electing and appointing common rulers and magistrates. That isle (alace) for the contempt and horrible abuse of Gods mercies offered, and for the shamefull revolting to Sathan from Christ Jesus, and from his Gospel once professed, doth justly merit to be left in the hands of their own counsel, and so to come to confusion, and bondage of strangers. But yet I fear that this universal negligence of such as were sometimes esteemed Watch men, shall rather aggravate our former ingratitude, than excuse this our universal ungodly silence in so weighty a matter. We see our country set furth for a prey to forraigne nations, we hear the blood of our brethren the members of Christ Jesus, most cruelly to be shed, and the monstrous empire of a cruel woman (the secret counsel of God excepted) we know to be the only occasion of all these miseries; And yet with silence we passe the time as though the matter appertained nothing to us. But the contrary examples of the ancient prophets move me to doubt of this fact. For Israel did universally decline from God by imbracing idolatry under Jeroboam, in which they continued even to the Destruction of their Commonwealth,

wealth, (a) And Juda with Jerusalem did follow the vile superstition and open impiety of Samaria: Yet the Prophets of God ceased not to admonish the one and the other, yea even after God had poured forth his Plagues upon them; for Jeremy (b) did write to the Captives in Babylon, and did correct their Errours, plainly instructing them who did remain in that detestable Nation. Ezekiel (c) from the midst of his Brethren Prisoners of Chaldaea, did write his Lesson to those that were in Jerusalem; and sharply rebuking their Vices assured them that they should not escape God's Vengeance, by Reason of their Abominations committed. The same prophets for comfort of God's afflicted Saints, who lay hid amongst the reprobate of that age (as corn doth commonly amongst the chaffe) did prophesie the changes of kingdoms, the punishment of tyrants, and the vengeance which God would execute upon the oppressors of his people. The same did Daniel, and the rest of the prophets, every one in their season, (d) by whose examples, and by the plain precept which was given to Ezekiel, commanding that he shall say to the wicked, thou shalt die the death. We in this miserable age are bound to admonish the world, and tyrants thereof, of their sudden destruction, and to assure them and to cry to them, whether they will hear or not, that the blood of the saints which by them is shed continually, crieth and craveth vengeance, in the presence of the Lord of Hosts. And further it is our duty to open the thing revealed to us, unto the ignorant and blind world; unless that to our own condemnation, we list to wrapt up and hide the talent committed to our charge. I am assured, that God hath revealed to some in this our age, that it is more than a monster in nature, that a woman shall reign and have empire above man. And yet with us all, there is such silence, as if God therewith were nothing offended. The natural enemy to God, shall find I know many causes, why no such doctrine ought to be published. First, For that it may seem to tend to sedition. Secondly, It shall be dangerous, not only to the writer or publisher, but also to all such as shall read or favour the same. Thirdly, It shall not amend the chief offenders, partly because it shall never come to their ears, partly because they will not be admonished in such cases. I answer, if any of these be a sufficient Reason, that truth known shall be concealed, then were the ancient prophets of God very fools, who provided not better for their own quietness, then to hazard their lives for rebuking of vices, and for the opening of such crimes as were not known to the world, and Christ Jesus did injury to his Apostles, commanding them to preach repentance and remission of sins in his name, to every realm and nation; and Paul did not understand his own liberty, when he cried, (e) woe to me, if I preach not the evangil. If fear, I say, of persecution, slander, or any inconveniency before named, might have excused, and discharged the servants of God, from plainly rebuking the sins of the world, just cause had every one of them to have ceased from their office; for suddenly their doctrine was accused by terms of sedition, of new learning, and of treason. (f) Persecution and vehement trouble did shortly come upon the professors with the preachers; kings, princes and worldly rulers, did conspire against God, and his anointed Christ Jesus. But did any of these move the prophets and apostles to faint in their vocation? No, but by the resistance which the Devil made by his suggestions, were they the more inflamed, to publish the truth revealed unto them; and to witness with their blood, that grievous condemnation and God's heavy vengeance should follow the proud contempt of graces offered. The fidelity, bold courage and constancy of those that are passed before us, ought to provoke us to follow their foot steps, unless we look for another kingdom, than Christ hath promised to such as persevere in the profession of his name to the end. If any think that the empire of women is not of such importance that for the suppressing of the same, any man is bound to hazard his life. I answer, that to suppress it is in the hand of God alone; but to utter the impiety and abomination thereof, I say, it is in the hand of every true messenger of God, to whom the truth is revealed in that behalf. God's messengers much preach repentance and admonish the offenders of their offences; but neither of both can be done, except the conscience of the offenders be accused and convicted of transgression. And therefore, I say, that of necessity it is, that this monstrous empire of women (which among all enormities this day abounding is most detestable and damnable) be openly revealed and plainly declared to the world, to the end that some may repent and be saved. Now to such as think that it will be long before such Doctrine come to these ears of the offenders; I answer, that the verity of God is of that Nature,

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that

(a) Ezek. xvi. (b) Jer. xxix. (c) Ezek. vii. viii. ix. (d) Isa. xlii. Jer. xli. Ezek. xxxvi. (e) 1 Cor. ix. (f) Mat. xxvi. Acts xviii. xxi. Psal. li. Acts iv.

that one time or other it will purchase to it self audience; it is an odour and a smell that cannot be suppressed, yea, it is a trumpet that will sound in despite of the adversaries; it will compel the very enemies to their confusion, to testify and bear witness of it: For I find that the prophesie and preaching of Eliſha, was declared in the hall of the king of Syria by the servant, and flatterers of the same wicked king, making mention, that Eliſha declared to the king of Israel, whatsoever the said king of Syria spoke in his most secret chamber. (h) And the wondrous works of Jesus Christ were notified to Herod, not in any great commendation of his doctrine: but rather to signifie, that Christ called that tyrant a fox, and that he did no more regard his authority than John the Baptist, whom Herod before had beheaded for the liberty of his tongue. (i) Thus it is certain, that the same as well of Christ's doctrine as of his works, came to the ears of Herod. Even so may the sound of our weak trumpet, by the support of some wind (blow it from the south or from the north) come to the ears of those offenders. But whether it do or not, yet we dare not cease to blow as God will give strength. For we are debtors to more than to princes, to wit, to the multitude of our brethren, of whom, no doubt, a great number have heretofore offended by error and ignorance, giving their suffrages, consent and help to establish women in their kingdoms and empire, notwithstanding how abominable, odious and detestable is all such usurped authority in God's presence. And therefore must the truth be plainly spoken, that the simple and rude multitude may be admonished, and all, concerning the danger which may hereof ensue. I have laid mine account what the finishing of this work may cost me for my own part. First, I am not ignorant how difficile and dangerous it is to speak against a common error, specially when the ambitious minds of men and women are called to the obedience of God's simple commandment: for to the most part of men lawful and godly appeareth, whatsoever antiquity hath received. Secondly, I look to have mine adversaries not only of the ignorant multitude, but also of the wise, polite and quiet spirits of the world: And thus I am most certainly persuaded, that my labour shall not escape reprehension of many. But because I remember the accompts of the talents received must be made to him, who neither respecteth the multitude, neither yet approveth the wisdom, policy, peace nor antiquity, concluding or determining an thing against his eternal will, revealed to us in his most blessed word, I am compelled to cover mine eyes, and shut mine ears, that I neither see the multitude that in this matter shall withstand me, neither hear the opprobries, nor consider the dangers which I may incur for uttering the same. I shall be called foolish, curious despitful, and a sower of sedition; and one day perchance (although now I be nameless) I may be attainted of treason. But seeing impossible it is, but that either I shall offend daily, calling to my conscience, that I ought to manifest the verity known, or else that I shall displease the world for doing the same; I am determined to obey God, notwithstanding that the world should rage thereat. I know that the world offended may (by God's permission) kill the body; but God's majesty being offended, hath power to punish soul and body for ever. God is offended when his precepts are contemned, and his threatnings esteemed to be of no effect; And amongst his manifold precepts given to his prophets, and amongst his threatnings, none is more vehement than that which is pronounced to Ezekiel in these words, (k) Son of man I have set thee a watch-man unto the house of Israel, therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me; when I say unto the wicked. O wicked man, thou shalt surely die, if thou does not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but his blood will I require at thine hand; nevertheless, if thou warn the wicked of his way to turn from it, if he do not turn from his way; he shall die in his iniquity, but thou hast delivered thy Soul. This precept, I say, with the threatening annexed, together with the rest that is spoken in the same Chapter, not to Ezekiel only, but to every one, whom God placeth watch-man over his people and flock (and watch men are they, whose eyes he doth open, and whose conscience he pricketh to admonish the ungodly) compelleth me to utter my conscience in this matter, notwithstanding that the whole world should be offended with me for so doing. If any wonder why I do conceal my name, let him be assured, that the fear of corporal punishment is neither the only, neither the chief cause. My purpose is thrice to blow the trumpet in the same matter, if God so permit. Twice I intend to do it without name; but at the last Blast to take the blame upon my self, that all others may be purged.

T H E

(h) Kings vi. 12. (i) Mat. xiv. (k) Ezek. xxxiii.

The first BLAST, to awake Women Degenerate.



O promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire, above any realme, nation or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and finally the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice. *First*, I say and affirm, that the empire of a woman is *repugnant to nature*: For who can deny but it repugneth to nature, that the blind shall be appointed to lead and conduct such as do see, that the weak, sick and impotent Persons, should nourish and keep the hail and strong; and finally, that the foolish, mad and phrentick, shall govern the discreet, and give counsel to such as be of sober mind? and such be all women compared to man in bearing authority. For their sight in civil Regiment is but blindness, their strength weakness, their counsel foolishness, and judgement phrensie, if it be rightly considered. I except such as God by singular priviledge, and for certain causes, known only to himself, hath excoemed from the common rank of women, and do speak of women, as nature and experience do this day declare them. Nature I say doth paint them forth to be weak, frail, impatient, feeble and foolish; and experience hath declared them to be unconstant, variable, cruel, and void of the spirit of counsel and regiment. For these notable faults which in all ages have been espied in them, men have not only removed them from rule and authority, but also some have thought that men subject to the counsel and empire of their wives, were unworthy of all publick office. What difference shall we put (saith *Aristotle* (a) in the second of his *Politicks*) whether women bear authority, or husbands that obey the empire of their wives, be appointed to be magistrates? For the injustice, confusion and disorder which doth follow the one, must needs follow the other. The same author further reasoneth, that the policie or regiment of the *Lacedemonians* (who otherwise amongst the *Grecians* were most excellent) was not worthy to be reputed nor accounted amongst the number of common-wealths well governed, because the magistrates and rulers of the same, were too much given to please and obey their wives. What would this writer I pray you have said to that realm or nation, where a woman sitteth crowned in parliament among the midst of men. O fearful and terrible are thy judgements, O Lord, which hath thus abased man for his iniquity. If *Aristotle* and others illuminated only by the light of nature, did see and pronounce causes sufficient why women ought not to bear rule or authority, I am sure if they were living this day, to see a woman sitting in judgement or riding from parliament in the midst of men, having the royal crown upon her head, the sword and scepter born before her, in sign that administration of justice was in her power, they would be so astonished with such a sight, that they would judge the world to be transformed into *Amazones*, (b) and that such a metamorphosis and change was made of all the men of that country, as poets do faine was made of all companions of *Ulysses*, or at least, that albeit the outward form of men remains, yet should they judge that their hearts were changed from the wisdom, understanding and courage of men to the foolish fondness and cowardice of women; yea, they further should pronounce that where women reign and be in authority, their vanity must needs be preferred

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to

(a) 2 Pol. Arist. (b) *Amazones* were monstrous women, that could not bide the regiment of men, and therefore killed their husbands. Read *Jusine. Arist. 2 1st Lib. 50. de regulis juris.*

to virtue, ambition and pride to temperance and modesty, and finally that avarice the mother of all mischief must needs there devour equity and justice. But let us hear what others have seen and decreed in this matter. In the Rules of the law thus it is written, "women are removed from all civil and publick office, so that they neither may be judges, neither may occupy the place of the magistrate; neither yet may be speakers for others". The same is repeated in the third and sixteenth books of the *Digestes*, (c) there among certain Persons which are forbidden, *ne pro aliis postulent*, that is, that they be no speakers nor advocates for others, women are forbidden, and this cause is added, that they do not against shamefastness intermeddle themselves with the causes of others; neither yet that they presume to use the offices due to men. The law in the same place doth further declare, that a natural shamefastness ought to be in woman kind, which most certainly she loseth whensoever she taketh upon her the office and estate of man, as in *Calphurnia* (d) was evidently declared, for she having licence to speak before the senate, at length becomes so impudent and importune, that by her babbling she troubled the whole assembly, and so give occasion that this law was established. In the first book of the *Digestes*, (e) the condition of the woman is pronounced in many cases to be worse than of the man. As in jurisdiction (saith the Law) in receiving of cure and tuition, in adoption, in publick accusation, in delation, in all popular action, and in motherly power, which she hath not upon her own sons. The law further will not permit, that a woman give any thing to her husband, because it is against the nature of her kind, being the inferior member, to presume to give any thing to her head. The law doth moreover pronounce woman kind to be most avaricious; which is a vice intolerable in those that should rule or minister justice. And *Aristotle*, (f) as before is touched, doth plainly affirm, that whensoever women bear dominion, there must needs the people be disordered, living and abounding in all intemperance, given to pride, excess and vanity; and in end, that they must needs come to confusion and ruine. Would to God the examples were not so manifest to the further declaration of the imperfections, natural weakness, and inordinate appetites of women. I might adduce histories, (g) proving some women to have died for sudden joy; some for unpatience have murdered themselves, some to have burned with such inordinate lust, that for the quenching of the same, they have betrayed to strangers their country and city; and to have been so desirous of dominion, (h) that for obtaining thereof, they have murdered the children of their own sons, yea some have killed with cruelty their own husbands and children. But to me it is sufficient (because this part of nature is not my most sure foundation) to have proved that men illuminated only by the light of nature, have seen and determined, that it is a thing most oppugnant to nature, that woman rule and govern over man, for these that will not permit a woman to have power over her own sons, will far less permit her to have rule over a realm. And these that will not suffer her to speak in defence of those that be accused, nor admit her accusation intended against man, far less would suffer her to sit in judgment, crowned with the royal crown, usurping the authority in the midst of men. (i)

But now to the second part of Nature, in which I include the revealed will and perfect ordinance of God; against this part of nature, I say it doth manifestly repugne, that any woman shall raigne or bear dominion over man. For God first by order of the creation, and after by the curse and malediction pronounced against the woman by reason, of her rebellion hath declared the contrarie. *First*, I say, the woman in her greatest perfection was made to serve and obey man, not to rule and command him. *Man is not of the woman* (saith Paul) *but the woman of the man.* (k) *And man was not created for the woman; but the woman for the man:* For this cause ought the woman to have a power upon head; this is a coverture in sign of subjection. But after

(c) Lib. 3. 16. *Digestorum ad senatus consul. Velleianum*. Lib. 3. de postulatione, Tit. 1.

(d) *Calphurnia*. (e) *De statu hominum*, Tit. 8. By the civil law power is taken from women over their own Children, *Dig. Lib. 24. de donatione inter. vrum & fam. Lib. 1. Dig. de legibus et senatuscon. Tit. 3.* (f) *Politic. 2.* Great imperfections of women. (g) *Romilda* the wife of *Gisulphus* betrayed to *Cacanus* the Dukedom of *Friul* in Italy. *Jane Queen of Naples* hanged her Husband, *Atalia* destroyed all the seed royal, 2 Kings, ii. (h) *Ierne*, *Anton. Isabell.* (i) The less things are denied to women, therefore the greater cannot be granted. (k) 1 Cor. xi. 8, 9, 10.

ter her fall and rebellion against God there was put upon her a new necessity, and she was made subject to man by the irrevocable sentence of God, pronounced in these words, (1) *I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and conception, with sorrow shalt thou bear thy children, and thy will shall be subject to thy man: And he shall have dominion over thee.* From the former part of this malediction, neither art, nobility, policie, nor law made by man can deliver womankind. For whosoever attaineth to that honour to be a mother, proveth by experience the effect and strength of God's word. But, alace, ignorance of God, ambition and tyranny have studied to abolish and destroy the second part of God's punishment; for women are lifted up to be heads over realmes, and to rule above men at their pleasure and appetites: But horrible is the vengeance, which is prepared for the promoters, and for the persons promoted; except they speedily repent, for they shall be dejected from the glory of the sons of God to the slavery of the Devil, and to the torment that is prepared for all such, as do exalt themselves against God. Against God can be nothing more manifest, than that a woman should be exalted to raigne above man: For the contrary sentance hath God pronounced in these words, *Thy will shall be subject to thy husband, and he shall bear dominion over thee.* Thus did God, not only make *Adam* lord and governor over *Eve's* body; but even over her appetites and will, and thereby dejected all women from empire and dominion above man: So that no woman can ever presume to raigne, but the same she must needs do in despite of God, and in contempt of his punishment and malediction. I am not ignorant, that the most part of men understand this part of malediction to be meant of the subjection of wife to her husband, and of the dominion which he beareth above her; but the Holy Ghost taketh from all women all kind of superiority and power over man, speaking by the mouth of *St. Paul*, as follows, *I suffer not a woman to teach, neither yet to usurpe authority above man (m).* Here he nameth women in general excepting none: And in the first epistle to the *Corinthians* chap. xiv. the apostle permitteth that all persons may prophecy one after another that all may learn, and all may be comforted; and least the plurality of speakers should have bred confusion, he addeth, *The spirit of the prophets are subject to the prophets;* as if he should say, God shall always raise up some to whom the verity shall be revealed, and to such you shall give place, albeit they sit in the lowest place. And thus the apostle would have prophecyng an exercise to be free to the whole church that every one should communicate with the congregation what God had revealed to them, providing it were done orderly. But from this general privilege he secludeth all women, saying, (n) *Let women keep silence in the congregation:* And why I pray you? Was it because he thought no women to have any knowledge? No, he giveth another, saying, *Let her be subject as the law saith.* In the words is first to be noted, that the apostle calleth the former sentance pronounced against women a *Law*, that is, the immutable decree of God, who by his own voice hath subjected her to one member of the congregation, that is, to her husband. Whereupon the Holy Ghost concludeth, That she may never rule, nor bear empire above man, for she that is made subject to one, may never be preferred to many. And that be the Holy Ghost is manifestly expressed in these words, *I suffer not a woman to usurp authority above man.* So both by God's law and the interpretation of the Holy Ghost, women is utterly forbidden to occupy the place of God in the offices foresaid, which he has assigned to man, whom he hath appointed to be his lieutenant on earth. The apostle taketh power from all women to speak in the assembly: (o) *Ergo*, he permitteth no woman to rule above man. The former part of the argument is evident, and so the conclusion doth of necessity follow; for he that taketh from woman the least part of authority, will not permit unto her that which is greatest: But greater it is, (p) to raigne above realms and nations, to publish and make laws, to appoint judges and ministers, than to speak in the congregation. Woman's judgment, sentance, or opinion proposed in the congregation may be judged by all, may be corrected by the learned, and reformed by the godly. But woman being promoted in soveraine authority, her laws must be obeyed,

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(1) Gen. iii. 16. (m) 1 Tim. ii. (n) 1 Cor. xiv. (o) A strong argument. (p) Note.

ed, her opinion followed, and her tyranny maintained, suppose it be expressly against God and the profit of the common-wealth. And therefore yet again I repeat, that a woman promoted to sit in the seat of God, that is, to teach, to judge, or to raigne above the man is a monsture in nature, contumely to God, and a thing most repugnant to his will and ordinance. That you may understand this my judgment to be no new interpretation of God's scriptures, I will recite the mindes of some ancient writers in the same matter. *Tertullian* (p) in his book of *Woman's apparel*, after he hath shewed many causes why gorgeous apparell is abominable and odious in a woman, he addeth these words, speaking, as it were, to every woman by name, "Dost thou not know (saith he) that thou art *Eva*? The sentence of God liveth, and is effectually against thy kind; and in this world, of necessity it is that the punishment also live; thou art the port and gate of the Devill, thou art the first transgressor of God's law; thou didst persuade and easily deceive him, whom the Devill durst not assault; for thy merit (that is for thy death) it behoved the Son of God to suffer death. And doth it yet abide in thy mind to deck thee above thy skin coats?" By these and many other grave sentences, and quick interrogations did this godly writer labour to bring every woman in contemplation of herself that she might avoid and abhor whatsoever thing might puff her up with pride, or that might be an occasion that should forget the sentence, which God hath pronounced against the whole race and daughters of *Eva*; and what I pray you is more able to cause woman forget her own condition, then if she be lifted up in authority above man? It is a thing very difficile to man (be he never so constant) promoted to honours not to be tickled somewhat with pride, for the wind of vain glory doth easily carry up the dry dust of the earth. But as for woman, it is no more possible that she being set aloft in authority above man shall resist the motions of pride than it is possible to the weak reed or to the turning weather-cock not to bow or turne at the vehemency of the unconstant wind: And therefore the same writer expressly forbiddeth all women to intermeddle with the office of man, for thus he writeth in his book, (q) *de virginibus velandis*, "It is not permitted to a woman to speak in the congregation, neither to teach, neither to baptize, neither to vindicate to herself any office of man." The same he speaketh yet more plainly in the preface of his sixth book against *Marcion* (r), when he recounting certaine monstrous things, which were to be seen at the sea called *Euxinum*, amongst the rest he reciteth, there is a great monster in nature, that women in those parts were not tamed nor emboised by consideration of their own sex and kind, but that all shame laid apart, they made expenses upon wapons and learned the fates of war, having more pleasure to fight than to marrie, and be subject to man. Thus *Tertullian*, who taketh from woman all office appertaining to man, would never suffer her to reigne above man; and he that judged it a monster in nature, that a woman should exercise wapons, would judge it, no doubt, to be a monster of monsters, that a woman should be exalted above a whole realme and nation. Of the same mind is *Origen* and divers others whose sentences I omit to avoid prolixity. *Augustine* in his 22. book against *Faustus* (s), proveth that a woman ought to do service to her husband as unto God, affirming, that in nothing hath woman equal power with man, except that neither have power of their own bodies, by which he would plainly include that woman ought never to pretend nor thirst for that power and authority which is due to man. And in another place he affirmeth, (t) that woman ought to be repressed and bridled betimes if she aspires to any dominion; alledging that dangerous it is to suffer her to proceed altho' it be in temporal and corporal things, and thereto he addeth these words; "God seeth not for a time, neither is there any new thing in his sight, and knowledge," meaning thereby that what God hath seen in one woman (as concerning dominion and having of authority) the same he seeth in all; and what he hath forbidden to one, the same hath he forbidden to all, and this most evidently; yet in another place he writeth, moving this question, "How can woman be the image of God, seeing she is subject to man, and hath neither authority to teach, to be witness, nor to judge, much less to rule or bear empire?" "Woman (saith *Augustine*) compared to other creatures is the I-
"mage

(p) *Tertullian. de habitu mulierum.* (q) *Tertul. lib. 8. de virg. velandis.* (r) *In proem. 6 lib. contra Marcion.* (s) *Aug. lib. 22. contra Faustum, cap. 31.* (t) *De trinitate lib. 12. cap. 7.*

"image of God,(u) for she beareth dominion over them; but compared to man, she may
 "not be called the *Image of God*, for she beareth not rule nor lordship over man,
 "but ought to obey him, &c. And how woman ought to obey him he speaketh (x)
 yet more clearly in these words, "The woman shall be subject unto man as unto
 "Christ, &c." With *Augustine* agreeth in every point *St. Ambrose*, who thus writeth
 (y) in his *Hexameron*, "Adam was deceived by *Eva*, and not *Eva* by *Adam*, and there-
 fore just it is, that woman receive and acknowledge him for governor whom she
 "called to sin, least again she slide by womanly facility and writing upon the e-
 pistle to the *Ephesians*, chap. v. he saith, (z) "Let women be subject to their own hus-
 bands as unto the Lord, for the man is head to the woman, &c." As the con-
 gregation is subject to Christ, even so ought women to be to their husbands in all
 things. He proceedeth further saying, "Women are commanded to be subject to men
 "by the law of nature, because that man is the Beginner of the woman: For as
 "Christ is the head of the church, so is man of the woman; from Christ the
 "church took beginning, and therefore it is subject unto him, even so did woman take
 "beginning from man that she should be subject." If any man think that all these
 former sentences be spoken only of the subjection of the married woman to her hus-
 band; as before I have proved the contrary by the plain words and reasoning of *St.*
Paul, so shall I shortly do the same by other testimonies of the foresaid writers. The
 same *Ambrose* (a) writing upon the second chapter of the first epistle to *Timothy*, after
 he hath spoken much of the simple arrayment of women, he addeth these words, "Wo-
 man ought not only to have simple rayment, but all authority is to be denied un-
 to her: For she must be in subjection to man (of whom she hath taken her original)
 "as well in habite as in service." And after a few words he saith, "Because death
 "entred into the world by her, there is no boldness that ought to be permitted un-
 to her, but she ought to be in humility," Hereof it is plain, that from all wo-
 men married or unmarried, is all authority taken to execute any office that apper-
 taineth to man: Yea plain it is, that all women are commanded to serve, to be in
 humility and subjection, which thing the same writer speaketh yet more plainly in
 these words (b), "It is not permitted to women to speak, but to be in silence as the law
 "saith. What saith the law? Unto thy husband shall thy conversation be, and he
 "shall bear dominion over thee." "This is a special law (saith *Ambrose*) whose sen-
 tence least it should be violated, infirmed, or made weak, women are commanded
 "to be in silence." Here he includeth all women, and yet he proceedeth further
 in the same place, saying, "It is a shame for them to presume to speak of the law,
 "in the house of the Lord, who hath commanded them to be subject to their men."
 But most plainly speaketh he, writing upon the xvi. chapter of the epistle to the *Ro-*
mans, upon these words *Salute Rufus and his mother*. "For this, saith *Ambrose* did the
 "apostle place *Rufus* before his mother, for the election of the administration of
 "the grace of God (c)." In the which a woman hath no place by the administration
 of God's grace is understood, not only the preaching of the word and administration
 of the Sacraments, by which God's Grace is presented and ordinarily distributed
 to man, but also the administration of civil justice, by the which virtue ought to
 be maintained and vices punished, the Execution whereof no less is denied to woman
 than is the preaching of the evangel, or administration of the sacraments, as here-
 after shall most plainly appear. *Chrysostome* among the *Grecian* writers of no
 small credite, speaking in rebuke of men, who in his days were become infe-
 rior to some women in wit and godliness, hath these words (d); "For this cause
 "was woman put under thy power (he speaketh to man in general) and
 "thou was pronounced Lord over her, that she should obey thee, and that
 "the head should not follow the feet." But often we see, that he who in his order
 ought to be the head, doth not keep the order of the feet (that is doth not rule
 the feet), and that she that is in place of the feet is constitute to be head.
 He speaketh the words, as it were in admiration that man was become so bru-
 D d d d d 2 tish,

(u) In *Quest. Vet. Test. Quest. 45.* (x) *Lib. de Continentia Cap. 4.* (y) *Ambros. in Hexa-
 meron, lib. 5. cap. 7.* (z) *Idem super Ephes. chap. 5.* (a) *Ambros. super cap. 2. 1 Tim.* (b) *Am-
 brof. in 1 Ep. ad Cor. cap. 14.* (c) *Rufus* is by *St. Paul* saluted before his Mother.
 (d) *Chrysost. Homil. 17. in Gen.*

tish, that he did not consider it to be a Thing most monstrous, that women should be preferred to men in any thing, whom God hath subjected to man in all things. He proceedeth saying, ' Nevertheless it is the part of the man, with diligent care to repell the woman, that giveth him wicked counsel, and woman which gave that pestilent counsel unto man, ought at all times to have the punishment, which was given to *Eva*, sounding in her ears.' And in another place he bringeth in God speaking to the woman in this sort. (a) ' Because thou left him, of whose nature thou was participant, and from whom thou was formed, and has had pleasure to have familiarity with that wicked beast, and would take his counsell; therefore I subject thee to man, and I appoint him to be thy Lord; and because thou couldest not bear rule, learn well to be ruled.' Why they should not bear rule, he declareth in other places, (b) saying, ' Womankind is imprudent and soft (or flexible) imprudent, because she cannot consider with wisdom and reason the things which she heareth and seeth, and soft, because she is easily bowed.' I know *Chrysostome* bringeth in these words, to declare the cause why false prophets do commonly deceive women, because they are easily persuaded to any opinion, especially if it be against God; and because they lack prudence and right reason to judge the things that be spoken, they who are appointed to govern others, ought to be constant, stable, prudent in doing every thing with discretion and reason, which virtues women cannot have in equality with men; for that he doth witness in another place, (c) saying, ' Women have in themselves a tickling and study of vain-glory, and that they may have common with men; they are suddenly moved to anger, and that they have also in common with some men: But virtues in which they excell, they have not common with man: Therefore the Apostle has removed them from the office of teaching, which is an evident proof that in virtue they far differ from man.' This writer further proceedeth; and after he hath in many words lamented the effeminate manners of men, he finally concludeth, ' That notwithstanding that men be degenerate, yet may not women usurpe any authority above them.' And in end he addeth these words, ' These things do I not speak to extoll women, but to the confusion and shame of ourselves, and to admonish us to take again the dominion, that is meet and convenient for us; not only that power, which is according to the excellency of dignity, but that which is according to providence, and according to help and virtue, for then is the body in best proportion, when it hath the best governour: But women can never be the best governour, because in the nature of all women lurketh such vices, as in good governours are not tolerable.' Which the same writer expresth in these words. (d) ' Womankind (saith he) is rash and foolhardie; and their covetousness is like the gulph of hell that is unsatiable.' And therefore in another place (e) he willet, that woman shall have nothing to do in judgment in common affairs, or in the regiment of the common-wealth, because she is impatient of troubles, but that she shall live in tranquillitie and quietness. And if she have occasion to go from the house, that yet she shall have no matter of trouble neither to follow her, neither to be offered unto her, as commonly there must be to such as bear authority. And with *Chrysostome* fully agreeth *Basilius Magnus* in a sermon, which he maketh upon some places of scripture, (f) wherein he reproves divers vices, and amongst the rest, he affirmeth woman to be a tender creature, flexible, soft and pitiful, which nature God hath given unto her, that she may be apt to nourish children. The which facility of the woman did Satan abuse, and thereby brought her from God's obedience. And therefore in divers other places doth he conclude, that she is not apt to bear rule, and that she is forbidden to teach. Thus having proved by the determinations and laws, illuminated only by the light of nature, by the order of God's creation, by the curse and malediction pronounced against woman, by the mouth of *St. Paul*, who is the interpreter of God's sentence and law, and finally by the minds of these writers, who in God's church have been always holden in greatest reverence; that it is a thing most repugnant to nature,

(a) Homil. 15. in Genes. (b) In Matth. xxiii. Hom. 44. (c) Ad Ephes. Cap. iv. Serm. 3. (d) In Cap. xxii. Joh. Homil. 87. (e) In John. Hom. 41. (f) Basilus in aliquot scripturæ locis

nature, to God's will and appointed ordinance; yea that it cannot be without contumely against God, that a woman should be promoted to dominion or empire, to reign over man, be it in realme, nation, province or city. Now reſteth in few words to be ſhewed, that the ſame empire of woman is the ſubverſion of good order, equity and juſtice. (g) *Auguſtine* deſyneth order to be that thing, by which God hath appointed and ordained all things. (b) *Auguſtine* will admit no order, where God's appointment is abſent. And in another place he ſaith, 'Order is a diſpoſition giving their own proper places to things, which be unequal,' which he termeth in *Latine*, *parium & diſparium*, that is, of things equall or like, or things unequal or unlike; of which two places, and of the whole diſputation, which is contained in his ſecond book *de ordine*, it is evident, that whatſoever is done without the aſſurance of God's will, or elſe againſt his will revealed in his word, is done againſt order. But ſuch is the empire and regiment of all women: Therefore, I ſay, it is a thing plainly repugnant to good order; yea it is the ſubverſion of the ſame. If any pleaſe to reject *Auguſtine's* definition, as either not proper to this purpoſe, or elſe as inſufficient to prove my intent, let the ſame man underſtand, that in ſo doing he hath infirmed myne argument nothing. For as I depend not upon the determinations of men, ſo I think my cauſe no weaker, albeit their authority be denied unto me, providing that God his revealed will ſtand evident on my ſide. That God hath ſubjected womankind to man, by the order of his creation, and by the curſe that he hath pronounc'd againſt her, is before declared. Beſides theſe, he hath ſet before our eyes two other mirrours and glaſſes, in which he willet that we ſhould behold the order, which he hath appointed and eſtabliſhed in nature; the one is the natural body of man, the other is the politick or civil body of that common-wealth, in which God by his own word hath appointed an order. In man's natural body, God hath appointed an order, that the head ſhould occupy the uppermoſt place; and the head hath he joyned with the body, that from it doth life and motion flow to the reſt of the members. In the head he hath placed the eye to ſee, the ear to hear, and the tongue to ſpeak, which offices are appointed to none other members of the body. The reſt of the members have every one their own place and office, but no member may have the place or office of the head, for who would not judge that body to be a monſter, where there were no head eminent above the reſt, but that the eyes were in the hands, the tongue and the mouth beneath in the belly, and the ears in the feet: No leſs is the body of that common-wealth, where a woman beareth empire, for either doth it lack a lawful head (as in very deed it doth) or elſe an idol is exalted inſtead of the true head. An idol I call that which hath the form and appearance, but lacketh the vertue and ſtrength, which the name and proportion doth reſemble and promiſe. I confeſs a realm, may in deſpite of God (he of his wiſe judgment ſo giving them over into a reprobate mind) exalt up a woman to that monſtriferous honour, to be eſteemed as head. But impoſſible it is to man or angel to give unto her the properties and perfect offices of a lawful head; for the ſame God that denied power to the hands to ſpeak, to the belly to hear, and to the feet to ſee, hath denied to the woman power to command man, and hath taken away wiſdom to conſider, and providence to foreſee the things that be profitable to the common-wealth; yea, finally, he hath pronounced plainly, that man is head to woman, even as Chriſt is head to all men. (i) If men in a blind rage ſhould aſſemble together and appoint themſelves another head than Jeſus Chriſt (as the Papiſts have done their *Roman Antichriſt*) ſhould therefore Chriſt loſe his own dignity, or ſhould God give to that counterfeit head power to give life to the body, to ſee whatſoever might endamage or hurt it, to ſpeak in defence, and to hear the requeſts of every ſubject? It is certain that he would not, for that honour, which before all time, he hath appointed to his only ſon, will he give to no creature beſides: No more will he admit or accept woman to be lawful head over man, although man, devil and angel will conjure in her favour. *Chryſoſtome* explaining theſe words of the Apoſtle, *The head of the woman is the man*, he compareth God in his univerſal regiment, to a king ſitting in his roy-

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al majesty, to whom all his subjects being commanded to give homage and obedience appear before him, bearing every one such a badge and cognizance of dignity and honour, as he hath given to them, which if they despise or contemn, then do they dishonour their king. Even so (saith he) ought men and women to appear before God bearing the ensigns of the condition, which they have received from him; man hath received a certain glory and dignity above the woman, and therefore ought he to appear before his high majesty, bearing the sign of his honour, having no coverture upon his head, to witness that on earth man hath no head (beware *Chrysostome* what thou sayest, thou shalt be reputed a traitor, if *Englishmen* hear thee, for they must have my Sovereign Lady and Maistresse, and *Scotland* hath drunken also the enchantment and venome of *Circes*) but woman ought to be covered, to witness that on earth she hath a head, that is, man. True it is (*Chrysostome*) woman is covered in both the said realmes, but it is not with the sign of subjection, but with the royal crown, a sign of superiority. To that he answereth in these words. What if man neglect his honour? He is no less to be mocked (sayeth he) than if a king should depose himself of his diadem or crown, and royal estate, and cloath himself in the habite of a slave. What I pray now should this godly father have said, if he had seen the crown, scepter and sword, which are the ensigns of the royal dignity, given to a woman cursed of God, and all the men of a realme to fall down before her? I am assured he should have judged not only foolish, but also enraged and slaves to Satan, manifestly fighting against God and his appointed order. The more I consider the subversion of God's order, which he hath placed generally in all things, the more I do wonder at the blindness of man, who doth not consider himself in this case so degenerate, that the brute beasts are to be preferred unto him in this behalf: For nature hath in all beasts printed a certain mark of dominion in the male, and a certain subjection in the female, which they keep unviolated: For no man ever saw the lion make obedience or stoop before the lioness; neither yet can it be proved, that the hind taketh the conducting of the herd amongst the harts. And yet alace, man, who by the mouth of God hath dominion appointed to him over woman, doth not only, to his own shame, stoop under the obedience of woman, but also, in despite of God and his appointed order, rejoyceth and maintaineth that monstrous authority, as a thing lawful and just. The insolent joys, the bonfires and banquettings, which were in *London* and elsewhere in *England*, when that cursed *Jesabel* was proclaimed queen, did witness to my heart, that men were become more than enraged; for else how could they have so rejoiced at their own confusion and certain destruction? For what man was there of so base judgment (supposing that he had any light of God) who did not see the erecting of that monster to be the overthrow of true religion, and the assured destruction of *England*, and of the ancient liberties thereof? And yet nevertheless all men so triumph, as if God had delivered them from all calamities. If any man think these my words sharp or vehement, let him consider, that the offence is more hainous than could be expressed by words. God, for his great mercy's sake, illuminate the eyes of men, that they may perceive into what miserable bondage they be brought into, by the monstrous impire of women. The second glass, which God hath set before man's eyes, wherein he may behold the order, which pleases his wisdom concerning authority and dominion, is the common-welth, to which it hath pleased his majesty to give laws, statutes, rites and ceremonies, not only concerning religion, but also touching the policie and regiment of the same. And against that order it doth manifestly repugn, that any woman shall occupy the throne of God, that is, the royal seat, which he by his word hath appointed to man; as in giving the law to *Israel*, concerning the election of a king is evident: For thus it is written, (a) *If thou shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me, thou shalt make thee a king, whom the Lord thy God shall choose, one from among thy brethren shalt thou appoint king over thee, thou mayst not set a stranger over thee, that is not thy brother.* Here expressly is a man appointed to be chosen king, and a man

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native amongst themselves; by which precept is all women and all strangers secluded. What may be objected for the part or election of a stranger, shall be, God willing, answered in the blast of the second trumpet; for this present, I say, that the electing of a woman to that honour, is not only to invert the order which God hath established, but also to defile and pollute (so far as in man lyeth) the throne and seat of God, which he hath sanctified and appointed for man only, as his minister and lieutenant on earth. If any think that the foresaid law did bind the *Jews* only, let the same man consider that the election of a king, and appointing of judges, did neither appertain to the ceremonial law, neither yet was it meer judicial, but that it did flow from the moral law, as an ordinance having a respect to the conservation of both tables; for the office of the magistrate ought to have the first and chief respect to God's glory, commanded and contained in the former table, as is evident by that which God enjoined by *Joshua* when he was admitted governour over his people in these words; (a) *Thou shalt divide the inheritance to this people, the which I sware to their fathers to give them; only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayst observe to do all the law which Moses my servant commanded thee: Turn not from it to the right hand nor to the left, that thou mayst prosper whithersoever thou goest. Let not the book of the law depart from thy mouth, but meditate therein day and night, that thou mayst observe to do according to all that is written therein. For then shall thy ways prosper, and thou shalt have good success, &c.* And the same precept giveth God by the mouth of *Moses* to kings after they be elected in these words; (b) *When he shall sit in the throne, or seat of his kingdome, he shall write to himself a copie of this law in a book, and that shall be with him, that he may read in it all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this law, and all these statutes that he may do them, &c.* Be these two places it is evident, that principally it appertaineth to the king or chief magistrate to know God's will, to be instructed in his law and statutes, and to promote his glory, with his whole heart and study, which be the chief points of the first table. No man denieth, but that the sword is committed to the magistrate; to the end, that he should punish vice and maintain vertue. He ought not only to punish adultery, theft, murder, but also such vices as openly impunge God's glory, as idolatry, blasphemy, and manifest heresie taught and obstinately maintained, as the histories and notable acts of *Ezekias*, *Jehosaphat*, and *Josias* do plainly teach us, whose care was not only to glorifie God in their own life, but also to bring their subjects to the true worship of God; and therefore they destroyed all monuments of idolatry, punished to death the teachers thereof, and removed from office and honours such as were maintainers of the same, whereby, I suppose, it is evident, that the office of the king, or supreme magistrate, hath respect to the law moral, and to the conservation of both tables. Now if the law moral be the constant and unchangeable will of God, to the which the *Gentile* is no less bound than was the *Jew*; and if God willeth that among the *Gentiles* the ministers and executors of the law be now appointed, as sometimes they were amongst the *Jews*; further, if the execution of justice be no less requisite in the policie of the *Gentiles*, then ever it was amongst the *Jews*, what man can be so foolish to suppose or believe that God will now admit these persons to sit in judgment, or to reigne over men in the common-wealth of the *Gentiles*, whom he by his express word and ordinance did before debar and seclude from the same? And that women were secluded from the royal seat (besides the places before recited of the election of a king, and besides the places of the New Testament which be most evident) the order and election which was kepted in *Judab* and *Israel* doth manifestly declare, for when the males of the kingly flock failed (as oft it chanced in *Israel* and sometimes in *Judab*) it never entered into the peoples hearts to chuse and promote to honour any of the king's daughters, had he never so many. For they knowing God's vengeance to be poured forth upon the father by the away-taking of his sons, they had no further respect to his flock, but elected such an man or other as they judged most apt for that honour and authority; of which premises I conclude (as before) that to promote a woman to be head over man is repugnant to nature,

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and a thing most contrarious to that order, which God hath approved in that common-wealth, which he did institute, and rule by his word. But now to the last point, to wit, that the empire of a woman is a thing repugnant to justice and the destruction of every common-wealth when it is received, in few words (because the matter is more than evident) I say, if justice be a constant and perpetual will to give to every person their own right (as the most learned in all ages have defined it to be) then to give, or to will to give to any person that which is not their right must repugne to justice. But to raigne above man can never be the right to woman, because it is a thing denied to her by God, as before is declared. Therefore to promote her to that estate or dignity can be nothing else but repugnancy to justice. If any find fault with justice as it is defined, he may well accuse others, but me he shall not hurt, for I have the warrand of him who assuredly will defend the quarrel, and he commandeth me to cry that whatsoever repugneth to his will expressed in his sacred word repugneth to justice. But that women have authority above men repugneth to his will expressed in his word; and therefore at my author's commandment without fear I conclude that all such authority repugneth to justice. The first part of the argument is a principle not only universally received, but also deeply printed in the heart of man, so that no less the reprobate are coacted and constrained to acknowledge the same, then be the chosen children of God albeit to diverse ends. The elect with displeasure of their fact confess their offence having access to grace and mercy, as did *Adam*, *David*, *Peter* and all other penitent offenders. But the reprobate, notwithstanding they are compelled to acknowledge the will of God to be just, the which they have offended, yet are they never inwardly displeased with their iniquity, but rage and complain, and storme against God, whose vengeance they cannot escape, as did *Cain*, *Judas*, *Herod*, *Julian* the apostate, yea *Jesabel* and *Athalia*: For *Cain* no doubt was convicted in conscience that he had done against justice in murdering of his brother. *Judas* did openly confess before the high-priest that he had sinned in betraying innocent blood. *Herod* being stricken by the angel did mock these his flatterers, saying unto them, Behold your God (meaning himself) cannot now preserve himself from corruption and worms. *Julianus* was compelled in the end to cry, "O *Galilean* (so always in contempt did he name our saviour *Jesus Christ*) "thou hast now overcome;" and who doubts but *Jesabel* and *Athalia* were convicted in their cankered consciences to acknowledge, that the murder which they had committed, and the empire which the one had six years usurped, were repugnant to justice: Even so shall they, I doubt not, which do this day possess and maintain their monstiferous authority of women, shortly be compelled to acknowledge, that their studies and devices have been bent against God, and that all such authority as women have usurped repugneth to justice: Because (as I have said) it repugneth to God's will expressed in his sacred word. Here might I bring in the oppression and injustice which is committed against realmes, which sometimes have lived free, and now are brought in bondage of forraign nations, by reason of this monstiferous authority, and empire of women. But that I delay till better opportunity. And now I think it expedient such objections as carnal men, ignorant of God, use to make for maintainance of this tyranny (authority it is not worthy to be called) and most unjust empire of women. (a) *First* they do object the example of *Deborah* and of *Hulda* the prophetesses, of whom the one judged *Israel*, and the other by all appearance did teach and exhort. (b) *I answer*, The men that object the same are not altogether ignorant that examples have no strength, when the question is of law: As if I should ask what marriage is lawful? And it should be answered, That lawful it is to man not only to have so many wives at once, but also to marry two sisters, and to enjoy them both living at once, because *David*, *Jacob* and *Salomon* servants of God had the same. I trust no man would justify the vanity of this reason: Or if the question were demanded, if a christian with good conscience may defraud, or steal, or deceive, and answer were made that

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(a) Objection 1. Judg. iv. Paral. 34. (b) Examples against law have no strength when the question is of law.

so he might by the example of the *Israelites*, who, at God's commandment, deceived the *Egyptians*, and spoiled them of their garments, gold and silver. I think likewise this reason should be mocked. And what greater force, I pray you, hath the former argument? *Deborah* did rule in *Israel*, and *Hulda* spake prophecy in *Judab*: Ergo, It is lawful for women to raigne above realms, or to teach in the presence of men. The consequence is vain, and of none effect, for of particular examples we may establish no common law, but are always bound to the law written, and to the commandment expressed in the same. But the law written and pronounced by God forbiddeth no less that any woman raigne over man, than it forbiddeth man to take plurality of wives, to marry two sisters living at once, to steal, to robb, to murder, to lye. If any of these hath been transgressed, and yet God hath not imputed the same; it maketh not the like fact lawfull to us, for God being free, may, for such causes as be approved by his unscrutable wisdom, dispense with the rigour of his own law, and may use his creatures at his pleasure. But the same power is not permitted unto man, whom he hath made subject to his law, and not to the examples of fathers. I think this sufficient to reasonable and moderate spirits. But to repress the raging of womens madness, I will descend somewhat deeper in the matter, and not fear to affirm, that as we find a contrary spirit in all those most wicked women, that this day be exalted into this tyrannous authority to the spirit that was in these godly matrons, so I fear not to affirm, that their condition is unlike, and their end shall be diverse (a). In these matrons we find that the spirit of mercy, truth and justice, and humility did raigne, and that under them God did shew mercy to his people, delivering them from the tyranny of strangers, and from the venome of idolatry, but in these of our ages, we find cruelty, falshood, pride, covetousness, deceit, oppression, the spirit of *Jesabel* and *Athalia*, and under them simple people oppressed, true religion extinguished, and the blood of Christ's members most cruelly shed; and finally, the titles and liberties of ancient realms taken from the just possessors, and given and betrayed into the hands of strangers. But to prosecute my purpose, let such as defend these monsters in their tyranny prove *first*, That their sovereign maistresse be like to *Deborah* in godliness and piety, and *secondly*, That the same successe doth follow their tyranny, which did follow the extraordinary regiment of that godly matron, which although they were able to do (as they never shall be, let them blow till they burst) yet shall her example profit them nothing at all. For they are never able to prove that *Deborah*, or any other godly matron (having the commendation of the Holy Ghost within the Scriptures) hath usurped authority above any nation by reason of their birth and blood, neither yet did they claim it by right or inheritance, but God by his singular priviledge, favour and grace exempted *Deborah* from the common malediction given in that behalf to woman, and against nature he made her prudent in counsel, strong in courage, happie in regiment, and a blessed mother, and a deliverer of his people. The which he did partly to advance the power of his majesty in giving salvation and deliverance, by the means of the most weak vessels, and partly to confound all men of that age, because they had for the most part declined from his obedience; but what maketh this for *Mary* and her match *Philip*? One thing I would ask such as depend upon the example of *Deborah*, whether she was a widow or wife when she judged *Israel*, and when God gave under her that notable victory to his people? If they answer she was a widow, I would lay against them the testimony of the Holy Ghost, witnessing that she was the wife of *Lapidoth* (b): And if they will alledge that she might so be called, notwithstanding that her Husband was dead. I urge them further, that they are not able to prove it to be any common phrase and manner of speech in scriptures, that a woman shall be called the wife of a dead man, except there be some Note added, whereby it may be known that her husband is departed, as is witness of *Anna* (c). But in the place of the Judges there is no note added, that her husband should be dead, but rather the contrary is expressed (d): For the text saith, *In that time a woman named Deborah a prophetess, wife to Lapidoth judged Israel*. The Holy Ghost plainly speaketh, that

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(a) An antithesis betwixt the former matrons and our *Jesabels*. (b) Judic. iv. (c) Luke ii: (d) Judic. iv. 4.

what time she judged *Israel* she was wife to *Lapidoth*. If she was wife, and if she ruled all alone in *Israel*, then I ask, did she not prefer her husband to that honour to be captain and leader of the host of the Lord? If any think that it was her husband, the text proveth the contrary, for it affirmeth that *Barak* of the tribe of *Nephtali* was appointed to that Office. If *Barak* had been her husband, to what purpose should the Holy Ghost so diligently have noted the tribe, and another name than was before expressed? yea, to what purpose should it be noted, that she sent and called him? Thus I doubt not but every reasonable man doth consider, that this *Barak* was not her husband, and that her judgment or government in *Israel* was no usurped power, as our queens unjustly this day possess, but that it was the spirit of prophesie that rested upon her, what time the multitude of the people had wrought wickedly in the eyes of the Lord, by which spirit she did rebuke the idolatry and iniquity of the people, exhort them to repentance, and in the end bring them this comfort, that God should deliver them from the bondage and thralldome of their enemies. And this she might do, notwithstanding that another did occupy the place of the supreme magistrate (if any was in those days in *Israel*) for so I find did *Huldah*, the wife of *Sallum*, in the days of *Iosias* king of *Judab*, (a) speak prophecy, and comfort the king; and yet he resigned to her neither the scepter nor the sword. That this our interpretation, how that *Deborah* did judge in *Israel*, were the true meaning of the Holy Ghost, the pondering of the history shall manifestly prove: When she sendeth for *Barak* she saith not to him; I being thy Princess, thy sovereign lady and queen, command thee upon thine alledgeance, and under pain of treason, to go and gather an Army; but she speaketh as one that had a special revelation from God, which was neither known to *Barak* nor to the People, saying, *hath not the Lord God of Israel commanded thee*. Sicklike when she had delivered to him the whole counsel of God, appointing unto him the number of his soldiers, the tribes out of which they should be gathered, the place of the battle, and had assured him of the victory in God's name which she could not have done without a special revelation from heaven, he fainted, and openly refused to enter into journey, except the prophetess would accompany him. But what did she use against him any external power, did she threaten him with rebellion and death? No, no; but for assurance of his faint heart, being content to go with him, she pronounceth, that the glory should not be his in that journey; but that the lord should sell *Sisera* into the hand of a woman. Hereby it is evident, that *Deborah* did all by his spiritual sword the word of God, and not by any usurped temporal regiment nor authority over *Israel*, as our queens do this day claim. In *Israel*, I suppose, at that time, there was no lawful magistrate, by reason of their great affliction, for so witnesseth the history, saying, *and Ebud being dead, the Lord sold Israel into the hand of Jabin king of Canaan*; and he by *Sisera* his captain afflicted *Israel* greatly the space of twenty years: And *Deborah* herself in her song of thanksgiving confesseth, that before she did arise as a mother in *Israel*, and in the days of *Jael*, there was nothing but confusion and trouble. If any stick to the term alledging the Holy Ghost saith, *that she judged Israel*; let them understand, that neither doth the *Hebrew* word, neither yet the *Latine*, always signifie civil judgment, or the execution of the temporal sword, but most commonly is taken in the sense which we have before exprest; for of Christ it is said, *he shall judge many nations, and that he shall pronounce judgement to the Gentiles*; and yet it is evident that he was no minister of the temporal sword. God commandeth *Judab* and *Jerusalem* to judge between him and his Vineyard, and yet he appointed not all them to be civil magistrates. To *Ezekiel* (b) it is said, *shalt thou not judge them son of man?* And after, *thou son of man shalt thou not judge? shalt thou not judge, I say, the city of blood?* and also, *behold I shall judge betwixt beast and beast*. And such places in great numbers are to be found through out the whole scriptures. And yet I trust no man will be so foolish as to think, that any of the prophets were appointed by God to be politick judges, or to punish the sins of men by corporal punishment. No the manner of their judgement is exprest in these words. (c)

Declare

(a) 2 Reg. 22. (b) Ezek. 20, 22, 34. (c) Ezek. 22.

Declare to them all their abominations; and thou shalt say to them, thus saith the Lord God a city shedding blood in the midst of her, that her time may approach, and which hath made idols against herself, that she might be polluted, thou hast transgressed in the blood that thou has shed, and art polluted in the idols which thou has made. Thus I say do God's prophets judge, pronouncing the sentence of God against malefactors. And so I doubt not but *Deborah* judged at that time, when *Israel* had declined from God, rebuking their defection, and exhorting them to repentance without usurpation of any civil authority: And if the people gave to her for a time any reverence or honour, as her godliness and happy counsel did well deserve, yet it was no such empire as our monsters claim; for which of her sons or nearest kinsmen left the ruler and judge in *Israel* after her? The Holy Ghost expresseth no such thing: wherefore it is evident, that by her example God offereth no occasion to establish any regiment of women above men, realms and nations. (c) But it is not lawful (say some) that women have their right and inheritance, likeas the daughters of *Zalphead* were commanded by the mouth of *Moses* (d) to have their portion of ground in their tribe? I answer, It is both lawful and equitable, that women possess their inheritance. But I add therewith, that to bear rule and authority over men, can never be right nor inheritance to a woman: for that can never be just inheritance to any person, which God by his word has plainly denied unto them: But to all women God hath denied authority above man, as most manifestly is before declared: Therefore to her it can never be inheritance. The portion of *Zalphead's* Daughter's was not to reign over any one tribe, nor yet over any one man within *Israel*, but only that they might have a portion of ground amongst the men of their tribe, least that the name of their father should be abolished. And this was granted to them without any respect had to any civil regiment. And what maketh this, I pray you, for the establishing this monstrous empire of women? Although women may succeed to the possession, substance, patrimony or inheritance of their fathers, yet they may not succeed in their father's offices, least of all to that office, the executor whereof doth occupy the place and throne of God. One thing there is yet to be observed in the law made concerning the inheritance of daughters of *Zalphead* to wit, (e) that it was forbidden to them to marry without their own tribe, least such portion as fell to their lot should be transferred from one tribe to another, and so should the tribe of *Manasses* be defrauded and spoiled of their just inheritance by their occasion. Wonder it is that the patrons of our ladies did not consider this law before they counselled the blind princes and unworthy nobles of their country to betray the liberties thereof, into the hands of strangers. *England* for satisfying the inordinate appetites of that cruel monster *Mary* (unworthy by reason of her bloody tyranny of the name of a woman) betrayed (alace) to the proud *Spaniard*: And *Scotland*, by the rash madness of foolish governors, and by the practice of a crafty dame, resigned likewise under the title of marriage into the power of *France*. Doth such translations of realms please Gods justice? or is the possession by such means lawful in Gods sight? Assuredly no, for if God would not permit that the inheritance, commodity and usual fence, which may be gathered of the portion of ground limited and assigned to one tribe of the children of *Israel* should pass to another, by the marriage of any daughter, notwithstanding that they were all one people, speaking one tongue, descended of one father, professors of one God and one religion. Will he suffer that the laws, liberties, commodities, and fruits of whole realms be given into the power and distribution of others by reason of marriage, especially in the powers of such as, besides that of a strange tongue, of strange names, and laws, but also ignorant of God, enemies to his truth, deniers of Christ Jesus, persecutors of his true members, and haters of all virtue. The *Spaniards*, for very despite which they do bear against Christ Jesus, whom their fore-fathers did crucifie (for *Jewes* they are, as histories do witness, and themselves confess) do this day make plain war against all true professors of his holy gospel. And the *French* king and his pestilent prelates, by the flaming fires, which lick up the innocent blood of Christ's members, and by cruel

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edicts

edicts do notifie and proclaim how blindly and outrageously they fight against the verity of God. And yet to these two cruel tyrants, *France* and *Spain*, is the right and possession of *England* and *Scotland* appointed. But just and lawful shall that possession never be till God do change the statute of his former law, which he will not do for the pleasure of man; for he hath not created the earth to satisfy the ambition of two or three tyrants, but for the universal seed of *Adam*, and hath appointed and defyned the bounds of their habitation, assigning to diverse nations, diverse countries. as he himself confesseth, speaking to *Israel* in these words; (a) *Tou shalt pass by the bounds and limits of your brethren, the sonnes Esau, who dwell in mount Seir. They shall fear you; but take diligent heed that you show not yourselves cruel against them, for I will give you no part of their land, no not the breadth of a foot; for mount Seir I have given to Esau to be possessed.* And the same doth he witness of the sons of *Lot*, to whom he had given *Aire* to be possessed. And *Moses* plainly affirmeth, (b) That when the Almighty did distribute and divide possessions to the *Gentiles*, and when he did disperse and scatter the sons of men, that then he did appoint the limits and bounds of the people, for the number of the sons of *Israel*, whereof it is plain, that God hath not exposed the earth in prey to tyrants, making all things lawful, which by violence and murder they may possess; but that he hath appointed to every several nation a several possession, willing them to stand content (as nature did teach an *Ethnik* to affirm) (c) with that portion, which by lot and just means they had enjoyed. For what cause God permitteth this his distribution to be troubled, and realms and ancient nations to be possessed of strangers? I delay at the time to intreat. But come to a third objection. (d) The consent, say our Ladies advocates, of realms, and laws pronounced and admitted in this behalf, long consuetude and custom, together with the felicity of some women in empires, have established their authority. I answer, Neither was the tyranny of princes, neither the foolishness of people, neither wicked laws made against God, neither yet the felicity that in this earth may hereof ensue, make that thing lawful, which he by his word hath manifestly condemned; for if the approbation of princes and people, and laws made by men, or the consent of realms, may establish any thing against God and his word, then should idolatry be preferred to true religion: For moe realms and nations, moe laws and decrees published by emperors, with common consent of their councils have established the one, than have approved the other: And yet I think that no man of sound judgment, will therefore justify and defend idolatry: No more ought any man this odious empire of women, although it were approved of all men by their laws: For the same God, that in plain words forbiddeth idolatry, doth also forbid the authority of women over men. I know these, who maintain this monstrous empire, have yet two main shifts. First, They alledge, (e) That albeit women may not absolutely reign by themselves, because they may neither sit in judgment, neither pronounce sentence, neither execute any publick office, yet they may do such things by their lieutenants, deputies, and judges substitute. Secondly, Say they, A woman born to rule over any realme, may choose her own husband, and to him she may transfer and give her Authority and Right. To both I answer in few words. First, That from a corrupt and venomous fountain can spring no wholesome waters. Secondly, That no person hath power to give the thing which doth not justly appertain to themselves. But the Authority of a woman is a corrupted fountain, and therefore from her can never spring any lawful officer. She is not born to rule over man, and therefore she can appoint none by her gift nor by her power (which she hath not) to the place of a lawful magistrate: And therefore whosoever receiveth of a woman office or authority, are adulterous and Bastard office bearers before God. This may appear strange at the first, but if we will look with an indifferent eye, the reason shall suddenly appear the Cause. Suppose that a tyrant by conspiracy usurped the royal seat and dignity of a King, and in the same did so establish himself that he appointed officers, and did

what

(a) Deut. ii. (b) Deut. xxxii. (c) Cicero offic. Lib. i. (d) Objection 3. (e) Objection 4.

what pleased him for a time; and in this mean time the native king made straight inhibition to all his subjects that none should acknowledge him nor receive dignity of him, yet nevertheless they would honour the same traitor as king, and become his officers in all affairs of the realme. If after the native prince did recover his just honour and possession, should he repute or esteem any man of the traitor's appointment for a lawful magistrate? Or for his friend and true subject? Or should he not rather without sentence condemn the head with the members? And if he should do so, who were able to accuse him of rigour, much less to condemn his sentence of injustice? And dare we deny the same power to God in the like case? For that woman raigneth above man, she hath obtained it by treason and conspiracy; how can it be then, that she being guilty and criminal of treason against God committed, can appoint any officer pleasing in his sight? It is impossible. Wherefore let men that receive of women authority, honour or office be most surely persuaded, that in so maintaining that usurped Power, they declare themselves Enemies to God. If any think that because the realm and estates thereof have given their consents unto a woman, and have established her and her authority, that therefore it is lawful and acceptable to God, let the same men remember what I have said before, to wit, that man cannot approve the doing nor consent of any multitude, concluding any thing against his word and ordinance. And therefore they must have a more assured defence against God's wrath, else they shall not be able to stand in the presence of the consuming fire. That is, they must acknowledge that the regiment of a woman is a thing most odious in the presence of God; they must refuse to be her officers, because she is a traitouress and rebel against God; and finally they must study to repress her inordinate pride and tyranny to the uttermost of their powers. The same is the duty of the nobility and estates by whose blindness a woman is promoted. *First*, In so far as they have most hainously offended against God, placing in authority such as God by his word hath removed from the same: Unfainedly they ought to call for Mercy, and being admonished of their error and damnable fact, in sign and token of true repentance, with common consent they ought to retreat that which unadvisedly and by ignorance they have pronounced, and without further delay to remove from authority all such persons as by usurpation, violence, or tyrannie do possess the same. For so did *Israel* and *Judab* after they had revolted from *David* and *Judab* alone in the days of *Athalia*. (a) For after that she by murdering her sonne's children had the empire over the land, and had most unhaplie raigned in *Judab* six Years, *Jebojada* the High-priest called together the captains and chief rulers of the people, and shewing to them the king's sonne *Joas* did bind them by an oath to depose that wicked woman, and to promote the king to his royal seat, which they faithfully did, killing at his command not only that cruel and mischievous woman, but also the people did destroy the temple of *Baal*, break his altars and images, and kill *Matban Baal's* High-priest before his altars. The same is the duty as well of the estates as of the people that have been blinded: First they ought to remove from honour and authority that monster in nature. So call I a woman cled in the habite of a man, yea a woman against nature rainging above man. *Secondly*, If any person presume to defend that impietie, they ought not to fear first to pronounce, and thereafter to execute against them the sentence of death. If any be affraid to violate the oath of obedience which they have made to such monsters, let them most assuredly be persuaded, that as the beginning of their oaths proceeding from ignorance was sinne, so is the obstinate purpose to keep the same nothing but plain rebellion against God. But of this matter in the *second Blast*, God willing, we shall speak more at large. Now to put an end to the *First Blast*; Let all men take heed what quarrel and cause from henceforth they do defend. If God raise up any noble heart to vindicate the liberty of his country, and to suppress the monstrous empire of women; let all such as shall presume to defend them in the same most certainly know that in so doing,

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they

(a) Reg. 11. (b) Judic. 20.

they lift their hands against God, and that one day they shall find his power to fight against their foolishness. Let not Christ's faithful Souldiers be utterly discouraged; neither let the tyrants rejoice, albeit for a time they triumph. For the cause why he suffereth his soldiers to fall in battle (as by holy scrip ure may be gathered) is sometimes to bear down the pride of flesh, sometime to punish the offences of his own childeen, and to bring them to unfained Acknowledge of the same. You know the cause of the *Israelites*, who did fight against *Benjamin* was most just, for it was to punish that most horrible abomination of these sonnes of *Belial* abusing the *Levite's* wife, whom the *Benjamites* did defend, and they had God's precept to assure them of well-doing, for he not only commanded them to fight, but also appointed *Judah* to be their leader and captain. But because at the first they trusted in their multitude, power and strength, therefore they fell twise in Battel against these most wicked adulterers. Yet after they had weeped before the Lord, after they had fasted and made sacrifice in sign of their unfained repentance, they so prevailed against that proud tribe of *Benjamin*, that after twenty five thousand strong men of war were killed in battle, they destroyed man, woman, child and beast as well in the fields as in the cities, which all were burned with fire: So that of that whole tribe remained only six hundred men, who fled to the wilderness, where they remained four months, and so were saved. The same God who did execute this grievous punishment, even by the Hands of those whom he suffered twice to be overcome in battel, doth this day retain his power and justice. But cursed *Jezabel* of *England*, with the pestilent and detestable generation of papistes, make no little bragge and boast that they have triumph'd not only against wyet but also against all such as have enterprized any thing against them or their proceedings: But let her and them consider that yet they have not prevailed against God. His throne is more high than the length of their horns can be able to reach. Let them further consider, that in the beginning of this their bloody raigne, the harvest of their iniquitie was not come to full maturity and ripeness: No, it was so green (so secret I mean, so covered, and so hid with hypocrisie) that some (even of the servants of God) thought it not impossible that woulfes might be changed into lambs, and also that the viper might remove her natural venom. But God who doth reveal in his time appointed the secrets of hearts, and that will have his judgments iustified, even by the very wicked, hath now given open testimony of her and their beastly cruelty. So that now, not only the blood of Father *Latimer*, discreet and learned *Ridley*, innocent Lady *Jane Dudley*, and many other such as fire hath consumed, and the sword of tyranny most unjustly hath slain, doth call for vengeance in the ear of the Lord of hosts, but also the sobbes and tears of the poor oppressed, the groanings of the Lord's watchmen, yea and every earthly creature abused by their tyrannie, do continually cry and call for hasty execution of the same. I fear not to say, that the day of vengeance, which shall apprehend that horrible monster *Jesabel* of *England*, and such as maintaine her monstrous cruelty, is already appointed in the counsel of the eternall: And I verily believe, that it is so near, that she shall not raigne so long in tyrannie as hitherto she has done, when God shall declare himself to be her enemy, and shall pour forth contempt upon her according to her cruelty. Her empire and raigne is a wall without foundation; I mean the same of the authority of all women: It hath been underpropped this blind time bygane, with the foolishness of people; and with the wicked laws of ignorant and tyrannous princes. But the fire of God's word is already laid to these rotten proppes (I mean the pope's law with the rest) and presently they burn, albeit we espie not the Flame. When they are consumed (as shortly they will be, for stubble and dry timber cannot long endure the fire) that rotten wall, the usurped and unjust empire of women, shall fall by itself in despite of all men to the destruction of so many as shall labour to with-hold it. And therefore let all men be advertised, for the trumpet hath once blown.

IOHN KNOXE to the Reader.

BEcause many are offended at the first blast of the trompett, in which I affirme, that to promotte a woman to bear rule, or empire aboue any realme, nation or citie, is repugnant to nature, contumlie to God, and a thing most contrariouse to his reuealed and approued ordenance: and because also, that somme hath promised (as I understand) a confutation of the same, I haue delayed the second blast, till such tyme as their reasons appere, by the which I either may be reformed in opinion, or els shall haue further occasion more simply and plainly to utter my iudgement. Yet in the meane tyme for the discharge of my conscience, and for auoyding suspition, which might be ingendred by reason of my silence, I could not cease to notifie these subsequent propositions, which by God's grace I purpose to entreat in the second blast promised.

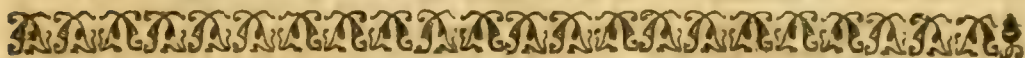
1. It is not birth onely nor propinquity of blood, that maketh a king lawfully to reigne aboue a people professing Christe Iesus, and his eternal veritie, but in his election must the ordenance, which God hath established, in the election of inferiour iudges be obserued.

2. No manifest idolater nor notorious transgressor of God's holie preceptes ought to be promoted to any publique regiment, honour or dignity in any realme, prouince or citie, that hath subiected himself to Christe Iesus and to his blessed Euangil.

3. Neither can othe nor promesse bynd any such people to obey and maintein tyrantes against God and against his trueth knowen.

4. But if either rashely they have promoted any manifest wicked personne, or yet ignorantly haue chosen suche a one, as after declareth himself unworthie of regiment aboue the people of God (and suche be all idolaters and cruel persecuters) most iustly may the same men depose and punish him, that vnadvisedly before they did nominate, appoint and electe.

Matth vi. If the eye be single, the whole body shall be clere.



A LETTER of *John Knox's* to the People of *Edinburgh*,
first printed at *Stirling* by *Robert Lekprevik*, anno 1571.

To his loving brethren whome God ones gloriously gathered in the church of Edinburgh, and now ar disperfed for tryall of our faith, &c.

THe troublis of the iust fall schortlie come to an end, to the glorie of God, and to their eternall comfort. Beloved brethren in the Lord Iesus, pertakers now of his afflictiones, if the inhabilitie of bodie wold suffer, I wold wryte a long letter: But being in that estait, that I may not wryte with my own hand two lynes, I must abyde the good leasure of God, and desyre you to haue me excused, that I haue not sooner visited yow into this your dolerous persecution. When I call to mynd the fearefull threateningis of God, that haue bene oftentimes thounded out into your cares, and doeth considder these present dayes, in the midst of my dolour, I prais my God, that Sathan hath not gotten the full victorie, as he pretended. For this separation whiche now is made to the greif of many hartes, is yet a seure document, that the word of God, hath not lost the whole strength in yow: But that God working thereby, hath pulled yow furth from the midst of the wickit, least that ye should be with them condampned, who now moste manifestlie rebelleth, bothe against God and man.

Of one thing I must put you in mynd, and I pray God that ye may frutefully remember it : That the worde of God preached be the mouth of man, is not a vane sound and wordes spoken without a purpos; but is the summoning of God himself, forewarning men before the judgement come. Ye have hard it planelie spoken, that we wolde till *Ægypt* agane, in dispyte of *Ieremie* and all admonitiones : Whiche threatninge for that tyme, was not onlie mocked, but also boldlie spoken against. But whether this day declaireth the trueth of that and other threatninges, let the verray blind worlde judge. For what can be to returne to *Ægypt*, if to joyne handes with idolaters be not? Yea, to erect an authority (be God justlie dampned) without ordour, bothe against God and man? Suche men when they were spoken unto, and were planely admonished of their appearing defection, could not abyde to be called proude contemptners of God; who now spareth not, at everie moment to blaspheme God, and be their wicked workes planlie to deny, that there is a God that maketh difference betwix vice and vertew.

Rejoyce therefore, and praise Goddes mercyes, who hath called yow from the company of such : And continew constant into that, that God of his mercy hath wrought into yow, to wit, a feare to remain in the faction of the wicked; whiche feare, I pray God may dayly increase into your hartes. I knowe the assaultes that ye shall suffer, are fore and hard to be gaineftanded; and therefore be yow fervent in prayer that ye repent not, that God hath chossen yow to suffer affliction with his son Iesus Christ. Hard it is (I say) to ganeftand fleshe and blood, and whatsoever is moste precious into this lyfe onlie, in hoip of that kingdome promised. And yet onlie they, that contineweth to the end, shall stand in assurance before the Lord Iesus, into that general day, when vertew shall reffave a just rewarde, and vice (with the workers of impietie) shall suffer wraith and vengeance without end.

Be not ye sclanderred at the multitude of them that have joyned hands with impiety. For if they had bene of us (as sanct *Iohne* saieth) they had remained with us. But now this their defection doeth planelie declare, that when they were with us, they were but as corrupted humores within the body, which behoved to be expelled furthe, before the body could convalesce and come to perfection agane. Lament their fall, but follow not their trade. For howsoever they prosper into their attemptar, the end thereof shall be their destruction temporall and eternall, onles spedie repentance prevene Goddes judgmentes; which to wishe is godly, but to beleve is foolish presumption, as oftymes ye have hard.

Luke not for fynall victorie, before that the strength and pryde of fleshe be beaten down; nether be ye discouraged, albeit that iniquitie prosper before the world.

For the tyme of their felicitie, which troubleth you for the present, shall be short. Joyne not with them therefore, as ye will avoyde plagues present and condemnation eternall. Be faithfull and loving one to another. Let bitterness and suspicion be farre out of your hartes: And let everie one watche for the preservation of another, without grudgeing or murmuring; being assured, that as God hath appointed you to suffer affliction for righteousness sake, so hath he appointed yow to posses an kingdome; wherein nether Sathan, sin nor deith shall have power to molest yow. Rejoyce in the Lord, that he hath compted yow worthie to suffer for his names sake. Pray for me, brethren, that I may fecht my battell laughfullie, to the end. The Lord Iesus preserve yow now and ever. Amen. Of Sanct *Androis* the 17th of *Julii* 1571.

Your Brother to power in Christ Iesus,

IOHNE KNOX.

If I might wryte, I wolde exhort yow, to remember, that by many tribulations we must enter in the kingdome of beaven.

A GLOSSARY, or Explanation of old Scots Words in this Edition.

A

A Back, to hold or keep back.
 Abed, *abode*.
 Abone, *above*.
 Abyid, *abide*.
 Addet, *Engage, oblige*.
 Adjunand, *adjoining*.
 Advoutrie, *Adultery*.
 Affoir, *Afore, before*.
 Aglylyte, *Agility*.
 Aithis, *Oaths*.
 Alane, *alone*.
 Ald, *old*.
 Alwife, *alibough*.
 Als, *as, also*.
 Allanerlie, *solely, only*.
 Amangis, *amongst*.
 Ambossade, *Embassy*.
 An, *if*.
 Ane, *one, a*.
 Anent, *touching, concerning*.
 Aneuche, *enough*.
 Anis, *once*.
 Appeiris, *appears*.
 Appreve, *appraise, approve*.
 Apuntit, *appointed*.
 Arbitr, *Arbitrator*.
 Art and Part, *Aider and Abetter*.
 As, *as*.
 Assistaris, *Assistors*.
 Attour, *over, beyond, moreover*.
 Auld, *old*.
 Aught, *ought*.
 Auncetours, *Ancestors*.
 Avoutrie, *Adulterie*.
 Avoyis, *Advice*.
 Awaitand, *waiting*.
 Auwin, *own*.
 Ay, *always, evermore*.
 Aggreage, *aggravate*.

B

Banded, *joyned together, combined*.
 Bairnis, *Children*.
 Baldness, *Baldness*.
 Bannis, *Bans*.
 Baith, *both*.
 Beand, *being*.
 Begouth, *began*.
 Begynand, *beginning*.
 Beiris, *bears*.
 Belyiffit, *believed*.
 Belyve, *speedily, in a little time*.
 Beseik, *beseech*.
 Befiness, *Business*.

Befyde, *near hand, by, with*.
 Bin, *been*.
 Bing, *Heap*.
 Bipaft, *bypast*.
 Birfit, *bruised, pressed*.
 Birst, *burst, broke*.
 Blawin, *blown*.
 Bleare, *blear-eyed*.
 Blodde, *Blood*.
 Bordouris, *Borders*.
 Bot, *but*.
 Bouldeneth, *cherisheth, encourageth*.
 Bow, *an arched Gate*.
 Boyth, *both*.
 Boytts, *Boats*.
 Braid, *Bread*.
 Brake, *Impression, Breach*.
 Bran, *Brain*.
 Brethir, *Brother, Bretren*.
 Bruit, *Report, Blame*.
 Bleid, *broad*.
 Buds, *Bribes*.
 Buikis, *Books*.
 Buist, *Box*.
 But, *without*.
 Byding, *staying, waiting*.
 Byes, *Bias*.
 Bylle, *Bill*.
 Byrunne, *bypast, bygone*.
 Brunt, *burnt*.
 Bragg, *boast*.

C

Cair, *Care*.
 Cais, *Cafe*.
 Canwes, *Canvas, coarse Linen*.
 Carvit, *carved*.
 Cassit, *set aside*.
 Caldness, *Coldness*.
 Cautioner, *Surety*.
 Cayr, *Care*.
 Ceis, *Cease*.
 Ceiffit, *ceased*.
 Certes, *truly, of a truth*.
 Challendg, *challenge*.
 Chalmer-child, *Valet de chambre*.
 Chesie, *chuse*.
 Cheinzies, *Chains*.
 Cheiffit, *chused*.
 Chyding, *chiding*.
 Clouths, *Cloaths*.
 Clengeit, *cleared, acquitted, cleansed*.
 Clere, *clear*.
 Cleything, *Cloathing*.
 Cloifs, *Court, narrow Lane, Inclosure*.
 Clois, *close*.

Cost, *bought*.
 Cold, *could*.
 Collationar, *collated, examined Word by Word*.
 Commendatar, *Commendator, who enjoys the Rents of an Abbey, or other Benefice*.
 Commoun, *common*.
 Companzounis, *Companions*.
 Compeir, *appear*.
 Compromitt, *commit, intrust*.
 Consaif, *conceive*.
 Consentis, *consents*.
 Consignit, *consigned, safely deposited*.
 Constair, *construct*.
 Contraries, *Opposers, Contradictors*.
 Contynew, *continue*.
 Convenit, *convenid, convened, met together*.
 Convinced, *convicted*.
 Conweytt, *convey'd*.
 Conzie house, *the coining, or Mint house*.
 Conzied, *coined*.
 Corse, *Corps*.
 Coup, *Cup*.
 Cousignance, *Kindred, Relations*.
 Craifit, *crazed, broken in Health*.
 Comin, *coming*.
 Cunning, *skilful, knowing*.
 Cure, *Care*.
 Cummer, *Trouble*.

D

Donetilly, *finely, discreetly, handsomely*.
 Deathis, *Deaths*.
 Debtful, *due*.
 Decernit, *adjudged, decreed*.
 Decreytt, *Decree*.
 Decydit, *decided*.
 Deid, *Death*.
 Deids, *Deeds or doings*.
 Delaie, *Delay*.
 Delaytit, *delatit, accused, summoned*.
 Demanit, *ill used*.
 Demanyt, *demand*.
 Dempstare, *the Officer who pronounces Sentence of a criminal Judge against Criminals*.
 Depeches, *Dispatches*.
 Depeshe, *dispatch, cut off*.
 Deponar, *Deponer*.
 Deposed, *laid down*.
 Desyres, *Desires*.

Debtful

The GLOSSARY.

Debtful, *indebted*.
 Debtfully, *duly*.
 Dettis, *Debts*.
 Dewoted, *devoted*.
 Din, *Noise*.
 Ding, *defeat, overcome*.
 Disagwised, *disguised*.
 Dithyred, *desired*.
 Dispech, *dispatch*.
 Dispone, *dispose*.
 Dissait, *Deceit*.
 Disseased, *died, deceased*.
 Disting, *Design*.
 Dispire, *Grudge*.
 Dispytis, *disputes, disputeth*.
 Ditement, *Dittay, Indictment*.
 Dochter, *Daughter*.
 Domage, *Damage*.
 Dome, *domme, dumb*.
 Dome, *Doom*.
 Double, *Copy*.
 Doun, *beat, beat down*.
 Dounthring, *pull down*.
 Doutis, *Doubts*.
 Doutit, *doubted*.
 Dradde, *Dread*.
 Drawin, *drawn*.
 Dreddouris, *Fears, Terrors*.
 Drefs, *manage*.
 Dreffit, *addressed*.
 Duiris, *Duris, Doors*.
 Dyke, *Wall, Fence*.
 Slap of the Dyke, *Breach of the Wall*.
 Dame, *condemn*.

E

Earst, *erst, ere now, before*.
 Effauld, *honest*.
 Essayres, *Affairs*.
 Effectuous, *effectual*.
 Effeiris, *Concerns*.
 Effrayit, *afraid*.
 Effray, *Confusion, Fear*.
 Efftir, *after*.
 Egal, *equal*.
 Eik, *add*.
 An Eik, *an Addition*.
 Eikand, *adding*.
 Ellis, *ells, already, also*.
 Eird, *Eerd, Earth*.
 Eirdly, *earthly*.
 Embassade, *Embassage*.
 Emonge, *amongst, among*.
 Empeach, *impeach, accuse, oppose, binder, disturb*.
 Ennye, *any*.
 Entres, *Interest*.
 Entris, *Entry*.
 Ergh, *scrupulous, lingering*.
 Er, *before*.
 Eschaïpe, *escape*.
 Eschewit, *avoided*.
 Essembly, *Assembly*.

Espies, *spies*.
 Espyrance, *Hope or Expectation*.
 Estatis, *Estates*.
 Estimett, *esteemed*.
 Ewest, *towards, nearest*.
 Evinly, *fair, honest, equal*.
 Excepted, *accepted*.
 Exerce, *exercise*.
 Exonerit, *cleared, acquitted*.
 Expone, *expose, explain*.
 Expremit, *expyrit, expressed, mentioned*.

F

Fader, *Father*.
 Fais, *Foes*.
 Fand, *found*.
 Fardor, *further*.
 Fashous, *troublesome*.
 Fawche, *trouble, vex*.
 Faut, *Fault*.
 Fawltly, *faulty*.
 Feads, *Fieds, Feuds*.
 Feat, *Fete, neat, polite, accomplished, handsome*.
 Fecht, *sicht, fight*.
 Feir, *Fere, Fear*.
 Feiris, *Fears*.
 Feld, *Field, felt*.
 Fending, *Maintenance*.
 Fenze, *feign*.
 Fenzeit, *feigned, dissembled*.
 Ferd, *feird, fourth*.
 Fest, *fast*.
 Forder, *promote, further, set forward*.
 Foreanent, *over-against*.
 Forgeit, *forged*.
 Forsamekill, *for as much*.
 Forsaith, *truly, indeed, verily*.
 Fortilles, *Fortress*.
 Forzet, *forget*.
 Foursum, *some four*.
 Frontars, *Frontiers*.
 Fulsche, *foolish*.
 Fuillis, *Fools*.
 Fullit, *filled*.
 Furt, *forth*.
 Fute, *Foot*.
 Fulit, *guilty*.

G

Ga, *go*.
 Gait, *Gate, Street, a Way*.
 Gangand, *went*.
 Gangand against, *complaining of, opposing*.
 Gangis, *goes, or leads to*.
 Garnyshed, *adorned, garrisoned*.
 Gart, *made, compelled*.
 Gate, *got*.
 Gest, *gef, gave*.
 Gis, *if*.

Gevin, *gives*.
 Gin, *if*.
 Girn, *grin*.
 Girt, *guard*.
 Glister, *lustre*.
 Gloming, *dark, frowning*.
 Gloque, *dissemble*.
 Glustis, *Gloves*.
 Gracis, *Graces*.
 Graith, *Wares, Furniture*.
 Grandfchir, *Great Grandfather*.
 Greitnefs, *Grandeur*.
 Greitomlie, *greatly*.
 Gryte, *great*.
 Guid, *good*.
 Gudle, *conveniently*.
 Guitchir, *Grandfather*.

H

Habilitie, *Ability, Capacity*.
 Hable, *able, qualified*.
 Haif, *have*.
 Hail, *hel, whole*.
 Hailfome, *wholesome*.
 Haillely, *wholly*.
 Haifte, *haste*.
 Haistyft, *made haste*.
 Hait, *haitrent, Haired*.
 Haldin, *held, detained*.
 Hame, *Home*.
 Hard, *beard*.
 Harle, *drag, draw*.
 Hayd, *had*.
 Hear, *hair*.
 Heddis, *heads*.
 Heichar, *higher*.
 Heid, *head*.
 Heid-burrows, *head-burroughs or burghs*.
 Heirfoir, *therefore*.
 Heich, *high*.
 Helas, *alace*.
 Hellsomness, *wholesomeness, health*.
 Herbrrie, *harbour*.
 Herdis, *hards*.
 Hes, *has*.
 Hie-gate, *high-street*.
 Heiranent, *therein*.
 Her, *here*.
 Hoife, *hose*.
 Hole, *whole*.
 Holy, *wholly*.
 Hoppen, *hoping*.
 Hot, *Heat*.
 Howket, *hoyet, hollowed*.
 Huidit, *bidden*.
 Huntis, *bunt, hunting*.
 Hur, *hyr, her*.

I

Ilk, *every*.
 Illuster, *illustrious*.
 Impeach, *binder, prevent*.

The GLOSSARY.

Impyre, empire.
 Incertaine, uncertain.
 Inch, small yle, or island.
 Incke, ink.
 Incompaible, inconsistent, incompatible.
 Increse, increase.
 Indefereat, indifferent.
 Induring, during.
 Ingrait, ungrateful.
 Ingynis, ingenuity.
 Intaik, intake, default, want, absence.
 Inquiet, disquiet.
 Inrin, incur.
 Insew, ensue.
 Intrappit, insnared.
 Intromittit, intromitted, meddled with.

Intrused, intruded.
 Invyful, invidious, full of envy.
 Joifs, enjoy.
 Iſche, place, passage.
 Ineamitie, enmity.

K

Kafis, cases, causes.
 Kaſt, keiſt, caſt, or throw away.
 Ken, know.
 Kendillit, kindled.
 Kepid, kept.
 Knew, know.
 Knowlegand, knowing.
 Knycht, knight.
 Kyn, kindred, kin.

L

Lachit, laughed, mocked.
 Lack, want.
 Finding lack, complaining.
 Lades, ladies.
 Lang, long.
 Loſſour, leiſure.
 Latt, or lett be, forbear.
 Lauchful, lawſul.
 Lawis, laws.
 Lawly, lowly.
 Leicher, lower.
 Leſul, leiſul, lawſul.
 Leiſ, leave.
 Leill, true, beſteſt, chaſte.
 Leis, lyes.
 Leſage, non-age, under-age.
 Leſtand, laſting.
 Leſtit, laſted.
 Leſſum, lawſul.
 Levan, levand, living.
 Lever, rather.
 Levis, lives.
 Lichneſs, levity, merriment.
 Lieſchit, whipt.
 Liſting, exacting, levying.
 Limmis, limbs.

Lippin, depend, rely upon.
 Lois, loſſ.
 Loppin, leapt.
 Lotheſomneſs, very loath, unwill-lingneſs.
 Lovittis, beloved.
 Loveabill, laudable, allowable, lawſul.
 Lowitt, looſed.
 Ludgeit, lodged.
 Luſe, luiſ, love.
 Luſiſome, lovely.
 Luiſer, lover.
 Lunt, a ligat, a match.
 Lyck, lycke, like.
 Lyeſt, lyſſ, liſe.
 Lytill, little.

M

Ma, may, moe.
 Maill, rent, duty.
 Mair, more.
 Moiſt, moſt.
 Makand, making.
 Malhure, mallewre, miſfortune.
 Mallapert, arrogant, preſumptuous.
 Man, muſt.
 Manſing, menacing, threating.
 Manred, followers.
 Marcat-croce, market-croſs.
 Marrow, mate, fellow, companion.
 Mekle, meikle, much.
 Mele, mell, meddle.
 Memorie, memorial, memorandum, fame.
 Mene, mean.
 Menſworn, perjur'd.
 Ment, meant.
 Metar, meeter, more proper, convenient.
 Meubles, moveables.
 Miniſter, adminiſter.
 Miſtrel, muſician.
 Mirk, dark.
 Miſter, need.
 Mocyons, motions.
 Moder, mother.
 Mon, muſt.
 Mony, many.
 Monifould, manifold.
 Morn, next day.
 Motch, much.
 Mote, may, might.
 Mowit, moved.
 Moyer, Intereſt, Power.
 Mulis, ſlippers.
 Murmour, reſgate, mourn.
 Mynt, aim at, eſſay.

N

Na, no.
 Nakit, naked.
 Namit, named.

Nanis, noes, negatives.
 Narreſt, neareſt.
 Natural, diſpoſition, affection.
 Ne, nor.
 Nocht, not.
 Nomers, numbers.
 Nounne part, own part.
 Nor, oftentimes for iban.
 Nother, nouthor, nor, neither.
 Notour, notorious, well known.
 Nychts, nyts, nights.

O

Obleyſt, obliged.
 Obliffand, obliging.
 Odible, odious.
 Offiſirs, officers.
 Onleſs, unleſs.
 Ony, any.
 Oppin, open.
 Oppinit, opened.
 Oppone, oppoſe.
 Or, before.
 Overthortly, acroſs.
 Oulk, week.
 Oup, up.
 Our, over.
 Ous, houſe.
 Other, outhor, either.

P

Packeddes, packets.
 Paiſe, weight.
 Pane, pains, labour.
 Pannel, a criminal, or perſon impeached.
 Parſon, perſon.
 Pateiſs, perſiſ.
 Partifing, parting, divorcing.
 Paſementit, laced.
 Paſche, Eaſter.
 Paſche-evin, Eaſter-eve.
 Paſtimit, diverted, paſſed the time.
 Patt, put.
 Pik, pitch.
 Pinſel, penſil, flags, ſtreamers.
 Platt, plan or model.
 Pleinzeing, complaining.
 Plenzeit, complained.
 Pleſſur, pleaſure.
 Poiſted, urg'd, puſh'd.
 Polks, bags.
 Policies, palaces, manors, and what belongs to them.
 Pollicie, device.
 Poſe, board, money in ſtore.
 Portis, ports, gates.
 Pottingare, Apothecary.
 Power, poor.
 Powling, poling, oppreſſing.
 Preaſe, preſs.
 Prechouris, preachers.

The GLOSSARY.

Preichit, *preached*.
 Presince, *prison*.
 Presoneris, *prisoners*.
 Prief, *proof*.
 Princes, *princesses*.
 Proclomit, *proclaimed*.
 Proctours, *procurators, proxies*.
 Profe, *proof*.
 Proiffit, *proved*.
 Promes, promettis, *promise*.
 Proppit, *supported*.
 Provyd, *providing*.
 Praysit, *praised*.
 Puir, *poor*.
 Pulder, *powder*.
 Puneift, *punished*.
 Pure, *poor*.
 Paynis, *pains*.
 Pyrattis, *pyrates*.
 Placehalder, *who holds the place*.

Q

Quailit, *quelled*.
 Querrel, *quarrel, cause, interest*.
 Quhair, *where*.
 Quhairas, *whereas*.
 Quharintill, *wherein*.
 Quhais, *whose*.
 Quhame, *whom*.
 Quhidder, *whither*.
 Quhilk, *which*.
 Quhill, *until*.
 Quhilum, *sometimes, deceased*.
 Quhinger, *hanger*.
 Quhow, *how*.
 Quitclaimis, *absolves*.

R

Raifit, *raised*.
 Raifs, *rose*.
 Rakeless, *rash*.
 Rakleft himself, *behaved rashly*.
 Rameid, *remedy*.
 Ratine, *retain*.
 Rawishe, *ravish*.
 Rayd, *rode, or expedition*.
 Raygne, *reigne*.
 Rebelloirs, *Rebels*.
 Recerce, *look after, search*.
 Reciproke, *reciprocal*.
 Recklessnes, *rashness*.
 Recognofcht, *owned*.
 Red, *read*.
 Rest, *ravaged*.
 Refusand, *refusing*.
 Regardand, *regarding*.
 Reif, *ravage, theft*.
 Regentrie, *Regency*.
 Reid, *rode*.
 Reifeit, *rapine*.
 Remanent, *remainder*.
 Remit, *Remission*.
 Repunge, *impugn*.

Reffait, *Receipt*.
 Reffavit, *received*.
 Refett, *receive, harbour*.
 Resolute, *resolved, consonant, agreeable to*.
 Revocalit, *call'd, recall'd*.
 Rewne, *ruin*.
 Rive, *tear, rend*.
 Roofe, *praise, commend*.
 Rowmit, *settled*.
 Roundit, *whispered*.
 Rubberie, *robbery*.
 Ruit, *Root*.
 Rufe, *rose*.
 Rycht, *Right*.
 Ryns, *runs*.
 Ryvar, ryvere, *River*.

S

Sa, *fo*.
 Saddest, *very sad, or melancholy*.
 Sacklesslie, *innocently, without guile*.
 Sair, *sore*.
 Sarvays, *Service*.
 Sark, *Shirt*.
 Saule, *Soul*.
 Saulis, *Souls*.
 Savily, *safely*.
 Sawin, *sown*.
 Schaikin, *shaken*.
 Schaw, *shew*.
 Schawin, *shewn*.
 Scho, *sho*.
 Schot, *shot*.
 Schote, *shoot*.
 Schrewilly, *shrewdly*.
 Schuik, *shook*.
 Schuld, *should*.
 Schyftis, *shifts*.
 Seek, *sick*.
 Secriter, *Secretary*.
 Seelie, *sely, silly*.
 Seidgit, *besieged*.
 Seill, *Seal*.
 Seillis, *Seals*.
 Semblabile, *like*.
 Sen, *then, thereafter*.
 Sen, senfyne, *since*.
 Send, *sent*.
 Senfament, *Sentiment*.
 Sequence, *Consequence*.
 Serk, *Shirt*.
 Serfs, *search*.
 Sew, *saw, sow, disperse*.
 Sey, *Sea*.
 Seym, *seem*.
 Schir, shir, *Sir*.
 Sheiris, *Shires, Counties*.
 Shored, *threatned*.
 Short space, *for a small Way*.
 Schaillis, *at Variance*.
 Schyris, *Shires*.
 Sic, *sick, such*.

Sicht, *Sight*.
 Side, *signifies long, when applied to wearing Apparel, and other Furniture*.
 Sicklyke, *also*.
 Sindered, *parted, separated*.
 Singular, *single*.
 Sythence, *since*.
 Skaith, *Harm, Prejudice*.
 Skippis, *Ships*.
 Skaith, *Hurt, Damage*.
 Skaithless, *blameless, harmless*.
 Slap, Slop, *Breach, or broken*.
 Sins, *since*.
 Sleing, *slaying*.
 Slepand, *sleeping*.
 Smored, *smothered*.
 Smote, *blote*.
 Smuik, *Smoke*.
 Solemnizat, *solempnizat, solemnized*.
 Solempn, *solemn*.
 Solist, *solicitous, careful*.
 Soliste, *solicite*.
 Solister, *Solicitor*.
 Somer, *Summer*.
 Sone, *soon*.
 Scotche, *such*.
 Soupet, *suppered*.
 Sowter, *Shoe-maker*.
 Spanes, *Spanish*.
 Speirit, *spirit, asked, enquired*.
 Sperris speris, *spears*.
 Spreit, *Spirit*.
 Spulzeit, *spoiled, plundered*.
 Stableis, *establisb*.
 Stabillis, *Stables*.
 Stainis, *Stones*.
 Stane, *Stone*.
 Stark, *strong*.
 Steik, *stut*.
 Steikand, *shutting*.
 Stik, *stop*.
 Stoir, *Store*.
 Stokkit, *trim'd*.
 Strakis, *Straikis, Blows*.
 Strang, *strong*.
 Strykin, *fought*.
 The Field was strykin, *the Battle was fought*.
 Sturt, *Disturbance, Grief, Trouble*.
 Stylid, *stiled, designed*.
 Sua, *fo*.
 Subdittis, *Subjects*.
 Subscriving, *subscribing*.
 Subscrivit, *subscribed*.
 Suddarts, *Soldiers*.
 Sueir, *swear*.
 Suir, *sure*.
 Suld, *should*.
 Sum, *some*.
 Swarttrytars, *Switzers, Swifs*.
 Sword-slipers, *Sword-cutlers*.
 Syne, *afterwards*.

T.

The GLOSSARY.

T

Takinnis, *Tokens*.
 Tak leth, *take in ill part*.
 Taigall, *retard, binder, stop*.
 Tailleit, *entailed*.
 Taille, *Tale*.
 Takinnis, *Tokens*.
 Takkis, *Leaves*.
 Take, *taken*.
 Tares, *Tears*.
 Tarie, *stay*.
 Tauking, *talking*.
 Teiris, *Tears*.
 Tendernes of Blood, *Proximity of Blood*.
 Tereit, *tarried*.
 Thai, *they*.
 Tham, *them*.
 Thare, *thair, there*.
 Thairfoir, *therefore*.
 Thairfrae, *from thence*.
 Thear, *there*.
 Theiranent, *thereabout*.
 Thir, *these*.
 Thinkand, *thinking*.
 Thocht, *tho', altho'*.
 Thole, *thoill, suffer, undergoe, wait*.
 Thowes, *those*.
 Thrall, *enslave, overcome*.
 Throch of Paper, *a Sheet of Paper*.
 Thyne, *thence*.
 Tickatts, *placarts*.
 Till, *to, unto*.
 Tint, *tine, lost, loose*.
 Tir, *these*.
 Tirrit, *teared, stript*.
 Tolbuith, *The Prison, the Place where sometimes the Courts of Justice sit*.
 Toome, *tume, empty*.
 Towarts, *towards, to*.
 Traft, *truffy*.
 Traist, *trust*.
 Treatie, *Treatise*.
 Tressoun, *Treason*.
 Trim, *genteel, new*.
 Trow, *believe*.
 Tuffit, *stitched*.
 Tryist, *Appointment*.
 Tryit, *tryed*.
 Trysed up, *trumped up*.
 Trysting, *appointing*.
 Tuck, *tuick, took*.
 Turnpike, *winding Stairs*.
 Twechis, *touches*.
 Twitched, *touched*.
 Tymous, *betimes, early*.
 Tyne, *loose*.
 Tynt, *lost*.
 Tyran, *Tyrant*.
 Tyillis, *Titles*.

U

Umquhill, *deceased*.
 Underly, *lie under, undergo*.
 Unegal, *unequal*.
 Unhap, *unbappy, Unbappiness*.
 Unkawn, *unknown*.
 Unleifum, *unlawful*.
 Unvisorit, *unmasked, bare-faced*.
 Uphald, *upbold*.
 Utheris, *others*.
 Utwardly, *outwardly*.
 Utwith, *without*.

V

Vaik, *vacant*.
 Vairde, *Ward*.
 Valiable, *valid*.
 Valor, *Value*.
 Veray, *verray, very*.
 Very, *viry, weary*.
 Veseit, *visited*.
 Vincust, *vanquished*.
 Voce, *Voice*.

W

Wae, *sorrowful, grieved*.
 Wait, *wot*.
 God wait, *God knows*.
 Waight, *wait*.
 Walkynit, *awaked out of sleep*.
 Wan, *one*.
 Wan, *did win*.
 Wan-weird, *bad or ill Fortune*.
 Ware, *were*.
 Wardill, *World, World*.
 Watch, *watch*.
 Wappinis, *Weapons*.
 Wardit, *in Ward, or safe Keeping, or Custody*.
 Was, *in the singular Number, oftentimes for were*.
 Wayit, *weighed, considered*.
 Wecht, *Weight*.
 Wedder, *Weather*.
 Wodfet or wadfet, *mortgaged*.
 Weill, *well, Welfare*.
 Weris, *Wars*.
 Weirly, *warlike*.
 Werray, *very*.
 Weruit, *wearied, fatigued*.
 Wes, *was*.
 Weseing, *visiting, viewing*.
 Weihell, *Vessel*.
 Weyit, *weighed, considered*.
 Wheare, *where*.
 While, *until*.
 Whilk, *which*.
 Whyder, *whether*.
 Wiced, *wicet, wicked*.
 Wief, *Wife*.
 Wily, *cunning, crafty*.

Wit, *know, to wit*.
 We do yow wit, *know ye*.
 Wod, *mad*.
 Wold, *would*.
 Wole, *will*.
 Worray, *very*.
 Wrak, *Wrong, undoing*.
 Wretar, *Writer*.
 Wryet, *wrote*.
 Wyche, *which*.
 Wyif, *Wife*.
 Wyll, *will*.
 Wynd, *Wind, Street, Lane*.
 Wycht, *Weight*.
 Wyning, *gaining*.
 Wynt, *Wynt, visited, viewed*.

Y

Yai, *they*.
 Yairintill, *thereunto*.
 Yairof, *thereof*.
 Yair, *there*.
 Yam, *them*.
 Yamselvis, *themselves*.
 Yone, *one*.
 Yane, *than, then*.
 Yat, *that*.
 Ydle, *idle*.
 Ye, *the, you, yea*.
 Yeid, *went*.
 Yerne, *ym, Iron*.
 Yet, *Gate*.
 Yettle, *expect, aim at, look for*.
 Yillis, *Isles*.
 Yis, *this*.
 Yle, *Isle, Island*.
 Ynklyn, *notice, Intillegence*.
 Ypocrit, *Hypocrite*.
 Ys, *is*.
 Ysheare, *Usber*.
 Yt, *that*.
 Ytt, *it*.
 Yuke Itch, *Itch*.
 Yneuche, *enough*.

Z

Zaird, *Yard*.
 Ze, *ye, you, yea*.
 Zea, *zeal, yea*.
 Zed, *zeit, went*.
 Zeires, *Years*.
 Zeirly, *yearly*.
 Zet, *Gate*.
 Zett, *yet*.
 Zisternight, *yesternight*.
 Zit, *yet*.
 Zoung, *young*.
 Zoungar, *younger*.
 Zouth, *youth*.
 Zow, *you*.
 Zuick, *Itch, or itching*.

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